DICTIONARY OF JUDAISM IN THE BIBLICAL PERIOD

Jacob Neusner, *Editor in Chief*
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This invaluable reference defines concepts, religious practices, theological terms, persons, places, and essential vocabulary from the writings of Judaism, ranging from the time of the Pentateuch's final formation until the close of the Babylonian Talmud. Over 3,300 entries by seventy international scholars offer historical, literary, religious, and archaeological background for understanding the canonical form of the Bible, the texts of the Second Temple period, and the classical writings of rabbinic Judaism. The scope of this volume includes, among other things, information on Philo and Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Mishnah, and the Talmud, as well as key figures in the history of both Judaism and early Christianity. The *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* offers a reliable guide to the wealth of material useful for reading the Holy Scriptures. It has few rivals when it comes to accuracy and readability, and will be an indispensable resource for anyone studying religion.

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Cover image: Sixth-century C.E. floor mosaic from Jewish synagogue in Nirim, Israel. Photo by David Harris, Jerusalem. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority,

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DICTIONARY OF JUDAISM IN THE BIBLICAL PERIOD

450 B.C.E. TO 600 C.E.

Jacob Neusner, *Editor in Chief*
William Scott Green, *Editor*

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On the cover: Mosaic floor of the Nirim Synagogue. Photo by David Harris, Jerusalem. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

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Preface

The "biblical period" of the title of this Dictionary refers not to the time of which the Bible speaks but to the era during which the sacred writings of both Judaism and Christianity were formulated and canonized, in other words, from about 450 B.C.E., when the Pentateuch as we know it was formulated, to the closure of the Babylonian Talmud around 600 C.E. The Dictionary therefore covers the age in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed, the Jewish philosopher Philo wrote his books, the Jewish historian Josephus composed his histories, the books comprising the New Testament were written and the Christian Bible, covering the Old and New Testaments, was canonized, and the time in which the classical writings of Judaism beyond the scriptures took shape: the Mishnah, Tosefta, the two Talmuds, and a score of Midrash collections.

Users will find here definitions of words likely to turn up in the Bible and related writings of the biblical period as just now defined, places that are commonly mentioned, and kings and emperors of this period. We cover writings on the Jews written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin; translations of the Hebrew scriptures into Aramaic; the Dead Sea Scrolls; and the entire corpus of writings of "our sages of blessed memory," the authorities of Judaism in ancient times. Concepts, religious rites, and theological categories come to simple, lexical definition. Insofar as important Christian and pagan writers refer to the Jews and Judaism, we present lexical information to make sense of what they say. By defining words in their historical, literary, religious, and archaeological settings, the editors answer many questions that until now have found no ready and convenient explanation. We give only lexical definitions, for this is a dictionary, not an encyclopedia. We mean to provide a convenient, ready reference to guide reading in the Bible and related books. What one will not find is extensive articles, complete with bibliographies. That is a separate task.

Strictly speaking, the "biblical period" should close at about 400 C.E. The New Testament and, with it, the Bible as a whole, reached closure at that time, after a long process of writing and reflection. But since, in this Dictionary, we address both Christianity and Judaism in the formative age of the two great religions of the West, we extend our closing date beyond the closure of the Bible to encompass the final redaction of the Talmud of Babylonia, the complete, authoritative statement of Judaism at the end of its formative age.

The religion that the world calls "Judaism" is defined by its followers as the Torah, or Teaching, understood as the full and complete account of God's self-manifestation and the authoritative statement of what God wants from humanity and especially from Israel, the holy people that stands in a covenanted relationship with God. In antiquity a variety of Judaic religious systems came to expression, each framed by a community that called itself "Israel" and set forth its statement of "the Torah," which not only included the ancient Israelite scripture but also additional writings, whether they were the library found at the Dead Sea, the New

Testament, or the rabbinic writings, to name three bodies of writing that represented communities of Judaism.

All of the Judaisms of ancient times contributed words for definition in these pages. But the most important one requires special attention. Rabbinic Judaism, also known as Classical Judaism, Talmudic Judaism, or Normative Judaism, in ancient times competed with other Judaic systems but emerged as paramount from late antiquity to our own day. That Judaism represents the way of life and the worldview of Israel, the holy people, as set forth in the Torah, part oral and part written. By its own account, the Pentateuch was revealed by God to Moses at Mount Sinai. The Torah furthermore encompasses teachings by God to Moses that were not written down but orally formulated and orally transmitted in a chain of tradition. So, from the viewpoint of Judaism, when the Torah, oral and written, is properly explained, people who practice Judaism, called "Israel," therefore know what God has to say to them and wants them to do.

The written part of the Torah. The Torah means first of all the Pentateuch or the Five Books of Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy). Part of the Torah as well, and read in the synagogue along with the Pentateuch, are the Prophets—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. A third part of the Torah is the Writings: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs [Song of Solomon], Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

The oral part of the Torah. Along with the Torah in written form, corresponding to what Christianity knows as the Old Testament, Judaism affirms God's revelation to Moses at Sinai in oral form, meaning a form of the Torah formulated and transmitted not in writing but in memory, in oral form, from master to disciple, from Moses on down into the early centuries of the common era.

The written form of the oral Torah. These originally oral traditions reached written formulation in the Mishnah, around 200 C.E., a philosophical statement in the form of a law code; the Tosefta, a compilation of rules formulated in the period in which the Mishnah was taking shape as well as afterward, around 300 C.E.; two Talmuds, or systematic commentaries to tractates of the Mishnah: the Talmud of the Land of Israel (the Jerusalem Talmud or Yerushalmi), around 450 C.E., and the Talmud of Babylonia (the Babli), around 600 C.E.; as well as compilations of exegeses of various books of the Hebrew scriptures. These compilations of exegeses, or midrashim, occur, in particular, in Sifra to Leviticus, around 350 C.E.; Sifrei to Numbers and Sifrei to Deuteronomy, of the same period; Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah, around 450 C.E.; Pesikta deRab Kahana, on passages of scripture read in the synagogue at high points of the liturgical year, about 500 C.E.; and the later readings of the scrolls of Esther, Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs (Song of Solomon), Esther Rabbah, Lamentations Rabbah, Ruth Rabbah, and Song of Songs Rabbah, from about 500 to 600 C.E. In this same period, the prayerbooks of Judaism—Siddur for daily and festival occasions, and Maḥor for the Days of Awe—took shape.

Since we direct this work to an English-reading audience, we have tried to represent Hebrew words in the form in which they are likely to appear in English-language publications. The aim of transliteration is to provide access to reliable pronunciations of foreign words as well as the ability to cross reference additional materials as a point of departure for further study and research. To that end, prevailing English usages—Bethlehem and Melchizedek, for example—have been retained since they are ubiquitous

and have become English words in their own right. Similarly, where virtually every citation of the Dead Sea material is labeled *Q*, the reader will find Qumran rather than Kumran throughout the text.

As in the word "Sheol," double vowels are pronounced separately rather than blended. "Baal," then, is Ba-al and not Bail. Other constructs of note include the following:

Weighted syllables. When *h* appears at the end of a word (as "aggadah"), it indicates stress on the ultimate syllable.

Y or I. In both "hoshayah" and "Akabiah," the transliterated value is that of *yod,* the distinction reflecting the presence or absence of an untransliterated value, such as a breath (*aleph*) or a glottal stop (*ayin*).

Double consonants indicate "dagesh," which doubles the consonantal value in Hebrew and shortens the preceding vowel. "Long" vowels as found in English do not exist, and their equivalents (e.g., Pirkei Abot) require a diphthong.

Diphthongs combine two vowel sounds to produce the characteristic English vowels ā (= ei) or ī (= ai).

Double Y. The Talmud contains several instances of doubling in proper nouns, which have thus been transliterated, although they are not phonologically significant.

Th does not exist in either Hebrew or Aramaic. Wherever this transliteration remains (e.g., Bethlehem, Asenath), it reflects anglicization and the prevalence of this attestation among the sources.

In speaking of "the Bible," meaning the Old and New Testaments, we use language familiar to everyone likely to use this Dictionary. Depending on the context we refer to the Holy Land as both "the Land of Israel," as it was known up to the second century C.E., and "Palestine," the name given to the country by the Romans later on. Where either phrase is used, we intend no political statement of any kind. "Palestine" is a necessary geographical term in some contexts, "Land of Israel" a required theological term in others.

The editors took responsibility for these areas, respectively: the history of the Jews and of Judaism before 70: George W. E. Nickelsburg; the history of Judaism after 70, in Hebrew and Aramaic sources: Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Alan J. Avery-Peck; the Targumim (Aramaic translations of the Hebrew scriptures): Paul V. Flesher; the Jews and Judaism in Greek and Latin sources: Lester L. Grabbe; the history of the Jews after 70: Anthony J. Saldarini and Gary G. Porton; the archaeology of the Jews and Judaism in the Land of Israel in the biblical period: James F. Strange.

The area editors called upon numerous colleagues for the preparation of specific entries, and the names of our collaborators are listed on page *xv*. We take pride in the fact that in the United States, Canada, Britain, continental Europe, and Israel, scholarship on Judaism and Christianity is carried on by Jews and Christians in close harmony, and among the editors are Jews, Protestants, and Catholics.

In the formation of the entry lists, the editors consulted Professor Louis H. Feldman, Yeshiva University, and we express thanks for his help in compiling the lists of words and phrases treated here. He checked our original entry lists, made numerous suggestions of items we had not yet included, and offered valued advice.

The skilled and professional staff at Macmillan Reference made possible the production of this Dictionary. Special thanks go to Philip Friedman, Publisher, and Elly Dickason, Associate Publisher. During the six years in which this project took shape, we worked closely and in harmony, and as

a result, the task was a happy one. We speak for all the editors in paying tribute to Macmillan's first-class staff.

John Kutsko and Patricia Biagi served as copy editors for the Dictionary and made matters as consistent and accurate as is humanly possible in a project of such formidable complexity and dimensions as this. We thank them as well.

Jacob Neusner
William Scott Green

Abbreviations Used in This Work

Abod. Zar.	Abodah Zarah
Abot deR. Nat.	Abot deRabbi Natan
abbr.	abbreviated; abbreviation
abr.	abridged; abridgment
Abr.	*De Abrahamo (On Abraham)*
Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Add. Esth.	Additions to Esther
Aet.	*De Aeternitate Mundi*
Ag. Apion	*Against Apion*
Agr.	*De Agricultura (On Agriculture)*
amend.	amended; amendment
annot.	annotated; annotation
Ant.	*Antiquities of the Jews*
Apoc. Abr.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. Bar.	Apocalypse of Baruch
Apoc. Moses	Apocalypse of Moses
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
app.	appendix
Arab.	Arabic
Arak.	Arakin
Aram.	Aramaic
art. (pl., arts.)	article
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASV	American Standard Version
b.	born
B.	Babli (Babylonian Talmud)
B. Bat.	Baba Batra
B. Kam.	Baba Kamma
B. Metz.	Baba Metzia
B.C.E.	before the common era
Bar.	Baruch
Bekh.	Bekhorot
Ber.	Berakhot
Bik.	Bikkurim
bk. (pl., bks.)	book
c.	*circa,* about, approximately
C.E.	of the common era
CD	Damascus Document
cf.	*confer,* compare
chap. (pl., chaps.)	chapter
Chron.	Chronicles
Chron. Jer.	Chronicle of Jerahmeel
cm	centimeter(s)
col. (pl., cols.)	column
Col.	Colossians
comp. (pl., comps.)	compiler
Conf.	*De Confusione Linguarum (On the Confusion of Tongues)*
Congr.	*De Congressu quaerendae Eruditionis gratia (On the Preliminary Studies)*
cont.	continued
Copt.	Coptic
Cor.	Corinthians
d.	died
Dan.	Daniel
Decal.	*De Decalogo (On the Decalogue)*
Der. Er. Rab.	Derekh Eretz Rabbah
Der. Er. Zut.	Derekh Eretz Zuta
Deut.	Deuteronomy
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
e.g.	*exempli gratia,* for example
Ebr.	*De Ebrietate (On Drunkenness)*
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus
ed. (pl., eds.)	editor; edition; edited by
Ed.	Eduyyot
Eng.	English
enl.	enlarged
Eph.	Ephesians
Erub.	Erubin
Esd.	Esdras
esp.	especially
Est.	Esther
et al.	*et alii,* and others
etc.	*et cetera,* and so forth
Eth.	Ethiopic
EV	English version
Exod.	Exodus
exp.	expanded
Ezek.	Ezekiel

f. (pl., ff.)	following
fl.	*floruit,* flourished
Flacc.	*In Flaccum (Against Flaccum)*
frag.	fragment
Frg. Tg.	Fragmentary Targum
ft.	feet
Fuga	*De Fuga et Inventione (On Flight and Finding)*
Gal.	Galatians
Gem.	Gemara
Gen.	Genesis
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Ger.	German
Gig.	*De Gigantibus (On the Giants)*
Gitt.	Gittin
Gr.	Greek
Hab.	Habakkuk
Hag.	Haggai
Ḥag.	Ḥagigah
Ḥal.	Ḥallah
Heb.	Hebrew, Hebrews
Hor.	Horayot
Hos.	Hosea
Ḥul.	Ḥullin
ibid.	*ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
i.e.	*id est,* that is
intro.	introduction
Ios.	*De Iosepho (On Joseph)*
Isa.	Isaiah
Jdt.	Judith
Jer.	Jeremiah
Jon.	Jonah
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Asenath
Josh.	Joshua
Jub.	Jubilees
Judg.	Judges
Kall.	Kallah
Ker.	Keritot
Ketub.	Ketubot
Kidd.	Kiddushin
KJV	King James Version
km	kilometer(s)
l. (pl., ll.)	line
L.A.	*Legum Allegoriarum (Allegorical Interpretation)*
LAB	Book of Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)
Lam.	Lamentations
Lat.	Latin
Leg.	*De Legatione ad Gaium (On the Embassy to Gaius)*
Let. Arist.	Letter of Aristeas
Let. Jer.	Letter of Jeremiah
Lev.	Leviticus
lit.	literally
LXX	Septuagint
m	meter(s)
M.	Mishnah
Maas.	Maaserot
Maas. Sh.	Maaser Sheni
Macc.	Maccabees
Mal.	Malachi
Mart. Isa.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Matt.	Matthew
Meg.	Megillah
Meil.	Meila
Mekh.	Mekhilta
Melch.	Melchizedek
Menaḥ.	Menaḥot
mi.	miles
Mic.	Micah
Mid.	Middot
Migr.	*De Migratione Abrahami (On the Migration of Abraham)*
Mikv.	Mikvaot
Moed Kat.	Moed Katan
MS (pl., MSS)	*manuscriptum,* manuscript
MT	Masoretic text
Mut.	*De Mutatione Nominum (On the Change of Names)*
n.	note
n.d.	no date
Nah.	Nahum
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NEB	New English Bible
Ned.	Nedarim
Neg.	Negaim
Neh.	Nehemiah
Nez.	Nezikin
Nid.	Niddah
no. (pl., nos.)	number
Num.	Numbers
Obad.	Obadiah
Odes Sol.	Odes of Solomon
Ohal.	Ohalot
On Abr.	*De Abrahamo (On Abraham)*
On Agr.	*De Agricultura (On Agriculture)*
On Migr. Agr.	*De Migratione Abrahami (On the Migration of Abraham)*
On Rew.	*De Praemiis et Poenis (On Rewards and Punishments)*

Opf.	*De Opificio Mundi (On the Creation of the World)*
Or.	Orlah
p. (pl., pp.)	page
P. Oxy.	Papyri Oxyrhyncus
Pal.	Palestinian
Pal. Tgs.	Palestinian Targums
para. (pl., paras.)	paragraph
Pers.	Persian
Pesaḥ.	Pesaḥim
Pesik. deRab Kah.	Pesikta deRab Kahana
Pesik. R.	Pesikta Rabbati
Pet.	Peter
Phil.	Philippians
Philem.	Philemon
Phoen.	Phoenician
pl.	plural
Plant.	*De Plantatione (On Noah's Work as a Planter)*
Post.	*De Posteritate Caini (On the Posterity and Exile of Cain)*
Pr. of Man.	Prayer of Manasseh
Praem.	*De Praemiis et Poenis (On Rewards and Punishments)*
Prep. Gos.	*Preparation for the Gospel*
Prov.	Proverbs
Prov.	*De Providentia (On Providence)*
Ps. (pl., Pss.)	Psalms
pt. (pl., pts.)	part
Q	Qumran
1Q, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Qumran caves: Cave 1, Cave 2, etc.
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
1QH	Hodayot
1QM	War Scroll
1QpHab	Habakkuk, Pesher on
1QS	Community Rule
1QSa	Rule of the Congregation
1QSb	Benedictions
3Q15	Copper Scroll
4Q169	Commentary on Nahum
4Q504	Words of the Heavenly Lights
4QFlor	Florilegium
4QPhyl	Phylacteries
4QPrNab	Prayer of Nabonidus
4QShirShabb	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
4QTestim	Testimonia
4QTLevi	Testament of Levi
11QMelch	Melchizedek, Pesher on
11QPs[a]	Psalm Scroll
11QtgJob	Targum to Job
r.	reigned; ruled
Rab.	Rabbah
rev.	revised
Rev.	Revelation
Rom.	Romans
Rosh. Hash.	Rosh Hashanah
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Sacr.	*De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain)*
Sam.	Samuel
Sam. Tg.	Samaritan Targum
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
sec. (pl., secs.)	section
Sem.	Semaḥot
ser.	series
sg.	singular
Shabb.	Shabbat
Sheb.	Shebiit
Shebu.	Shebuot
Shekal.	Shekalim
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Sifrei Deut.	Sifrei Deuteronomy
Sobr.	*De Sobrietate (On Sobriety)*
Somn.	*De Somniis (On Dreams)*
Song of Sol.	Song of Solomon
Sotah	Sotah
Spec. Leg.	*De Specialibus Legibus (On the Special Laws)*
sq.	square
st. (pl., ss.)	stanza
supp.	supplement; supplementary
Sus.	Susanna
Syr.	Syriac
T.	Tosefta
T. Yom	Tebul Yom
Taan.	Taanit
Ter.	Terumot
Test. 12 Patr.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Test. Abr.	Testament of Abraham
Test. Jacob	Testament of Jacob
Test. Jud.	Testament of Judah
Test. Moses	Testament of Moses
Tg.	Targum
Tg. Isa.	Targum to Isaiah
Tg. Ket.	Targum to the Writings
Tg. Neb.	Targum to the Prophets
Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti 1
Tg. Onk.	Targum Onkelos

Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan	vol. (pl., vols.)	volume
Tg. Yer.	Targum Yerushalmi	*War*	*The Jewish War*
Thess.	Thessalonians	Wisd. of Sol.	Wisdom of Solomon
Tim.	Timothy	Y.	Yerushalmi (Jerusalem Talmud)
Tob.	Tobit	Yad.	Yadayim
Tohar.	Toharot	Yebam.	Yebamot
trans.	translator, translators; translated by; translation	Zebaḥ.	Zebaḥim
v. (pl., vv.)	verse	Zech.	Zechariah
		Zeph.	Zephaniah
Vg.	Vulgate	Zer.	Zeraim
Virt.	*De Virtutibus (On the Virtues)*	×	by; multiplied by
Vita Con.	*De Vita Contemplativa (On the Contemplative Life)*	+	plus
		−	minus
Vita Mos.	*De Vita Mosis (Life of Moses)*	=	equals; is equivalent to
		?	uncertain; possibly; perhaps

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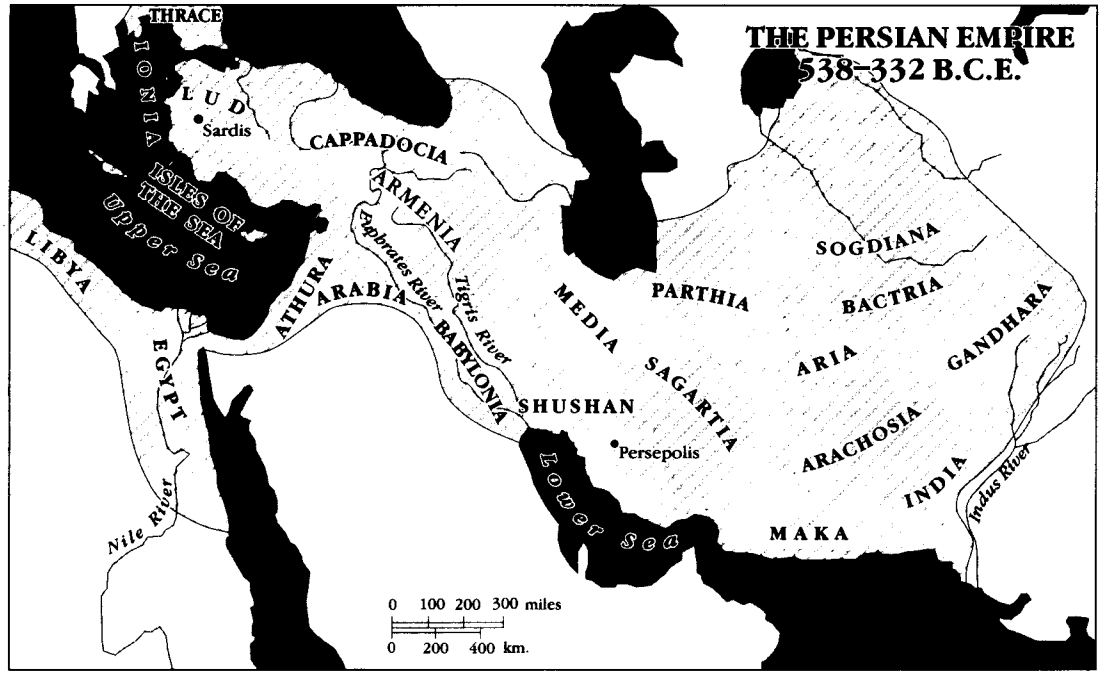
Maps



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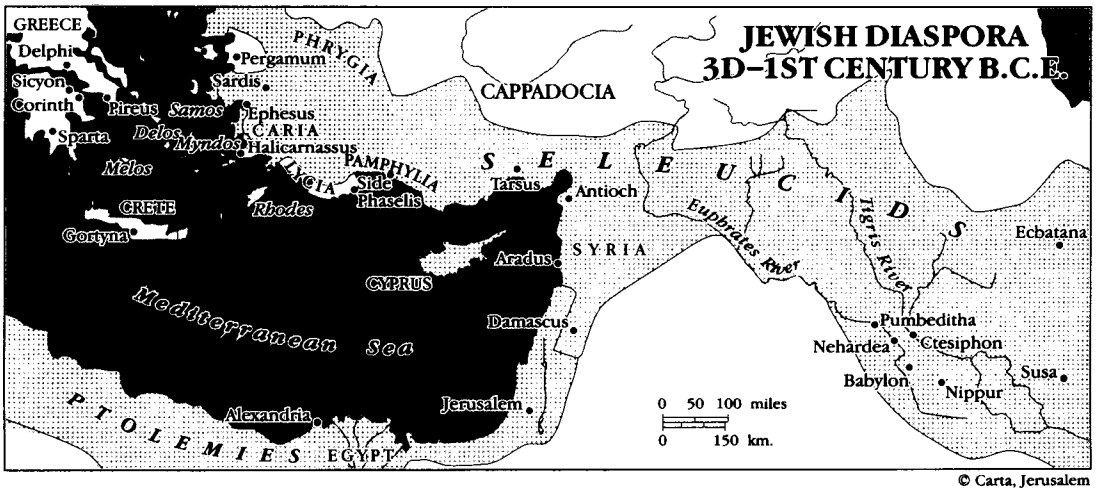

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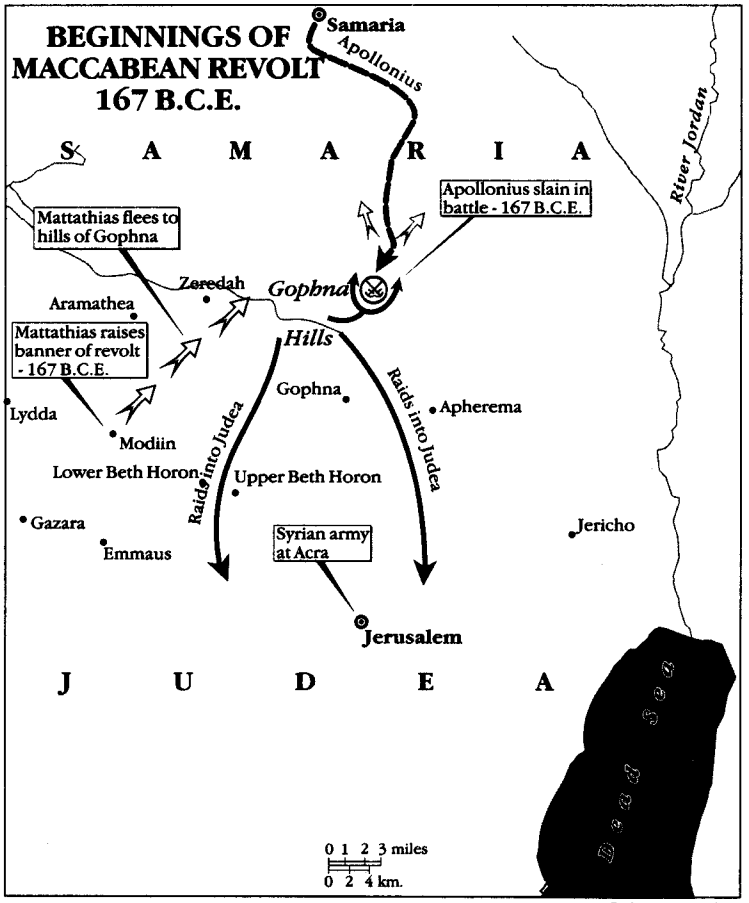

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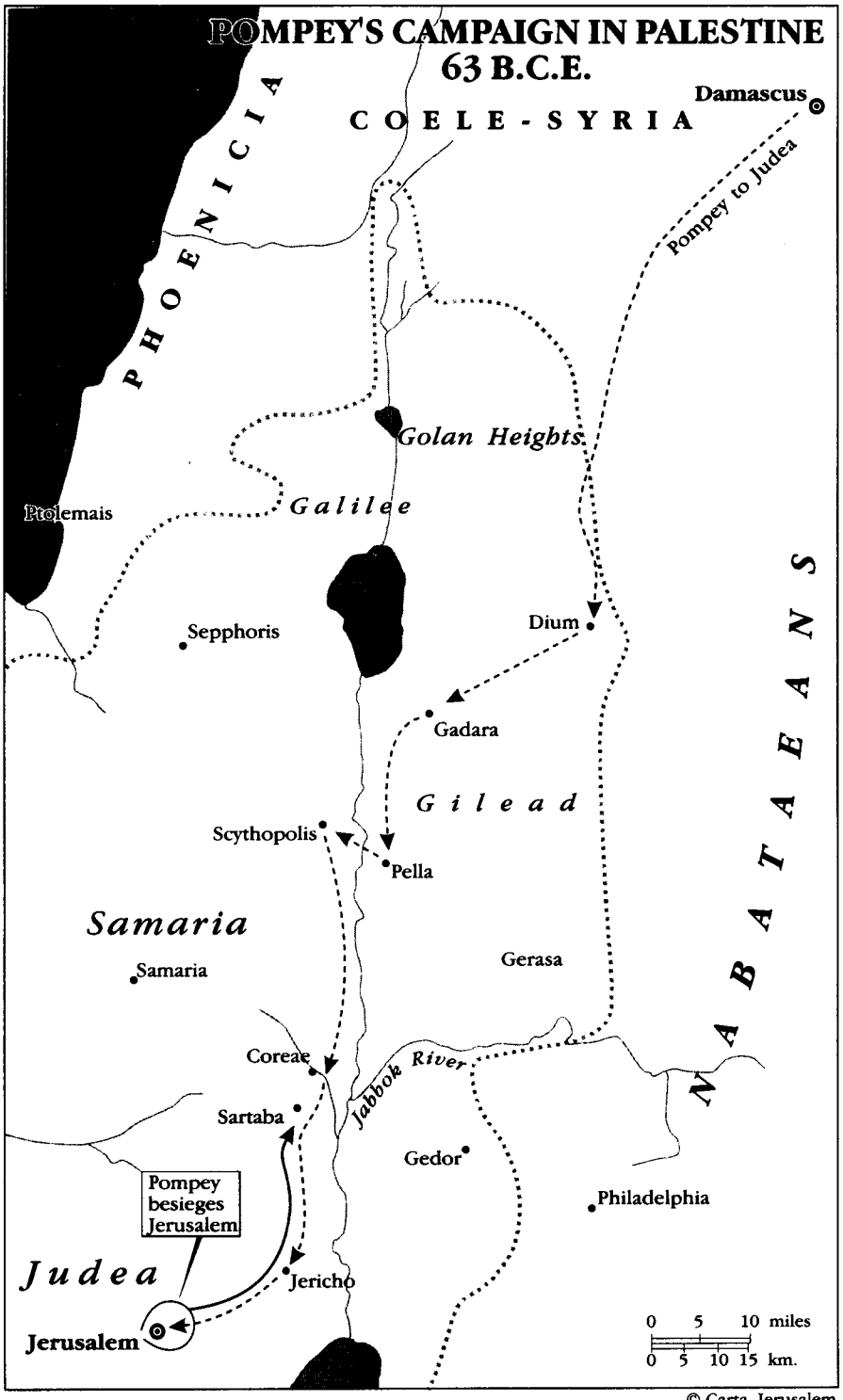
POMPEY'S CAMPAIGN IN PALESTINE
63 B.C.E.
PHOENICIA
COELE-SYRIA
Damascus
Pompey to Judea
Golan Heights
Galilee
Ptolemais
Sepphoris
Dium
Gadara
Gilead
Scythopolis
Pella
Samaria
Samaria
Gerasa
NABATAEANS
Coreae
Jabbok River
Sartaba
Gedor
Philadelphia
Pompey besieges Jerusalem
Judea
Jericho
Jerusalem
0 5 10 miles
0 5 10 15 km.
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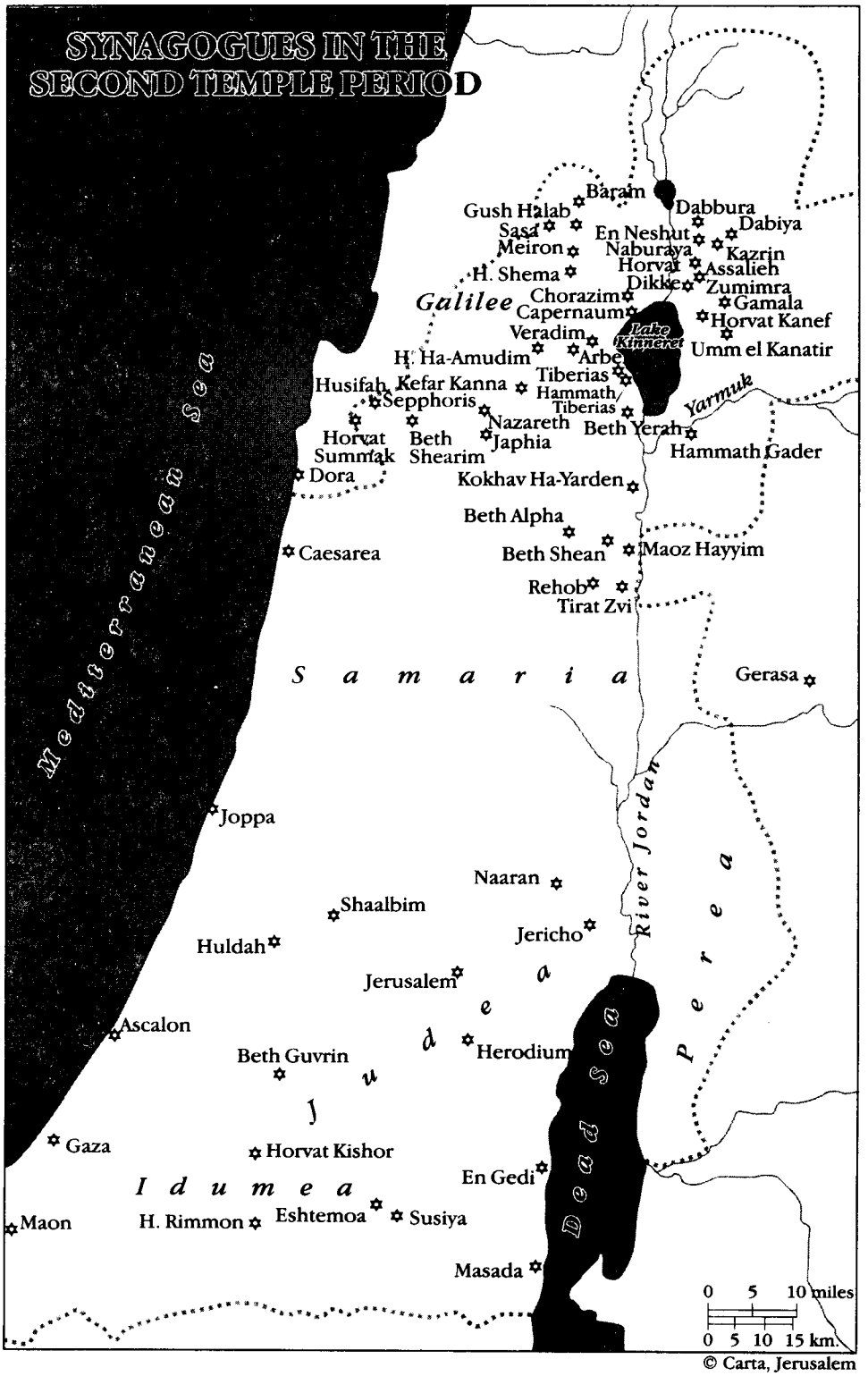
Aristobulus' army
Pompey's army



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VESPASIAN'S CAMPAIGN IN GALILEE, 67 C.E.
Vespasian from Antioch with Tenth and Twelfth Legions
Vespasian's headquarters
Titus from Egypt with Fifteenth Legion
PHOENICIA
Cades
Gischala
Meroth
Jamnith
Seleucia
Golan Heights
Sogane
Kefar Acco
Sepph
Acchabare
John to Jerusalem
Beer Sheba
Sogane
Selame
Sea battles
Gamala
Garaba
Jotapata
Placidus
Josephus
Tiberias
Sepphoris
Garis
Sennabris
Placidus
Vespasian
Trajan
Vespasian
Yarmuk River
Japhia
Mt. Tabor
Agrippina
Jordan
Esdraelon
Caesarea
Scythopolis
0 5 10 miles
0 5 10 15 km.
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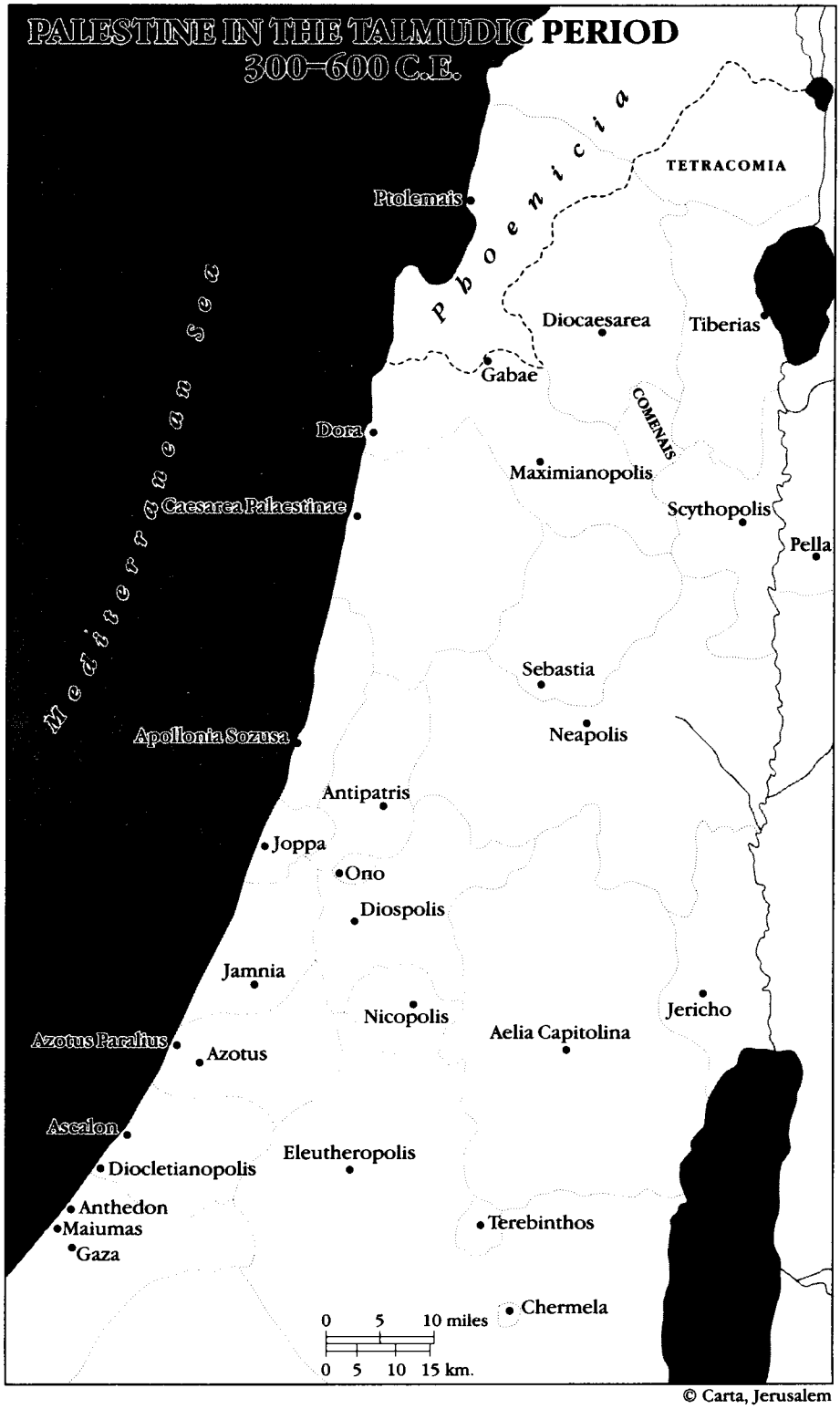
Major Roman army movements
Secondary Roman army movements
Jewish forces
Limit of Josephus' command



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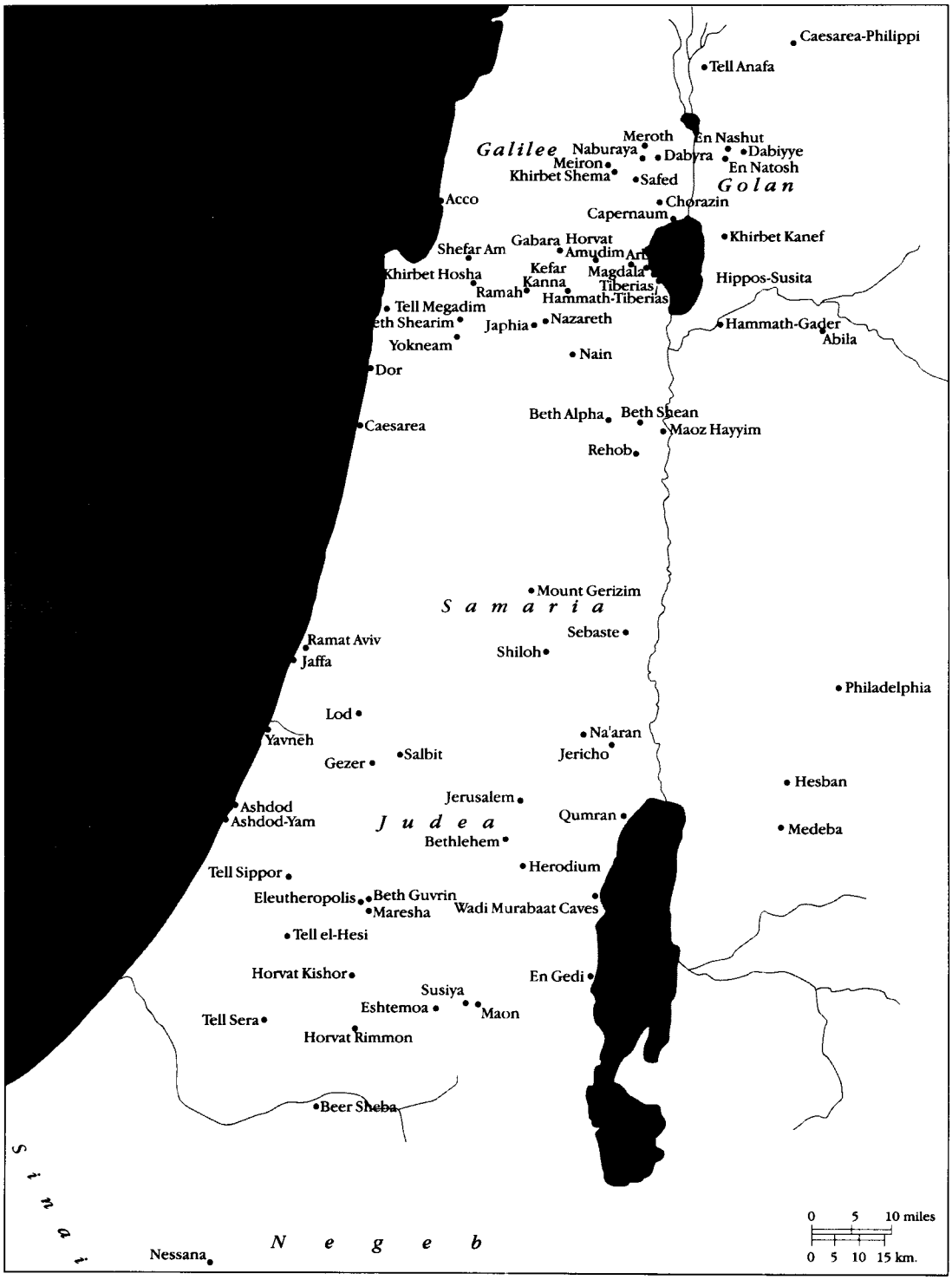

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Aaron ancient Israel's first high priest and the patriarch of its priesthood. Where the pentateuchal accounts depict Aaron performing nonpriestly roles, he is Moses' subordinate. In other texts, the action turns on his priestly calling, status, and activities (Exod. 28–29; Lev. 8; Num. 16–17). As first high priest, he is the patriarch of the priesthood, and "the sons of Aaron" and "Aaron and his sons" are cliches that serve as metonyms for future Aaronic priests and high priests. Psalm 115:10, 12 mentions the priests as "the house of Aaron" alongside the laity, "the house of Israel."

Second Temple Jewish texts highlight the priestly status and functions of Aaron and his sons. Ecclesiasticus 45:6–22 emphasizes God's everlasting covenant with him and his descendants, and 50:1–21 glorifies Simon who presides over the cult and "the sons of Aaron." In 1 Maccabees 7:13–14, the Hasidim make peace with Alcimus because he is "a priest of the line of Aaron." The Qumranic combination of "Aaron" and "Israel" parallels the usage in Psalm 115 (1QS 8:5–6; CD 1:7), and several texts anticipate the coming of "the anointed one(s) of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11; CD 12:23–13:1, 19:11, 20:1).

Several texts emphasize Levi rather than Aaron. Testament of Levi 2–6 describes Levi's call, and chapter 12 traces his genealogy back only to Amram. Although Jubilees 30:18–19 recounts Levi's call and 31:13–15 refers to his descendants, the book never mentions the brother of Moses, its alleged author. The omissions are odd in literature preserved at Qumran, where other texts feature Aaron and his descendants. Perhaps they are testimonies to the obscure history of the levitical priesthood.

The Epistle to the Hebrews portrays Jesus as a "priest after the order of Melchizedek," whose activity supersedes the Aaronic priesthood and its covenant (Heb. 7–9). Postbiblical Christian texts draw on this motif, and some interpret Jesus' anointing at his baptism with reference to his priesthood.

Ab eleventh month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to July/August

Ab, Ninth of fast day commemorating five disasters that fell on that day: the divine decree that those in the Exodus from Egypt should not enter the promised land; the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E.; the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.; the taking of Betar, where the rebels against Rome in 135 C.E. had made their last stand; and the razing of Jerusalem in 13 C.E. after that same war. The day stands for Israel's national disasters and is observed through fasting, prayer, and reading of the Book of Lamentations.

Abaddon (Heb., destruction) the disintegration of the human being caused by death. In the Hebrew Bible it stands in parallel to Sheol or is a metonymy for it. In the Hodayot (1QH 3:19), one is rescued from Sheol Abaddon when one enters the Qumran Community. Revelation 9:11 identifies Abaddon as the angel of the abyss, translating it "Apollyon" (Gr., destroyer).

Abadim (Heb., slaves) title of one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. It consists of a collection of tannaitic sources in three chapters, containing primarily rules about the purchase, manumission, and sale of slaves.

abandoned woman (Heb.: *agunah*) a woman not free to remarry, held in a marital relationship although separated from her husband because the husband cannot be proved to be dead, because his whereabouts are unknown, or because he is unwilling to give her a writ of divorce. She is abandoned in that she cannot enter into a legal marriage. Under Jewish law, only the husband can provide a writ of divorce to the wife; if he is unavailable or unwilling, the woman has no recourse. Absence of proof of the husband's death may impose the status of *agunah* on the putative widow.

Abayye (d. 339 C.E.) Babylonian amora; raised by his uncle, Rabbah bar Naḥmani; student of his uncle and of Joseph b. Ḥama, successive heads of the academy at Pumbedita. After Joseph's death in 333 C.E., Abayye took over that position, which he held until his own death. Abayye is known for his disputes with Raba, which were deemed so important that, anachronistically, even Yoḥanan b. Zakkai was reputed to have known of them (B. Sukkot 28a).

Abayye's father, Kaylil, died before he was born, and his mother died in his birth. He was raised by his uncle, who early on recognized his intellectual strengths (B. Berakhot 33b). In his youth, Abayye took care of his fields at night in order to be able to study by day (B. Gittin 60b). Later in life, he apparently had greater wealth, employing tenant farmers (B. Ketubot 60b) and trading in wine (B. Berakhot 56a).

Abayye's disputes with Raba comprise such an important element of the Babylonian Talmud that the phrase "debates of Abayye and Raba" is commonly used to refer to talmudic dialectics in general. Except for six specific cases, the law follows Raba's view. In contrast to Raba's independent reasoning, Abayye preferred to develop arguments based upon statements of earlier sages (B. Erubin 3a), which he would reduce to general principles. Abayye also cited popular maxims and recognized the practice of the common people as an appropriate indicator of the correct law. He frequently mentioned his foster mother's folk remedies and dietary principles, arguing that whatever was done for the sake of health was exempt from the prohibition against pagan practices.

Abayye is recognized as the first authority to distinguish between the unembellished meaning of a verse of scripture and its interpretation (B. Ḥullin 133a). He learned Palestinian biblical interpretations from Dimi, whom he frequently asked to explain how a verse was interpreted in the "west," that is, the Land of Israel.

Abayye Kashisha Babylonian amora of the third century C.E.; designated Kashisha (the Elder) to distinguish him from the later, better-known amora Abayye. Abayye Kashisha is known for his statement comparing controversy to the planks on a bridge, which become fixed in place through constant treading (B. Sanhedrin 7a).

Abba **1.** (Aram., father) Some assert that "Abba" is unique to Jesus and displays a special intimacy (i.e., daddy), but neither claim is supported by textual and philological evidence. Of the three early occurrences of the Aramaic term in the Gospels and Epistles, one (Mark 14:36) is otherwise unattested and plausibly redactional rather than authentic to Jesus, and the others (Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15) are liturgical cries suggesting heirs of the Spirit, not little children in relation to their father. The "father" (Gr.: *ho patēr*) in Matthew 23:9 may indicate the Aramaic title as found in rabbinic sources (e.g., Abba Saul). *See also* FATHER, GOD AS.

2. amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. A disciple of Ḥuna and Judah, he settled in Palestine, living first in Caesaria and then in Tiberias. He frequently revisited Babylonia, transmitting Babylonian teachings in the Land of Israel and vice versa. Abba is referred to in Babylonian academies as "our teacher in the land of Israel" (B. Sanhedrin 17b).

Abba Arikha (d. 247 C.E.) Babylonian amora; designated "the tall" on account of his height, but generally known simply as Rab. Abba Arikha followed Ḥiyya, his uncle, to Palestine, where he studied with Judah the Patriarch; later, he founded the academy at Sura, in Babylonia. Several talmudic passages indicate that he is accounted as a Tannaitic authority, such that he can dispute opinions stated in the Mishnah (see B. Ketubot 8a). His name appears in the Tosefta (Besah 1:7), where he is referred to as Rabbi Abba.

Abba Arikha's importance is signified by his designation as Rab, which reflects his status as "the teacher [*rab*] of the entire diaspora" (B. Besah 9a). In addition to his distinguished family, which traced its origins to Shimei, brother of King David (B. Sanhedrin 5a), and alongside his position in his uncle Ḥiyya's household, Abba Arikha frequented the house of Judah the Patriarch (B. Berakhot 46b) and was a member of Judah's academy (see B.

Ḥullin 137b) and court (B. Gittin 59a). Judah himself granted Abba Arikha rabbinic ordination.

Rab is generally credited with establishing the characteristic literary style and interests of the Babylonian Talmud, its focus upon the Mishnah as a foundational text, its use of supplemental Tannaitic teachings, and its concern for the theoretical explanations and practical applications of the law. Rab's disputes with Samuel, who brought high repute to the academy at Nehardea, form the backbone of numerous talmudic passages. Additionally, Rab's numerous disciples, many of them also students of Samuel, amplified his teachings and ensured that his thinking would be a central component of all talmudic law.

Alongside his legal statements, Abba Arikha is responsible for a vast array of exegetical and homiletical sayings, preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud and in the midrashic compilations of the Land of Israel. In his public discourses he spoke of the importance of study and of the value to humans of ritual observance, which he saw as improving people's morals. Through such exhortations and, in particular, through his legal study, Abba Arikha raised the status of the Babylonian community and its academies to a leading position within Jewry. He was mourned by the entire Babylonian community and, understanding him to have a special power, people took dirt from his grave for medicinal purposes (B. Sanhedrin 47b).

Abba b. Abba rabbinic authority of the early third century C.E., at the nexus of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods; always referred to in the Babylonian Talmud after his famous son, as "Samuel's father." A native of Nehardea, he spent time in the Land of Israel, where he studied in the academy of Judah the Patriarch. Upon his return to Babylonia, he was a colleague of Levi b. Sisi, with whom he reportedly experienced a revelation in the synagogue at Nehardea (B. Megillah 29a).

Abba b. Ḥana *see* RABBAH B. ḤUNA

Abba b. Ḥiyya b. Abba Palestinian amora of the early fourth century C.E.; the son of Ḥiyya b. Abba. He transmitted sayings of Yoḥanan that he had learned from his father, who had been Yoḥanan's student (Y. Sotah 9:16, 24c; B. Ḥullin 86b).

Abba b. Ḥuna *see* RABBAH B. ḤUNA

Abba b. Kahana Palestinian amora of the late third century C.E. A student of Rab, best known for his interpretations of scripture, he indicates the relationships between biblical personalities (e.g., Dina as the wife of Job; Gen. Rabbah 19:12), identifies geographical sites (e.g., at B. Kiddushin 72a), and embellishes biblical narratives with stories and tales. His teachings often reflect contemporary hardships (e.g., Lev. Rabbah 15:9, referring to heavy taxation), and he speaks with expectation of the coming of the Messiah (Lam. Rabbah 1:41).

Abba b. Memel Palestinian amora of the late third century C.E., active in the circle of Ammi at Tiberias. Reputed as a legal authority, he argued for severe limitations on the use of verbal analogies in scripture as a foundation for deciding the law (Y. Pesaḥim 6:1, 33a).

Abba b. Ulla Babylonian amora active in the fourth century C.E.; often referred to as Raba Ulla. He is cited in legal contexts in conjunction with Ulla (B. Yebamot 77a), Raba b. Joseph b. Ḥama (B. Erubin 21b), and Pappa (B. Ḥullin 91a).

Abba b. Zabdai Palestinian amora of the third century C.E. He studied in Babylonia under Rab and Ḥuna, and then settled in Tiberias, where he was a colleague of Ammi and Assi. The Talmud reports that he prayed in a loud voice (Y. Berakhot 4:1, 7a).

Abba Eleazer b. Gamla Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch in the late second and early third centuries C.E.

Abba Ḥalafta *see* ḤALAFTA

Abba Ḥanin Tannaitic authority active in the mid-second century C.E., sometimes cited as Abba Ḥanan. He was active in the circle of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, whose teachings he transmits in all of his preserved statements. Abba Ḥanin's name appears exclusively in the legal midrashic compilations.

Abbahu Palestinian amora of the late third century C.E. He studied under Yoḥanan, Simeon b. Lakish, and Eleazar b. Pedat and ultimately became head of the academy at Caesaria. Abbahu knew Greek and was influential with the Roman government (see B. Ḥagigah 14a, which refers to the favor Abbahu brought his people in the court of Caesar). Among his prominent students were Jeremiah, Jonah, and Yose. He had two sons, Zeira and Ḥanina.

Abbahu is recalled as wise, handsome, and wealthy (B. Baba Metzia 84a). In light of his knowledge of Greek and his secular learning, he was influential with the proconsular government (B. Ketubot 17a). At the same time, he was known for his modesty, which, following his ordination, led him to decline appointment as head of the academy in favor of Abba of Akko, who was in debt and who Abbahu felt needed the position more (B. Sotah 40a). He lived by his understanding that it is better to be one of the persecuted than a persecutor (B. Baba Kamma 93a) and that the

world endures on account of those who abase themselves (Y. Berakhot 5:1, 8d).

Abbahu was a distinguished haggadist who engaged in disputes with both Christians and sectarians of his day. Regarding Christianity, he said, "If a man should tell you, 'I am God,' he is a liar; [if he says,] 'I am the son of man,' he will regret it; [if he says,] 'I shall go up to heaven,' he said it, but he cannot do it" (Y. Taanit 2:1, 65b). Similarly, Abbahu ostracized the Samaritan priests in his town, explaining that, unlike their ancestors, whom prior generations of Jews had treated as Jewish, this generation of priests followed corrupt practices (Y. Abodah Zarah 5:4, 44d).

Abba Issi *see* ABBA YOSE B. ḤANIN

Abba Joseph *see* ABBA YOSE B. ḤANIN

Abba of Akko Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E., known for his modesty. At B. Sotah 40a, Abbahu reports that Abba of Akko was so humble that he did not even take exception when, after he said one thing, the amora who repeated his teaching for the students stated a different position. No legal statements are preserved in Abba of Akko's name.

Abba Saul Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E., possibly a student of Akiba, whom he quotes several times. He appears in dispute with Judah b. Ilai and Meir. He reports that his occupation was as an undertaker (B. Niddah 24b; see also T. Niddah 8:7). By contrast, Abin b. Aḥa reports in Isaac's name that Abba Saul was a baker in the house of Judah the Patriarch (B. Pesaḥim 34a).

Abba Saul b. Batnit Tannaitic authority active in the late first and early second centuries C.E. A Jerusalem shopkeeper reputed for his honesty, he would fill measuring vessels with oil and wine, to be picked up on a festival (M. Besah 3:8). He once brought as a gift to the Temple 300 jars of oil, accumulated from drops left in measuring vessels, to which he believed he had no right (T. Besah 3:8). T. Menaḥot 13:21 reports a diatribe that he and Abba Yose b. Ḥanin recited against the conduct of the priesthood in the last years of the Second Temple.

Abba Yose b. Dostai Tannaitic authority active in the mid-second century C.E. He does not appear in the Mishnah, but is found in the Tosefta, as a tradent (transmitter of statements) for Eliezer and Yose the Galilean. In Sifre Numbers 42, Judah the Patriarch cites in his name homilies reconciling conflicting biblical passages.

Abba Yose b. Ḥanan *see* ABBA YOSE B. ḤANIN

Abba Yose b. Ḥanin Tannaitic authority active in the second half of the first century C.E. He describes the location and number of the gates of the Temple court (M. Middot 2:6) and details the order of the Temple service (T. Sukkot 4:15). In conjunction with Abba Saul b. Batnit, he also speaks against the high priests of the final years of the Second Temple (T. Menaḥot 13:21). His name alternatively occurs as Abba Joseph, Abba Issi, Abba Yose b. Ḥanan, and Abba Yose b. Yoḥanan.

Abba Yose b. Yoḥanan *see* ABBA YOSE B. ḤANIN

ab beit din (Heb., father of the court) in the Talmudic period, the vice president of the rabbinic court. The office is first referred to at M. Ḥagigah 2:2, where it is explained that, of the individuals listed as "pairs" (*zugot*) at M. Abot 1:1–15, the first person listed was the president of the court and the second listed was the "father." Talmudic tradition, followed by some contemporary scholars, asserts that the institution is ancient. The Talmud explains that while the biblical Saul was the president of the court, his son, Jonathan, served as the "father."

The rabbinic literature enumerates the duties of the *ab beit din,* specifies the method of appointment (this was to be done orally), and notes limitations on his authority (he could not render judgment in the presence of the president of the court). In the gaonic period, the title of *ab beit din* designated the deputy to the gaon of the academy.

Abdimi *see* DIMI

Abel second son of Adam and Eve who was murdered by his brother, Cain, because God had accepted Abel's sacrifice but not Cain's (Gen. 4:1–16). Tradition sees Abel as a prototype of the martyred righteous one. In his vision of the mountain of the dead, Enoch sees the spirit of Abel pleading for vengeance on the descendants of Cain (1 Enoch 22:5–7). The scene plays on Genesis 4:10, with the spirit corresponding to the *nefesh* (soul, or life) that resides in Abel's blood (cf. Gen. 9:4). According to the Testament of Abraham 12–13 (A), Abel is enthroned as the heavenly judge of all humanity. The role builds on the image of Abel as avenger, nuancing it with the notion that the persecuted and murdered righteous one will judge his enemies (cf. Wisd. of Sol. 5:1–2). Perhaps also related to Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5 is the version of the Genesis 4 story in Targum Neofiti Genesis 4:7–8, where the quarrel between Cain and Abel involves a dispute about the reality of retribution after death. In the New Testament, typical of its contrast between the old and the new covenants, the Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes that Jesus' efficacious blood speaks more graciously than the avenging cry of Abel's blood (Heb. 12:24).

Abel-Main site in Upper Galilee to be identified with biblical Abel-Beth-Maacah, present Tell Abil, 7 kilometers west-northwest of Tell Dan; also known as Abel-Maim. In 1 Enoch 13:9 the fallen watchers sit there mourning their fate. The 1 Enoch text plays on the double meaning of *abel* (Heb., meadow; Heb. and Aram., to mourn), identifying Abel-Maim (literally, "the meadow of waters") as the place whose waters are the watchers' tears. Abel-Main is mentioned in a Qumran Aramaic fragment of a related text, Testament of Levi 2:3, where the Greek translation has corrupted the name to Abel Maoul.

Abgar V (4 B.C.–50 C.E.) king of Edessa. Eusebius claims that Abgar exchanged letters with Jesus in which he requested that Jesus travel to Edessa in order to cure him of a disease. Jesus responded that his mission was limited to Palestine but that he would send an apostle to heal the king. Eusebius continues that after the Ascension, the apostle Thaddaeus traveled to Edessa, healed the king, and evangelized the kingdom. Some scholars claim that Abgar V allied with Gotarzes, a member of the Parthian nobility, against the Jews in Nisibis and that this led Eusebius to assume that he was Christian. Others claim that Eusebius has confused Abgar V with Abgar IX (179–216 C.E.), who did convert to Christianity.

Abidarna identified in the Babylonian Talmud, Abodah Zarah 64b–65a, as Rab Judah's gentile friend. Although Jews were forbidden from interacting with Gentiles on the latter's holy days, Judah sent Abidarna a gift on the day of a gentile festival, claiming that Abidarna did not worship idols. This indicates the flexibility of Jewish law.

Abimelech character in the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah who is identical with Ebed-Melech, the Ethiopian eunuch who befriended Jeremiah (Jer. 38:7–13, 39:15–18; cf. Par. Jer. 3:12–13). In the apocryphal story, Jeremiah gives him special consideration for his kindnesses, and he functions as a bridging character in the narrative, which spans sixty-six years.

Abimi (contraction of Abba Immi) **1.** Babylonian scholar of the third century C.E., always referred to without his father's name

2. Babylonian amora of the fourth century C.E., a student of Rabbah b. Nahmani. In the Jerusalem Talmud, he is called Abimi, brother of Hefa; in the Babylonian Talmud, he is Abimi b. Rahba.

Abin **1.** Palestinian amora of the third century C.E., a student of Rab, referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as Rabin Saba

2. younger contemporary of the above-mentioned authority, referred to in the Palestinian Talmud as a colleague of Measha, Jeremiah, Isaac Nappaha, and Hanina b. Pappa

3. frequently cited Palestinian authority of the late fourth century C.E., possibly the son of the first Abin described above, who was a student of Jeremiah, traveled often to Babylonia, and is referred to in both Talmuds

Abina II b. Huna *see* RABINA II B. HUNA

abodah *see* SERVICE

Abodah Zarah (Heb., alien form of divine worship) Mishnah tractate devoted to idolatry. The tractate supplies rules and regulations to carry out the fundamental scriptural commandments about the destruction of idols and all things having to do with idolatry, with special reference to commercial relationships, matters pertaining to idols, and the prohibition of wine of which part has served as a libation to an idol. Anything a Gentile is not likely to use for the worship of an idol is not prohibited. Anything that may serve not as part of idolatry but as an appurtenance thereto is prohibited for Israelite use but permitted for Israelite commerce. Anything that serves for idolatry is prohibited for use and for benefit. Certain further assumptions about Gentiles, not pertinent specifically to idolatry, are expressed. There are three parts to the tractate: (1) commercial relationships with Gentiles (1:1–2:7); (2) idols (3:1–4:7); and (3) libation wine (4:8–5:12). Gentiles are assumed routinely to practice bestiality, bloodshed, and fornication, without limit or restriction. Jews may not sell to Gentiles bears, lions, or anything else that is a public danger. Jews may not help Gentiles build a basilica, scaffold, stadium, or judges' tribunal. Jews may not make ornaments for an idol, sell produce that is not yet harvested to Gentiles, or sell land in the Holy Land to Gentiles. Jews may not leave cattle in Gentiles' inns, because Gentiles are suspect in regard to bestiality. The following items belonging to Gentiles are prohibited, and the prohibition extends to deriving any benefit from them at all: wine, vinegar, earthenware that absorbs wine, and hides pierced at the heart. Both Talmuds address this tractate.

abomination (Heb.: *sheketz, shikutz, shakatz*; Gr.: *bdelyssomai, bdelygma*) sacrilege, something abominable or detestable to YHWH, and hence to Israelites. The term has cultic connotations and applies to idols and unclean foods and to one's condition through association with these. A specific and notorious example was the Abomination of Desolation or Desolating Sacrilege that Antiochus IV installed in the Jerusalem Temple.

Abomination of Desolation objects that desecrated the Jerusalem Temple in 167 B.C.E. The Hebrew phrase *shikutz meshomem* (Dan. 11:31, 12:11) is also translated as "abomination which makes desolate" (NRSV) or "appalling abomination" (JPS); in Greek, it is *bdelygma eremoseos,* translated as "desolating sacrilege" (1 Macc. 1:54; cf. 2 Macc. 6:2). In Hebrew, "abomination" is often used in reference to an idol (1 Kings 11:5; Jer. 4:1); in this case, the Near Eastern chief sky-god, Baal, is probably meant. "Abomination" is a pun on Baal's most common epithet, *shamayim* (of the heavens). Abomination of Desolation refers to the cult objects placed in the Jerusalem Temple by order of Antiochus Epiphanes IV in 167 B.C.E., during the Maccabean persecution. The abomination was probably an altar to Baal or upright stones placed on the altar (*massebot*), symbolizing Baal, his consort, and their offspring. The removal of these cult objects and purification of the Temple in 164 B.C.E. is celebrated by the Feast of Hanukkah.

abortion *see* FETUS

Abot (Heb., The Fathers) tractate of five chapters containing sayings attributed to sages, attached to the Mishnah; probably compiled around 250 C.E. The tractate begins: "Moses received Torah at Sinai and handed it on to Joshua, Joshua to elders, and elders to prophets. And prophets handed it on to the men of the great assembly" (1:1). Chapter 1 sets out the chain of tradition from Sinai to the major authorities who form the earliest layer of sages in the Mishnah, thus claiming that the Mishnah sets forth the oral tradition that began in God's revelation to Moses at Sinai. Five pairs of authorities, ending with Hillel and Shammai, link the Mishnah to Sinai. Chapter 2 carries the chain of tradition in two directions: first, to the house of the patriarch, via Judah the Patriarch (c. 200 C.E.) and his sons, Gamaliel and Hillel; second, to the sages, via Yohanan ben Zakkai and his five disciples. Chapters 3 and 4 present sayings attributed to second-century authorities. The most famous sayings are attributed to Hillel: "If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?" (Abot 1:14). Other important sayings appear in chapter 2, as follows:

> Rabbi says: What is the straight path which a person should choose for himself? Whatever is an ornament to the one who follows it, and an ornament in the view of others. Be meticulous in a small religious duty as in a large one, for you do not know what sort of reward is coming for any of the various religious duties. And reckon with the loss [required] in carrying out a religious duty against the reward for doing it; and the reward for committing a transgression against the loss for doing it. And keep your eye on three things, so you will not come into the clutches of transgression. Know what is above you. An eye which sees, and an ear which hears, and all your actions are written down in a book (2:1).
>
> Rabban Gamaliel, a son of Rabbi Judah the Patriarch, says: Fitting is learning in the Torah along with a craft, for the labor put into the two of them makes one forget sin. And all learning of the Torah which is not joined with labor is destined to be null and causes sin. And all who work with the community—let them work with them [the community] for the sake of Heaven. For the merit of the fathers strengthens them, and the righteousness which they do stands forever. And, as for you, I credit you with a great reward, as if you had done [all the work required by the community] (2:2).
>
> Be wary of the government, for they get friendly with a person only for their own convenience. They look like friends when it is to their benefit, but they do not stand by a person when he is in need (2:3).
>
> He would say: Make his wishes into your own wishes, so that He will make your wishes into his wishes. Put aside your wishes on account of his wishes, so that He will put aside the wishes of other people in favor of your wishes. Hillel says: Do not walk out on the community. And do not have confidence in yourself until the day you die. And do not judge your companion until you are in his place. And do not say anything which cannot be heard, for in the end it will be heard. And do not say: When I have time, I shall study, for you may never have time (2:4).
>
> He would say: A coarse person will never fear sin, nor will an am ha-Aretz ever be pious, nor will a shy person learn, nor will an ignorant person teach, nor will anyone too occupied in business get wise. In a place where there are no individuals, try to be an individual (2:5).
>
> Also, he saw a skull floating on the water and said to it [in Aramaic]: Because you drowned others, they drowned you, and in the end those who drowned you will be drowned (2:6).

Abot deRabbi Natan *see* FATHERS ACCORDING TO RABBI NATHAN, THE

Abr. *see* DE ABRAHAMO

Abraham Israel's patriarch, whose name was changed from Abram in Genesis 17:5. The events recounted in Genesis 11–25 provide the basis for a rich and innovative tradition in Judaism and Christianity. Although the Bible is silent about the circumstances of Abram's departure from Mesopotamia, a major stream of the tradition identifies his rejection of idolatry as the reason for his election. According to Jubilees 10–12, the young Abraham came to understand the folly of idolatry and the uselessness of astrological prognostication. The name Ur (Gen. 11:31), interpreted as "fire," plays an important role here and in related texts. Abram flees from Ur after burning an idolatrous temple in which his family served as priests (Jub. 12:12–14). The Apocalypse of Abraham elaborates: Abraham mocks the stupidity of his father Terah, an idol maker and priest, and searches for the true God, who sends him out of his father's house before it is struck by a lightning bolt (Apoc. Abr. 1–8). Abraham's search leads God to call him "beloved" (9:1–6; cf. Isa. 41:8) and provide the epiphany in Genesis 15 (Apoc. Abr. 10–32). In the Book of Biblical Antiquities 6, Abraham is thrown into a fiery furnace because he refuses to help build the Tower of Babel, and God rescues him from the fire (cf. Dan. 3). These stories interpret Abram's faith as knowledge of God that leads to trusting action, rather than as trust in God's promise of progeny (Gen. 15:1–6). The interpretation of Abram's conversion from idolatry is suggested already in Joshua 24:2, but his status as prototypical convert may have developed in gentile contexts among Jews seeking to make converts. The stories about Abram's rejection of idolatry and astrology also appear in Josephus (*Ant.* 1.7.1:154–156), Philo (*On Migr. Abr.* 176–186), and rabbinic tradition (Gen. Rabbah 38:13). A related countermotif makes Abraham the discoverer of astronomy (Pseudo-Eupolemos in Eusebius, *Prep. Gos.* 9.17, 6–8; cf. Gen. 15:5). In the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon 20:28–29, his skill extends to exorcistic healing.

Although the Bible ties Abraham's faith explicitly to the promise of progeny, Jubilees 17:15–19:9 finds it epitomized in the sacrifice of Isaac and generalizes it as faithful endurance through a series of ten trials. The tradition interpreting the *akedah* as an act of faithful obedience recurs in Ecclesiasticus 44:20 and 1 Maccabees 2:52. The Testament of Abraham, however, parodies the traditional Abraham; the patriarch refuses God's command to "Go forth" from this life (Test. Abr. 1 [A], cf. Gen. 12:1) and displays a self-righteousness that is the dark side of his celebrated righteousness (Test. Abr. 10 [A], cf. Gen. 15:6).

Abraham's status as Israel's patriarch of Israel is essential in the Apocalypse of Abraham 9–32, which explores the disparity between Israel's status as heir of the Abrahamic covenant and its situation after the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. also LAB 9:3, 18:5). Following late biblical and postbiblical notions that "the chosen" are the faithful of Israel, 4 Maccabees 15–18 emphasizes the martyrs' obedience as evidence of their status as Abraham's children.

Christian interpretations emphasize Abraham's faith and his role as patriarch, but often invert the notions and depict him as the forebear of believers in Christ, which means, in fact, primarily Gentiles. Paul's revolutionary exegesis is most prominent in this respect. Galatians 3 interprets the promise of offspring (Gen. 15:1–6) with reference to Christ rather than Isaac, and Abraham's blessing on the Gentiles (Gen. 12:3) occurs when they share Abraham's faith in that promise (Gen. 15:6). Romans 4 interprets Genesis 17:5 to refer to Abraham's status as patriarch of Jews and Gentiles. Genesis 15:6 is a key passage for Paul, who states that Abraham's faith in the promise of offspring was a faith in the resurrection, by definition, the resurrection of Christ (Rom. 4:16–25). Especially striking is Paul's use of Abraham's faith in an argument against the requirement for gentile circumcision (Gal. 3; Rom. 3–4). Justification by faith (Gen. 15:6) is opposed to justification by the deeds of the law (especially circumcision). Abraham believed and was justified before his circumcision; that is, Genesis 15 precedes Genesis 17. Paul's exegetical irony is particularly evident in Galatians 4:21–31; Christians are the children of Sarah the free woman, while unbelieving Jews are children of Hagar the slave. These innovations notwithstanding, Paul's matter-of-fact use of the Abraham tradition in an epistle to the gentile Galatians may indicate that his missionary preaching had employed other traditions about Abraham the convert (cf. Rom. 4:5; 1 Thess. 1:9).

Matthew 8:11–12 and Luke 13:28–29 attest an inversion of Jewish Abraham traditions similar to Paul's; the Gentiles rather than "the sons of the kingdom" will share the eschatological banquet with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. A saying attributed to John the Baptist strikes a similar motif (Matt. 3:8–9; Luke 3:8–9) but is also reminiscent of 4 Maccabees: Abraham's true children are those who repent in the face of the coming judgment.

Other New Testament texts indicate closer consonance with some Jewish traditions. In Hebrews 11,

faith in general, and Abraham's faith in particular, involve obedient trust that is realized in daring actions, for example, the *akedah* (Heb. 11:17). For James faith that does not issue in deeds does not justify, and Abraham was justified because his faith was complemented by his action in sacrificing Isaac (James 2:23–24). *See also* ABRAM; AKEDAH.

Abraham, Apocalypse of extensive first person account of Abraham's break with idolatry in Chaldea, his ascent to God's throne, and his vision of Israel's future. Like the Book of Daniel, the Apocalypse divides into two major sections (chaps. 1–8, 9–32), the first in narrative form, and the second with features similar to the apocalyptic visions in 1 Enoch 12–16 and 17–33. References to the destruction of Jerusalem and similarities to 2 Baruch and 2 Esdras indicate a date of composition in the decades after 70 C.E. The Apocalypse is preserved in the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century manuscripts of a Slavonic version that stems from an original composed probably in Hebrew.

According to chapters 1–8, Abraham's father Terah is a maker of idols. Abraham recognizes that the idols cannot be gods, chides his father for his folly, and searches for the true God. God responds to Abraham's prayer by calling him out of his father's house (cf. Gen. 12:1) before destroying it and the idols with a thunderbolt, an interpretation of the Hebrew *ur* (fire; cf. Gen. 11:31). From start to finish, the story is a piece of biblical interpretation that takes elements in Genesis literally and puts them and other motifs from prophetic polemics against idolatry into narrative form, employing a mocking style that parallels the Letter of Jeremiah and Bel and the Dragon. Similarities in Jubilees 12 indicate that the story of Abraham the convert stems back at least to the end of the third century B.C.E.

Abraham's search for God is rewarded by a vision of the enthroned deity and by his being chosen as Israel's patriarch. The theophany in Genesis 15 provides the setting for his ascent to heaven (Apoc. Abr. 9–20). While many details in the throne vision are reminiscent of Ezekiel 1–2 and 1 Enoch 14, the hymn of the angel Yaoel (Apoc. Abr. 17) parallels similar features in accounts of mystical ascents in the later Merkabah and Hekalot literature. Abraham's vision of the future (chaps. 23–29) emphasizes the disparity between Israel's status as God's chosen people, the descendants promised to Abraham in Genesis 15, and its fate at the hands of the Gentiles in 70 C.E. Differing from contemporary explanations in 2 Baruch and 2 Esdras, the author employs the story of Manasseh to suggest that the first-century Temple cult had reverted to the idolatry that Abraham rejected. When this capitulation to the demon Azazel is renounced, their gentile conquerors will be punished and the nation will achieve the destiny promised to Abraham.

Abraham, Testament of fictitious account of the events leading up to Abraham's death. Its name notwithstanding, this text is not cast in the traditional genre of a testament, but is a narrative about Abraham's refusal to make a testament and, hence, to assent to God's decree that it is time for him to die. Although it is preserved only in manuscripts written by Christian scribes, it appears to be Jewish in origin, composed in Egypt in the first century C.E. The text is extant in two major forms with many parallels in content and wording, but significant differences in the order of events. The so-called Recension A seems to preserve the more original order, but Recension B contains some original wording and narrative elements. The language of composition was probably Greek, and a rich manuscript tradition attests both text-forms in Greek and includes Slavonic, Coptic, Arabic, and Romanian versions of one or the other text form.

Although written in a humorous style, the Testament treats serious topics. Central is Abraham's inability to accept the inevitability of his impending death. In the first half of the narrative (chaps. 1–15), the patriarch employs a series of delaying tactics that force Michael, the messenger of death, to shuttle back and forth to the heavenly throne room for new orders about how to deal with Abraham. In the second, parallel half of the story (chaps. 16–20), God sends personified Death, who tricks the patriarch into surrendering his soul. In the course of this action, Michael takes Abraham on a chariot ride across the inhabited world, during which Abraham repeatedly calls down death on a variety of sinners. As the epitome of a righteous person, he cannot understand the deeds of sinners. In order to deal with the self-righteous dark side of the patriarch's celebrated virtue, God orders the chariot up to heaven to view the judgment process. Abraham now finds himself interceding for a person who is in risk of damnation; inadvertently, he has learned about the mercy of the God who does not want sinners to perish.

The Testament of Abraham is a remarkable piece of didactic literature that makes its point through parody. The traditionally obedient Abraham refuses to "go forth" from this life (chap. 1; cf. Gen. 12:1), and his haggling with God is thoroughly self-centered (contrast Gen. 18). His intolerance of the sins of others, which serves as a warning against the

excesses that the New Testament attributes to the Pharisees (Luke 18:9–14), is noteworthy in a document that is most likely Jewish in origin.

The judgment scene in chapters 11–13 employs features found in a number of apocalyptic texts (two angelic witnesses, books of deeds, and enthroned judge), but also contains unique features, notably Abel's role as judge and a graphic portrayal of the souls of the righteous and the wicked being taken along the two ways toward eternal life and eternal destruction. Remarkable is the author's use of motifs attested in the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The tradition of Abraham's refusal to accept death recurs with reference to Moses in the midrashim (Sifrei Deut. 305; Deut. Rabbah 11:5, 10; cf. Test. Abr. 7:12, 9:3–6).

Abraham's bosom place of repose and honor at the banquet table in heaven or paradise (Luke 16:22). In the view of some, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were already enjoying the heavenly banquet (4 Macc. 13:17; Matt. 8:11). Association with Abraham is granted Lazarus in compensation for his wretched life, and it designates him an Israelite in contrast to the rich man who suffers in Hades for not caring for the poor.

Abram (Heb., exalted father) name of Israel's patriarch according to Genesis 11:27–17:4. His name is changed to Abraham in Genesis 17:5 in connection with the promise that Abraham would be "father of a multitude" (Heb.: *ab-hamon*). The distinction is maintained in the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Biblical Antiquities.

Abtalion prerabbinic sage of the first century B.C.E.; in the chain of tradition at M. Abot 1:1–18, listed along with Shemayah as a pair, directly preceding Hillel and Shammai. He is quoted as saying: "Sages: watch what you say, lest you become liable to the punishment of exile, and go into exile to a place of bad water, and disciples who follow you drink [bad water] and die, and the name of heaven be thereby profaned" (M. Abot 1:11). Within the later talmudic literature, the story of his life and teachings is considerably developed.

Abudimi *see* DIMI

Abul Fath fourteenth-century C.E. author of one of the Samaritan Chronicles, also known as Chronicle 6, which drew on a number of earlier works, such as the Samaritan Book of Joshua and lists of priests similar to those in the Tolidah and the Adler Chronicle. It is written in Arabic in narrative form.

Abun *see* ABIN

Abunah deShmuel *see* ABBA B. ABBA

Abydenus Greek author of *On Assyrian History*, a work quoted by Eusebius but otherwise unknown. He mentions a flood with some resemblances to the Babylonian version, though Eusebius connects it with the biblical Flood. Abydenus also mentions a story similar to that of the Tower of Babel of Genesis.

abyss (Gr.: *abyssos*; Heb.: *tehom*) originally, the bottomless watery deep on which the dry land is set. In this sense it carries with it the fearful and chaotic connotations of the related word "sea" (Gen. 1:2; Jon. 2:5). Later it also denotes the deep fiery chasm into which the rebel angels are cast (1 Enoch 10:13, 21:7). In the Book of Revelation the abyss is the pit of hell into which Satan is hurled (20:1), the lake of fire where all the wicked are punished (20:14); it is presided over by the angel of destruction, Abaddon (9:11).

academies in Palestine and Babylonia *see* SCHOOL

Academy on High rabbinic school in heaven where sages and other righteous persons attend after dying. It is a mirror image or projection of the rabbinic academy on earth. The sages who went there for their eternal reward continued to study and to debate the fine points of rabbinic law. God himself participated in the discussion, presented novel interpretations, made reference to rabbinic teachings, and taught the Torah to others. Rabbis took their positions according to rank and sat in an eternal semicircle. Exceptional Babylonian masters who merited it occasionally communicated with the members of the Academy on High. At the Kol Nidrei service on the Day of Atonement, worshipers in synagogues call on the authority of this Academy on High to sanction their prayers.

Acco, archaeological survey of an underwater archaeological survey of the ancient port city of Acco in the Bay of Acco and north of modern Haifa. It appears that the first construction of the southern breakwater of the ancient port is to be ascribed to the Persian period, more specifically to about 500 B.C.E. This breakwater was about 330 meters long and 12 meters wide and protected by 25 acres of water to its north. The breakwater served both as a pier and as a quay. The small island and structure that can still be seen in the harbor today, called the Tower of the Flies, probably dates to the Hellenistic period. It is about 60 meters long and about 18 meters wide. It appears to have served as a free port for foreign trading vessels similar to the island found in the port north of ancient Sidon. In the Roman period there is evidence that the breakwater was raised about 1.5 meters by the addition of huge stones laid across it.

Waves swept between the stones and flushed the bottom of the bay back to the sea. The large amounts of first-century C.E. pottery found during dredging of the port in 1983 suggests a first-century date for this renovation of the harbor. On coins of Acco from the second century C.E., a monumental, arched pier appears in the harbor scene, which implies that the Roman pier was already a monument. It may be that the emperor Claudius or Nero contributed to the harbor's repair. No further constructions or additions to the port were made until the ninth century C.E. *See also* ACRE.

accused wife (Heb.: *sotah*) wife accused of adultery, who is subjected to the ordeal described in Numbers 5. *See also* SOTAH (*Mishnah tractate*).

Achaemenids dynastic line of the kings of Persia from Cyrus (r. 559–530 B.C.E.) through Darius III (r. 336–330 B.C.E.). Also included in the line are Cambyses (r. 530–522 B.C.E.), Darius I (r. 522–486 B.C.E.), Xerxes I (r. 486–465 B.C.E.), Artaxerxes I (r. 465–424 B.C.E.), Xerxes II (r. 424–423 B.C.E.), Darius II (r. 423–404 B.C.E.), Artaxerxes II (r. 404–359 B.C.E.), Artaxerxes III (r. 359–338 B.C.E.), and Arses (r. 338–336 B.C.E.).

Achaeus Roman judge in Palestine under Gallienus in the mid-third century C.E. According to Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.15.3), Achaeus ordered the execution of Marinus, a Roman soldier due military honors who refused to abandon his Christian beliefs and sacrifice to the emperors.

Achior Ammonite leader in the Book of Judith. His advice against attacking Bethulia and his accompanying summary of Jewish history from Abraham until the Babylonian exile (Jdt. 5) prompt Holofernes to exile him from the enemy camp. When Judith displays to him the head of Holofernes, Achior faints. Reviving, he praises Judith, expresses belief in Israel's God, is circumcised, and joins the covenant community (contrast Deut. 23:3, which forbids Ammonite conversions).

Acilius Glabrio *see* GLABRIO, MANIUS ACILIUS

acquisition of property (Heb.: *kinyan*) all acts through which a person voluntarily acquires proprietary or contractual rights. The term *kinyan* applies to acquisition of that which is ownerless or lost (when the owner has abandoned hope of recovery); acquisition through sale or gift; and acquisition of personal rights, such as debts or contracts, including hiring of workers. As in other types of acquisition, these latter, contractual rights entail one individual's conveying of a right to another, in order to be appropriately encompassed by the general rules for acquisition.

Acquisition of what is ownerless or lost requires proof that the individual acquiring the property possesses it and intends to use it. In the case of a sale, gift, or contract, by contrast, to be effective, the act of acquisition must additionally encompass proof that the seller intended to complete the transaction. In these cases, the individual acquiring title performs a symbolic act, known as *kinyan,* which represents the taking of possession, and the seller orally or otherwise expresses approval. The symbolic act representing transfer of ownership provides physical evidence of the transfer and demarcates the actual moment at which the transfer took place. This precludes later disputes regarding who owned the property at a particular moment.

Three methods of acquisition apply to movables: (1) the placement of the property to be acquired within the acquirer's courtyard (*kinyan ḥatzer*), where it is under his possession and control; (2) placement of the property within 4 cubits of the acquirer, again, so that he has control over it; and (3) lifting (*hagbahah*), pulling (*meshikhah*), or physical transfer (*mesirah*) of the property. As noted above, in the case of a purchase or gift, the transfer of property is effective only when accompanied by the expressed assent of the seller or donor. Immovable property is acquired by an act through which the acquirer indicates that he has possession, for example, through the construction of a fence or some other act of improvement, such as weeding, hoeing, or setting out a place to sleep (B. Kiddushin 26a, 53b, and 54a).

The seller's or donor's agreement to the transfer, and hence the completion of the transaction, frequently is represented by an exchange of an article of property between the two. Usually a kerchief owned by the buyer is pulled away from him by the seller, who may then return it (*kinyan sudar; kinyan ḥalifin*). This symbol of purchase is first explicitly mentioned in the Talmud (B. Baba Metzia 47a), in a dispute regarding whether the object to be pulled should be owned by the buyer or seller. In time, *kinyan sudar* became so commonplace as to represent the preeminent mode of acquisition. It often is denoted by the unqualified term *kinyan.*

By the end of the Tannaitic period, payment of the agreed-upon purchase price alone was not deemed in itself to effect purchase. While payment was understood to be a necessary condition of purchase, final acquisition needed to be indicated by one of the above-mentioned methods, which physically represented the transfer of the property and thus precluded disputes regarding the point at which ownership changed hands.

Acre (also known as Acco) coastal city in northern Israel, 14 miles north of Haifa, at the northern end of the Bay of Haifa. Acre is first mentioned in Egyptian texts dating to c. 1800 B.C.E. The Greeks related the name to *ake* (healing) and associated it with the legend of Heracles. Under Ptolemy II, the city's name was changed to Ptolemais, by which it was known until the Arab conquest.

The city's geographic location made its occupation vital to armies engaged in campaigns in Syria and Palestine. Under Persian rule, it served as a military and naval base in campaigns against Egypt. Under Seleucid control, the city was hostile to Galilean Jews. In 164 B.C.E., Simeon the Hasmonean had to repel attacks from there. Later, the city was held by Antiochus VII Sidetes, under whom it acknowledged only nominal suzerainty to Ptolemaic rulers. In 39 B.C.E. Herod the Great used the city as a base of operations, and, in 67 C.E., Vespasian made the city the center of his operations against the Galilee. Under Nero, Acre became a Roman colony. By this time, its port was overshadowed by Herod Agrippa's new port at Caesaria.

After 70 C.E., Jews reestablished their community there, and the city served as the port of embarkation for rabbis who were traveling to Rome. M. Abodah Zarah 4:3 reports that Gamaliel II visited a bath dedicated to Aphrodite there. Y. Abodah Zarah 1:4 (39d) comments on the volume of fish produced by the city's fisheries. *See also* ACCO, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF.

Acta Alexandrinorum work from the first or second century C.E., known as the Acts of the Alexandrian/Pagan Martyrs. The contents concern Greek citizens condemned and executed by Roman emperors because of their defense of the rights of Alexandria. Because the work is preserved only in fragments, its full character is still unclear; a wholesale attack on the Alexandrians by Roman emperors is not known. However, a few of the episodes relate to the incident of 38 C.E. in which riots broke out over conflicts between Jews and Greeks and each community sent a delegation to Rome.

acts of loving kindness *see* GEMILUT ḤASADIM

Actium, Battle of climactic battle for control of the Roman Empire, fought between Antony and Octavian (the future Caesar Augustus) on September 2, 31 B.C.E. In a land and sea engagement at Actium, on the western coast of Greece, Octavian defeated Antony, who fled to Egypt, where he committed suicide a year later.

A.D. the abbreviation for Anno Domini, "in the year of our Lord [Jesus Christ]." In the Christian calendar, years are counted from the nominal year of Jesus Christ's birth, as established by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century C.E. *See also* C.E.

Adam (in the tradition) Adam and Eve receive extensive treatment in extrabiblical Jewish and early Christian sources. Although all of these sources reflect to some degree material also found in Genesis, many of them also feature traditions not explicitly present there.

The earliest sustained treatment of Adam and Eve outside the Bible appears in the Book of Jubilees (2d c. B.C.E.), in a historical review. Jubilees 2–4 narrates a story similar to that of Genesis, but includes a few new details, focuses on the halakhic implications of the story, and sets the whole within a time frame of "jubilees" (periods of 49 years).

Another text that treats Adam and Eve in the context of a historical review is 2 Enoch (chaps. 30–32). Again, the basic story line is similar to Genesis, but much new material is present: Adam is created from seven components of the world, his name is an acronym of the four directions, and his glory at creation is extolled.

The most extensive extrabiblical treatment of the first couple appears in the Books of Adam and Eve, a series of interrelated literary works. These books describe Adam's and Eve's attempts to repent by standing neck-deep in water, Eve's second deception by Satan, Satan's story of his expulsion from heaven, and Adam's death and elevation to the third heaven.

Both 2 Enoch and the Books of Adam and Eve depict Adam's status before the "fall" in a highly glorified manner. Similar treatments appear in Sirach 49:16, Pseudo-Philo 26:6, Sibylline Oracles 11:154, rabbinic literature, and the Quran (2:35–36).

There are, on the other hand, many traditions that focus on the disastrous consequences for later humanity of Adam's and Eve's act of disobedience. Prime examples are the apocalypses 4 Ezra (3:21, 7:118) and 2 Baruch (23:4, 48:42–43). Other important references to Adam in early Jewish literature include Testament of Abraham (Recension A) 11; Apocalypse of Abraham 23–24; and 3 Baruch 4:8–13.

The most significant references to Adam in early Christian literature appear in the letters of Paul, who portrays Adam as an antitype of Christ (Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:20–22, 45–50). 1 Timothy 2:13–14 cites the Genesis Adam story to justify the submissiveness of women in the church; in Testament of Adam 3:2–4, Adam's final words to Seth

include prophecies about Jesus. Other important notices in early Christian literature include Ascension of Isaiah 9:28; Testament of Simeon 6:5; and Greek Apocalypse of Ezra 7:2. The Apocalypse of Adam, an early Gnostic writing, depicts Adam/Eve as an androgynous being, which, when separated into two, loses its primeval glory and begins to serve the creator God.

Adam receives extensive treatment in rabbinic literature and throughout the medieval Jewish and Christian traditions.

Adam, Apocalypse of Gnostic text of the first centuries C.E. found at Nag Hammadi in Egypt. It claims to be a revelation by Adam to his son Seth to pass on to his descendants. Although the text was previously unknown, there are many parallels with Jewish literature. Many scholars argue that it is an example of Jewish Gnosticism.

Adam and Eve, Books of a broad term for a whole range of narrative traditions about the first parents after their expulsion from the Garden. The two major forms of these narratives are attested in the Apocalypse of Moses, extant in Greek manuscripts from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, and the Life of Adam and Eve, preserved in Latin manuscripts from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. The two forms differ from one another in the events that they include or exclude and in the order of events. Versions in Armenian, Slavonic, and Georgian follow the Greek or the Latin with some variations. There is no scholarly consensus as to which text form is original, when they may have been written, and whether the books in roughly their present literary forms originated in Jewish or Christian circles. Clearly they preserve some pre-Christian Jewish traditions also attested in Christian, later Jewish, and Gnostic literature.

The Apocalypse of Moses is primarily an account of Adam's (especially) and Eve's deaths, their cause and their cure. The framework for the main part of the narrative is the traditional form of the testament (Apoc. Moses 5–42). Different from other exemplars of this genre, Adam and Eve's narrative does not deal with particular vices (or virtues) exemplified in the lives now coming to a conclusion, but with the fact that their deaths are the inevitable consequence of their initial sin and with details of the circumstances that led to that sin. Several episodes not found in Genesis 1–5 emphasize the author's message. Seeking to forestall his death, Adam sends Seth and Eve to the Garden to obtain the oil of mercy from the tree of life (Apoc. Moses 9:3–13:6). Michael prevents them, emphasizing that Adam must die, but also that Adam will obtain the oil at the time of the resurrection of all flesh. Although the testament is really Adam's, the heart of the retrospective narrative is spoken by Eve (Apoc. Moses 15–26), who describes the events recounted in Genesis 3. Satan coopted the serpent, and then in the form of an angel he deceived Eve into committing her sin (cf. 2 Cor. 11:14). As Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden, God shows them mercy by providing them with the seeds necessary to grow food to sustain them and spices for the incense of sacrifice.

The testamentary form, with many of the same motifs, is also central to the Life of Adam and Eve, although Adam rather than Eve is the main narrator. The story begins after the expulsion from the Garden (chaps. 1–22). Adam and Eve are seeking food and decide to express their penitence by submerging themselves in the Tigris River. The detail may indicate an origin in a religious community that practiced ritual ablution. Satan deceives Eve a second time and then explains to Adam the reason for his first temptation (chaps. 12–16). He had been an angel, but when he and his followers refused Michael's command to worship God's image in Adam, they were expelled from heaven (cf. Isa. 14 and Rev. 12:7–9). The temptation was their revenge on Adam. A second major difference from the Apocalypse of Moses (and Genesis) is Adam's two revelations to Seth (Life of Adam and Eve 25–29). According to the first, Adam ascended to the heavenly paradise, where he received the sentence of death. The account parallels ascent narratives like 1 Enoch 14. In the second revelation, Adam transmits to Seth information about future events that he had learned after eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge. This section parallels historical summaries in Jewish apocalypses such as the Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch 93. The emphasis on revelation and Seth as its mediator recur in Gnostic Adam traditions.

Adar sixth month of the Jewish calendar, containing twenty-nine days in ordinary years and thirty days in leap years and corresponding to February 12–March 11 at the earliest and to March 2–30 at the latest. The festival of Purim and four special Sabbaths, Shekalim, Zakor, Parah, and haḤodesh, fall in this month.

Adar Sheni intercalary month, added in leap years to keep the lunar and solar calendars synchronized; *see also* CALENDAR

Adda b. Ahabah Babylonian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a student of Raḇ and teacher to numerous students at Pumbe-

dita. He is known for his piety, and numerous stories relate his ability to move God to action, for example, to avert a drought or to prevent weakened buildings from collapsing. This name also refers to a student of Raba and, later, Pappa, rebuked by the former as portraying "empty-headed stupidity" (B. Taanit 8a).

Addai Christian apostle to the kingdom of Edessa. He is also known as Addaeus, which may be a corruption of Thaddaeus, the person whom Eusebius says converted the king of Edessa to Christianity. Eusebius provides stories about the conversion of Edessa under Abgar V, and these seem to form the basis of the Doctrine of Addai, written about 400 C.E. In the Doctrine, Judas sent Addai, one of the seventy-two disciples, to Edessa to preach the Gospel after Jesus' ascension. Abgar was so amazed by his preaching that he converted. A detailed description of Addai's activities in Edessa appear in which we are told that Emperor Claudius's mother, Protonice, found the cross. We are also told that after his conversion Abgar asked Tiberius to punish the Jews for crucifying Jesus. We are also told that part of the Jewish merchant community in Edessa converted at the same public meeting at which Abgar became a Christian. Addai is followed by Aggai, who was martyred by Manu, Abgar's son. Paulit followed Aggai, but the Doctrine's chronology seems to be flawed at this point, for it claims that Paulit was ordained by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, 190–212 C.E.

Adiabene district in the upper Tigris region; during most of the Hellenistic period, a vassal kingdom within the Parthian Empire. From 36 to 60 C.E., Adiabene was ruled by Izates, the son of Queen Helena. Later it was ruled by King Monobaz, Izates' older brother. Under Izates, Adiabene achieved power and influence within the Parthian Empire. Izates restored a deposed Parthian king, Artabanus II, to his throne, in return for which he was given the territory of Nisbis and its surroundings, which contained substantial Jewish populations. Izates later played a central role in the dynastic struggles within the Parthian Empire that followed the death of Artabanus III. Adiabene is best known for the conversion to Judaism of its rulers, Izates, Queen Helena, and King Monobaz.

Adiabene, Jews of Early in the first century C.E., the Adiabene royal house converted to Judaism. Izates, heir to the throne, had been sent to Charax-Spasinu, on the Persian Gulf, where he would be safe from the envy of his half-brothers. There he was converted to Judaism by a Jewish merchant, Ananias. In the same period, his mother was converted by another merchant, Ḥananiah. Josephus reports that, against the wishes of Helena and Ananias, Izates chose to be circumcised, having been convinced by a Galilean Jew named Eleazar that failure to do so would be a grave offense against the law (Josephus, *Ant.* 20:34; Gen. Rabbah 46:11).

The Adiabenians took great efforts to impress Palestinian Jews with their piety and generosity. King Monobaz II, Izates' brother, had gold handles made for the vessels used in the Temple on the Day of Atonement. His mother, Queen Helena, set a golden candlestick over the door of the sanctuary and made a golden tablet, on which was written the scriptural passage of the accused wife (M. Yoma 3:10). Josephus reports that when Helena visited Jerusalem in 46 C.E., during a famine, she had her attendants bring grain and dried figs from Alexandria and Cyprus to the needy. Izates is reported also to have sent a considerable sum to fight the famine. Talmudic sources state that during this famine, Monobaz used his entire fortune to purchase food for those in need. He responded to criticism by declaring, in part, "My fathers collected treasures below, but I have collected treasures above [that is, in heaven]" (B. Baba Batra 11a). The piety of the royal family also is indicated in reports of Monobaz's installation of a mezuzah even on temporary lodgings (T. Megillah 4:30), and the story that in Lydda, Queen Helena erected a large sukkah, frequented by rabbis (T. Sukkot 1:1).

The Adiabenians took an active part in the Jewish war against Rome in 66–70 C.E. Josephus (*War* 2:520) reports that, among the Jewish ranks, the most distinguished fighters were "Monobaz and Cenedaeus, kinsmen of Monobaz, king of Adiabene." While Parthia did not openly participate in the conflict, it made no effort to prevent the Adiabenian Jews from assisting in the revolt.

By the late second century, Abiadene had become Christian. Since Christianity frequently spread in existing Jewish communities, this may indicate that by this date, the kingdom was largely Jewish.

Adler Chronicle one of the Samaritan Chronicles, also known as Chronicle 7. It is mainly a list of the various Samaritan high priests, along with brief descriptions of events during their time of office, extending from Adam to 1899. Although late in its present form, it seems to have a more antique chronicle behind it. *See also* SAMARITAN CHRONICLES.

admission *see* HODAAH

Admon judge, named at M. Ketubot 13:1–9 as a judge of robbery cases in Jerusalem, alongside Ḥanan b. Abishalom. B. Ketubot 105a names a

third judge, Ḥanan the Egyptian, and gives Admon's father's name as Gadai. The fact that at M. Ketubot 13:9, Yoḥanan b. Zakkai discusses these individuals' decisions suggests that they lived while the Temple stood. Little more is known about them.

Adonai *see* GOD, NAMES OF

adoption the assumption of responsibility for another. Adoption in Esther 2:7 and 2:15 is prompted by the death of the heroine's parents; in the Book of Aḥikar, the title character adopts his sister's son Nadan in order to provide himself an heir (cf. Gen. 15:2–3). One example of adoption appears in the Elephantine papyri. Paul employs adoption (*huiothesia*), sometimes translated as "sonship," to indicate the Christian's present as well as future relationship to God as mediated through Jesus or the Holy Spirit (Gal. 4:5; Rom. 8:15, 23; Eph. 1:5). This metaphorical usage may derive from language concerning the adoption of household slaves and/or from the covenantal adoption of Israel and its kings (cf. Exod. 4:22, 6:7; 2 Sam. 7). *See also* ORPHAN.

adultery in Hellenistic Judaism, intercourse between a married or betrothed woman and any man not her husband, a capital offense (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22–24; Sus.; John 7:53–8:11; see also Prov. 6:26, 32; Ecclus. 23:22–27). In contrast to Exodus 20:13–14 and Deuteronomy 5:17–18 (MT), the Book of Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum) 11:10 lists adultery before murder in its version of the Decalogue (also LXX; Luke 18:20; Rom. 13:9; James 2:11). The plot of Susanna pivots on the heroine's choice of actual adultery with the vile elders or death prompted by their false charge. Psalms of Solomon 8:10 presents widespread adultery among the reasons for Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, and the Vision of Ezra describes the horrendous final judgment of both male and female adulterers (12–18). Metaphorically, adultery indicates the covenant community's infidelity to God (Hos.; Matt. 12:39). Jubilees 39 and the Testament of Joseph comment on Potiphar's wife and her desired adultery with Joseph.

The Gospels extend the definition of adultery from action to intention and proclaim that intercourse with anyone not one's first spouse constitutes adultery (Matt. 5:27–28, 32; Mark 10:11–12; Luke 16:18). In John 7:53–8:11, Jesus forgives a woman caught in the act.

Rabbinic Judaism uses the same definition of adultery as does Hellenistic Judaism. Rabbinic application of the term "adultery" to a betrothed woman reflects the understanding that betrothal is tantamount to marriage and that a betrothed woman requires a writ of divorce if she is to marry a different man. While a man who has intercourse with another man's wife is subject to punishment, his infidelity to his own wife is not in the category of adultery. This is because, in the biblical and talmudic systems, there is no prohibition against polygamy. Only in medieval times was the wife's right to enforce her husband's sexual faithfulness recognized, a function of the formalization of the prohibition against polygamy. The child of an adulterous union is a *mamzer*, excluded from membership in the Israelite people (Deut. 23:2) or from marrying a Jew of untainted lineage (M. Kiddushin 3:12).

The rabbis listed adultery along with idol worship and murder as one of the three acts that a person may not commit even at the cost of his or her own life (B. Sanhedrin 74a). Scripture, for its part, designates adultery a capital crime, for the commission of which the adulterous woman as well as the man must die (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22). Rabbinic law holds that execution for this offense is by strangulation (M. Sanhedrin 11:1, referring to the punishment of the man), which always applies when scripture does not explicitly indicate the means of execution. A priest's daughter who commits adultery is executed by being burned (B. Sanhedrin 66b).

Numbers 5:11–31 describes "the ordeal of the bitter waters," a procedure through which the guilt or innocence of a suspected adulteress was tested. Moved by jealousy, her husband brought her to the tabernacle, where, in an elaborate ritual, a priest administered a potion of water and dust. If she had acted unfaithfully, the water caused bitter pain, swelling, and ultimately death. If she was innocent, it had no impact whatsoever.

Even while detailing the procedure through which the bitter waters were administered, the rabbinic literature profoundly limits the application of this rite. Only if there were witnesses to the woman's actions, if she understood the laws relating to adultery, and if she had been warned regarding her contact with this specific man (M. Sotah 1:1–2) could the ordeal of the bitter waters be carried out. In most cases, in place of this rite, a suspected adulteress is simply to be divorced (M. Sotah 6:1). The rite in all events was nullified by Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, the result of the increase in the number of adulterers in his day (M. Sotah 9:9). In light of the destruction of the Temple, where the needed rite was performed, it could not in any event be carried out.

The rabbis held in the greatest contempt a man who had intercourse with another's wife. No matter what his other virtues, he could not escape Gehenna (B. Sotah 4b). The adulterer was subject to flagellation and was forbidden from marrying a woman with whom there was any suspicion that he had engaged in an adulterous relationship, even after her divorce.

Adversus Judaeos writers phrase adopted since at least the 1930s to describe a genre of early Christian apologetic and polemical literature written against Jewish history and Jewish and Jewish-Christian practice. The phrase "Adversus Judaeos" (Against the Jews, or In answer to the Jews) is first found in the last quarter of the second century C.E. as the title of monographs written by Pseudo-Cyprian (c. 175) and Tertullian (197). On the Latin side, other significant writers are Cyprian, Augustine, and, on the edge of our period, Isidore. Important Greek contributions are made by Justin, Hippolytus(?), Eusebius of Caesarea, and John Chrysostom, and by works wrongly attributed to Barnabas, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregentius. A completely different but equally "anti-Semitic" line was taken by Marcion. Syriac authors include Ephraem, Aphrahat, Isaac of Antioch, and Jacob of Serug.

These Christian writers should be put into context. Before the rise of Christianity to literary prominence, Jews had been polemicizing against Gentiles (Old Testament prophets; Philo, *Hypothetica*; Josephus, *Against Apion*), and Gentiles had been polemicizing against Jews; after the rise of the Jesus movement, both Jews (Celsus's Jew) and Gentiles (Celsus; Porphyry; Julian) had directed their artillery onto the church. In turn, Christians (e.g., Tatian; Tertullian; Arnobius; Orosius) wrote against Gentiles and against Jews. Members of all three groups frequently engaged in serious debate and acrimonious vilification. This literary engagement was part of a wider confrontation, which might include physical violence. Josephus clearly shows the vigor of Gentile "anti-Semitic" feeling and writing, and Christian Adversus Judaeos writers must be seen, at least in part, as belonging to that tradition.

Whatever the contribution of the Old Testament to this disputation, few will deny that of the New Testament. Some writers are apparently very critical of the Jewish heritage (cf. Matthew; John; Stephen; and the author of Heb.), and some have been criticized for being "anti-Semitic." This is a crude and simplistic assessment, just as "anti-Semitic" is itself an imprecise word, but some statements cannot be ignored: for example, "His blood be on us and on our children"; "You are of your father the devil"; "You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit"; "In speaking of a new covenant he treats the first as obsolete. And what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away." Such authoritative statements would very readily come to mind as the Church was removed from its Jewish roots, was increasingly "gentilized," and was perhaps heckled and hounded here and there by Jewish groups. The Jewishness of Jesus and Paul and their frequently positive appreciation of their heritage could be easily forgotten in an alien land. With such ammunition as that quoted above, the next fifteen centuries are not difficult to imagine.

But if the New Testament provided precedent, the main struggle concerned the Old Testament. To whom did it belong? To whom did it refer? Adversus Judaeos writers were in no doubt about the answer—to the Church. Speaking of the covenant, Pseudo-Barnabas says, "Ours it is, but they [the Jews] lost it in this way [through idolatry] forever." Allegory was the exegetical tool that made the most unpromising material eloquent of Christian faith and practice, so that the Old Testament prophesied every detail of the career of Jesus, who was Christ and God, even his rejection by the Jews and the displacement of the Synagogue by the Church as heir to the promises of God. The bulky Old Testament was made manageable for debate and dialogue by being ransacked for particular texts that "proved" particular Christian dogmas. These texts were classified and in that form became the handbook of every preacher and writer (cf. Cyprian's Testimonia). Their ultimate purpose was to mark out the Church's identity and prove its distinctiveness from and superiority over Judaism.

advocate (Gr.: *paraklētos,* one who is summoned to aid another) heavenly figure who serves as the helper and defender of the righteous, especially when they suffer injustice. In the construct of the two spirits, which pits two figures against one another in the heavenly court, the accuser (Satan) is opposed by a defending attorney who looks after the interest of the righteous by pleading their just cause before God and protecting them from evil in a variety of ways. In the Community Rule, 1QS 3:18–25, that figure is called the prince of light, the angel of God's truth, and the spirit of holiness and is probably identified with the angel Michael. This spirit leads the righteous on the path of right conduct, defending them from the

onslaughts of the evil angel and thus ensuring them of the reward of eternal life. In the Testament of Judah 20, this figure is known as the spirit of truth and opposes the spirit of error.

The Greek term *paraklētos* appears nowhere in the Septuagint or Greek pseudepigrapha, but is employed four times in the Gospel of John (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7), where it refers to the spirit whom Jesus and his Father will send after Jesus' resurrection. (The KJV wrongly translates the word as "comforter," from Gr. *parakalein,* to comfort.) Identified as the "holy spirit" and the "spirit of truth," its function is to "be with" Jesus' followers, leading them in the right path by revealing to them the meaning of the words that Jesus spoke during his life. The spirit is also seen as Jesus' advocate, witnessing concerning him and convicting the world of unbelief (John 16:7–11). The expression "another advocate" (14:16) implies that John sees Jesus himself serving this function (cf. 1 John 2:1, where this is explicit). The close association between Jesus and the "advocate" is duplicated in Romans 8, which identifies the Spirit of God with the Spirit of the risen Christ and attributes to this figure the angelic role of interceding for the children of God (vv. 26–27). While Christian theologians cite these passages in John and Romans with reference to the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, the actions ascribed to this spirit derive from the Jewish notion of a high angel who carried out legal and ethical functions in behalf of God's people. The principal difference is the spirit's association with the risen Jesus. *See also* SPIRITS, TWO.

Aelia Capitolina name given to the city of Jerusalem in 135 C.E., in the aftermath of the failed Bar Kokhba revolt, after the emperor Hadrian (Aelius Hadrianus) and the god Jupiter Capitolinus. The change in the city's name represents the actualization of a plan, almost certainly conceived before the war, to turn Jerusalem into a Roman colony and to obliterate forever its Jewish character. In line with this plan, after the war, Jews still residing in the city were driven out, and no Jews were permitted to enter the city area, upon pain of death. Gentile colonists were settled in the Jews' place. The city's constitution was that of a Roman colony, and the image of a pig purportedly was carved on the southern gate of the city, facing Bethlehem. The main cult of the city was that of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom a temple was erected on the site of the former Jewish Temple. Alongside Jupiter, Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte, and the Dioscuri appear on coins as deities of the city.

Aelius Restitutus *see* RESTITUTUS, TITUS AELIUS

Aelius Sempronius Lycinus *see* LYCINUS, PUBLIUS AELIUS SEMPRONIUS

Aelius Statutus *see* STATUTUS, PUBLIUS AELIUS

Aemilianus, Sextus Attius Suburanus procurator of Judea, early 90s C.E. In 84 he served with Julius when he was prefect of Egypt. He then was procurator of the Cottian Alps, Judea, and Belgica. At the beginning of Trajan's reign, he became the prefect of the Praetorian Guards. Nothing is known of his time in Judea.

Aemilius Bassus *see* BASSUS, MARCUS AEMILIUS

Aet. *see* DE AETERNITATE MUNDI

Afastia an undisclosed location referred to at B. Erubin 100b ("But did Rab not come to Afastia and forbid use of a stripped tree?")

afikoman the larger half of the middle piece of three pieces of *matzah* (unleavened bread) placed on the seder plate at the Passover table. The middle piece of *matzah* is divided into two pieces, the larger of which is called the *afikoman,* meaning either "postprandial entertainment" or "dessert." Its eating marks the end of the meal.

Afrahat (270?–345? C.E.) dignitary of the Syrian Church. One of the earliest leaders of the Syrian Church, he was part of the ascetic movement known as the "sons of the covenant." These were not monks but ascetics who stayed in the world, yet chose to remain celibate. He was also a high-ranking dignitary of the Syrian Church, perhaps a bishop, at Mar Mattai, north of Nineveh, near the present-day Iraqi town of Mosul. Apparently all of his writings have survived. Among them are twenty-three treatises, letters, or homilies, entitled *Demonstrations,* in a fifth/sixth-century manuscript. Originally there must have been twenty-two, corresponding to the number of letters of the Syriac alphabet. He wrote number twenty-three at the time that Shapur II began his bloody persecution of the Christians in 345. Numbers 1–10 were written in 337 and deal with Christian asceticism. Numbers 11–23 were written between 343 and 345 and, with the exception of number 14, are a polemic against the Jews. The Jewish-Christian argument was important to Afrahat because the Iranian church included a significant number of converted Jews. Furthermore, the Jews enjoyed a good deal of prosperity during Afrahat's life. Afrahat's work is scripturally based, and the debate is carried along exegetical-historical lines. His writings evidence little if any hatred for the Jews. While he analyzes and rejects Jewish beliefs and practices and criticizes the Jews' past and present actions, he does not vilify them as did many of the other church fathers. Afrahat's arguments rely on historical facts

accepted by both Jews and Christians; he does not employ biblical interpretations accepted by Christianity but rejected by Judaism. His exegeses of the Bible are presented in a rational and reasonable manner; he avoided traditional Christian interpretations of scripture that were generally repudiated by Judaism. Afrahat often cites scripture to support his historical claims, but he seems to be most interested in establishing historical facts. Unlike many of his Christian contemporaries who wrote on Judaism, Afrahat does not attempt to allegorize the Bible. Like the Jews, Afrahat believed that the Bible's commandments spoke of concrete things, and not in allegory. Afrahat dealt with circumcision, the Passover sacrifice, the Sabbath, the dietary laws, the Jews as the chosen people, and the messiah. He also identifies specific Jewish criticisms of Christianity, such as the fact that adherents worshiped Christ, that they were persecuted, and that many were celebate monks and nuns. The underlying theme of Afrahat's writings about Judaism is that God has rejected the Jews and called the Christian church in their place because the Jews rejected Jesus. He also claims that Jewish religious practices do not lead to salvation, nor had they in the past. They had been imposed upon the Jews because of their sins. It is of interest that Afrahat focused his attention on Judaism and virtually ignored Mazdaism, the religion of the majority of the Iranian population. Afrahat's audience consisted of recently converted Christians who interacted daily with a vital Jewish community. Afrahat saw his task as strengthening the faith of his community in their belief that they—not the Jews—were God's chosen people and that the Christians, not the Jews, had the proper understanding of the Bible and of what God expected of them. There is little evidence that Afrahat was familiar with rabbinic exegeses of the Bible or that the rabbis were aware of Afrahat's critique of Judaism. When the rabbis and Afrahat share a religious view or ethic, there is no common exegetical tradition upon which they draw. The few parallels that occur between Afrahat and the rabbinic texts point to a common environment and not to actual borrowing from each other.

Africanus, Sextus Julius (d. c. 240 C.E.) Christian chronographer. He was born in Jerusalem and lived most of his life in Palestine. His *Chronicle* (only partially preserved) was the first Christian synchronic world history; it attempted to coordinate dates from the Hebrew Bible and Christianity with those of Graeco-Roman historians. He made use of a 7,000-year plan of history, with the birth of Jesus in the year 5500. The work includes a good deal of information on Jewish history, possibly from Justus of Tiberias.

afterlife existence after physical death. With few exceptions, biblical authors believed that "life" was lived now, in this world, and that death was followed by one's descent to a gloomy semi-existence in Sheol (Isa. 38:9–20). The Book of Ecclesiastes may suggest something effectively closer to annihilation, perhaps following strains of Greek skepticism. Two exceptions to the rule are Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2, which posit a resurrection of the dead. It is sometimes argued that Psalm 16:11, 49:15, and 73:23–24 express belief in an afterlife; if so, the conception is vague.

Some Second Temple nonbiblical texts continue the notion that death leads to a permanent existence in Sheol (Tob. 3:6; Ecclus. 14:16). However, as Isaiah 26 and Daniel 12 attest, the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods mark a significant transition toward the belief that after death God rewards and punishes the righteous and wicked, respectively, according to their deeds. The time, manner, and place of rewards and punishments vary widely, and the conceptions are clarified and worked out gradually over three to four centuries, with no orthodoxy pervading until a century or two into the Common Era. The variety of beliefs in Jewish texts include: resurrection of the body (1 Enoch 1–36, 2 Macc. 7, and perhaps Dan. 12:2); resurrection of the spirit or soul (1 Enoch 102–104); ascent of the spirit to God (Jub. 23:31); immortality of the souls of the righteous (Wisd. of Sol. 1–5); and present participation in eternal life (1QH 3:19–36, 11:3–14). Texts that posit a resurrection of the body envision a renewed earth (and Jerusalem) as the locus of a fabulously long life after death. Where new life takes a spiritual form, heaven is the place of bliss, where one exists eternally in the presence of God and, often, as a member of the angelic entourage. The place of postmortem punishment also varies. Where heaven is the place of blessing, earth may be turned into the locus of punishment (Test. Moses 10). In other texts it is the Valley of Hinnom south of Jerusalem (1 Enoch 27) or Sheol (1 Enoch 103:5–8).

Biblical notions about a uniformly gloomy existence in Sheol stand in contrast to ideas of postmortem judgment (and rewards and punishments) in some of the contemporary ancient world, for example; Egypt (attested in the Book of the Dead) and Greece (Homer's *Odyssey*). While some Jewish texts reflect Greek philosophical speculation about the immortality of the soul, Jewish notions about

resurrection, immortality, and eternal life are tied especially to the experience of persecution and oppression and to a persistent faith that the justice of God will prevail in spite of an unrequited life or an unjust death.

Resurrection and eternal life are central to the belief of the early church and are uniformly tied to belief in the resurrection of Jesus. Formulations vary as they do in the Jewish writings. Mark 12:25 and its parallels posit an angellike existence. For Paul, Christians will participate in the glory of the body of the resurrected Christ (1 Cor. 15; Phil. 3:21). In keeping with this, he refers to meeting Christ in the air after the resurrection (1 Thess. 4:14–18); however, Romans 8:18–25 suggests a renewal of creation. The Apocalypse of John envisions eternal life in a new Jerusalem come to earth (Rev. 20–21), which is consonant with the beatitude that envisions the meek inheriting the land (Matt. 5:5). The Fourth Gospel's sharp dualism between heaven and a world darkened by sin and the devil is reflected in Jesus' promise to prepare a place for believers in heaven (John 14:3).

Talmudic writings reveal a wide variety of perspectives on life after death, the soul, resurrection, and the messianic age. While there is agreement on the existence of an afterlife, the absence of thematic, let alone conceptual, unity renders it possible to define only broadly the rabbinic conception of what happens to the soul after death.

For twelve months after death—a period of purgatory for the wicked or, in some views, for the righteous and wicked alike—the soul remains in contact with the disintegrating body (B. Shabbat 152b–153a; see B. Rosh Hashanah 17a). After this, the righteous go to paradise (Gan Eden, the Garden of Eden) and the wicked to hell (Gehinnom). The nature of the soul and the character of death itself are subject to dispute. B. Berakhot 18b–19a and parallels describe the dead as fully conscious and, in some rabbis' views, still able to discern what is happening in the world; they only lack the ability to speak. Other descriptions (e.g., B. Shabbat 152b) have the soul hidden under God's heavenly throne, quite distinct from human existence.

The doctrine of messianic redemption and resurrection of the dead is central to rabbinic thought, although, here again, the exact nature of the resurrection is in dispute. B. Rosh Hashanah 16b–17a holds that on the Day of Judgment, three groups will arise: the thoroughly righteous, the thoroughly wicked, and those in the middle. All authorities agree that the righteous immediately are sealed for eternal life, while the wicked are assigned to hell. The fate of those in the middle is subject to dispute. Some authorities hold that they first are sent to hell, where they scream in prayer and are redeemed; others hold that as a result of God's mercy, they share the fate of the thoroughly righteous. The messianic world itself generally is perceived either as a perfected analog to present times (see B. Berakhot 34b; B. Shabbat 63a) or as a wholly spiritual world in which the righteous sit at God's side (B. Berakhot 17a). *See also* ASSUMPTION; LIFE, ETERNAL; RESURRECTION.

Against Apion English name of the writing by Josephus that is often referred to by its Latin title *Contra Apionem*; the work's title is abbreviated *Ag. Apion* or *C. Apion*. In this work, which is an attack on Apion (who had written an anti-Jewish work), Josephus defends Judaism by quoting various Greek writers who attest to the antiquity and positive values of the Jews and Judaism. *See also* APION.

Against Flaccus *see* IN FLACCUM

Agatharchides of Cnidus Greek grammarian and Peripatetic of the late second century B.C.E. Only some fragments survive of his histories of Asia in ten books and of Europe in forty-nine books. Two passages about the Jews are preserved in quotations by Josephus. Agatharchides stated that the Jews had a custom of abstaining from work every seventh day, at which time they neither bore arms nor did any agricultural or public works, but rather prayed with outstretched hands in the "temples." Because of this custom, he wrote, Ptolemy I was able to take Jerusalem on the Sabbath, since the inhabitants refused to fight on that day.

Agathias (531–580 C.E.) Armenian historian. He was born in Aeolis in Asia Minor and studied law in Alexandria and Constantinople. He compiled a seven-book collection of poetic epigrams written around his time. He intended to write a history that was designed to bring Procopius's *Wars* up to date. However, by the time of his death he had covered only the years 553–559. He treats matters in a rhetorical and moralizing manner. The work contains two excursuses on the history and customs of the Sassanids in which he claims that the Magi have the final say on all matters among the Persians.

age (Heb.: *seibah*) old age, commencing at age sixty, and ripe old age, commencing at age seventy. Age is the mark of wisdom: "If the aged say tear down and the youth say build, tear down, for the destruction of age is building, and the building of age is destruction." Death before age sixty is counted as extirpation (Heb.: *karot*), a form of penalty for a sin. Once one reaches age sixty, one

knows that penalty has not been incurred for any reason. Age is the acquirement of wisdom and understanding. But the value of age depends on knowledge of the Torah: "When sages grow old, their minds become serene; when the ignorant grow old, their minds become agitated."

age, this (Heb.: *haOlam haZeh*; Gr.: *ho aiōn houtos*) the time period from creation to the judgment that concludes the age and is followed by the age to come. Alternatively, the Hebrew and Greek words may denote the world that exists in the present time. In this scheme, this age (or world) is marked by trouble and evil, which will be eliminated in the age (or world) to come (2 Bar. 15:8, 48:50). The expression is attested in the mid-first century C.E. in the writings of Paul (Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 2:6; Gal. 1:4), who shares the notion that the present age or world is under the power of the evil spirits (1 Cor. 2:6, 8). *See also* AGES, TWO; AGE TO COME.

agency (Heb.: *sheliḥut*) the theory that one party may legally act on behalf of another, as though the principal were doing the action. A person's agent is legally equivalent to the person, and one is bound by what one's agent does as though one had done it oneself. But agency does not pertain to transgression, and if the agent does not carry out instructions, the principal is not accountable for the deed. An agent may serve to effect a betrothal or a divorce.

ages, two a theological construct that divides time into two periods, this age, which began at creation, and the age to come, which will begin after the final judgment. Alternatively, one may translate the Hebrew *olam* as "world" and speak of this world and the world to come. The roots of the concept lie in biblical eschatological texts that point toward a future moment when God will create a new heaven and a new earth. Later Jewish eschatological texts tend to posit a multiplicity of periods before the judgment, but the qualitative contrast between the aggregate of these periods and the future is clear. Thus in Daniel 2:36–45 and 7:1–27, the judgment inaugurates the permanent reign of God that replaces the time of the four kingdoms that preceded it. The idea of the two ages (or two worlds) is explicitly attested in the first century C.E. in such texts as Matthew 12:32 and 2 Baruch 15:8 and becomes common fare in rabbinic texts, where "the age to come" is often associated with divine retribution (e.g., M. Sanh. 10:1). *See also* AGE, THIS; AGE TO COME; END OF DAYS, TIMES, AGE; ESCHATOLOGY.

age to come (Heb.: *haOlam haBa*; Gr.: *ho aiōn mellōn/erchomenos*) in the construct of the two ages, the age or world that begins when God's judgment has ended the present age or world. In contrast to the present, which is marked by trouble, evil, and the power of Satan, it will be a time of bliss and the locus of eternal life. In rabbinic literature, the notion is separated from its apocalyptic origins, and the term is a shorthand for the time when the righteous will receive their just reward (M. Sanh. 10:1). *See also* AGE, THIS; AGES, TWO.

aggadah (prerabbinic texts) interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in narrative form. Aggadah in Jewish texts of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods may elaborate biblical narratives or may be new narrative created from nonnarrative biblical texts.

The first kind of aggadah is sometimes called the "rewritten Bible." Texts like Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Book of Biblical Antiquities, and Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* present running narratives that revise and re-present long sections of biblical narrative. Other texts like 1 Enoch 6–11, the Testament of Job, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and Joseph and Asenath elaborate on individual narrative episodes in the Bible. Two complementary principles are operative in both kinds of texts. First, the aggadah is exegetical; narrative is created or reshaped to expound the biblical text. Second, this exposition has a specific function. It may solve a problem in the biblical text, or speak to new times and current concerns, or sometimes just entertain. Joseph and Asenath explains the patriarch's marriage to the daughter of an Egyptian priest and provides a prototype for proselytism. Running narratives have overarching themes and tendencies. The author of Jubilees consistently depicts the pre-Mosaic patriarchs observing the Torah and celebrating festivals according to the solar calendar. Repentance for Israel requires that the people observe the Torah as this author expounds it in a narrative that corresponds to Genesis 1–Exodus 12. The author of the Book of Biblical Antiquities, writing when Israel has a crisis in leadership, retells the narratives from Genesis to 1 Samuel, interpolating incidents that illustrate the successes and failures of Israel's good and bad leaders.

Some aggadic narrative is created from nonnarrative biblical texts. The story of Zebulun the fisherman (Test. Zeb. 5–6) takes its inspiration from the blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:13). Bel and the Dragon appears, in part, to be a narrativizing exposition of Isaiah 45–46. The legend of the mother and her seven sons (2 Macc. 7) draws details of its narrative from several texts: the song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2), Second Isaiah's passages about the return

of the sons of mother Zion, creation and redemption, and the servant of YHWH.

Two factors are operative in aggadic narrative building. Interpretation is a kind of updating of an ancient, and sometimes authoritative, text. The storyteller makes a point not through formal exhortation or explicit teaching (proverbs or halakic exposition), but by creating a story whose characters enact or illustrate the point. Thus one creates fiction in order to present what one considers truth.

The aggadic process is evident in literature that spans many centuries. Although Jubilees (2d c. B.C.E.) is our earliest example of a running narrative exposition of scripture, some of its stories are traditional and may stem from a time when the base text was itself not yet scripture (cf. also the Chronicler's rewriting of the as-yet noncanonical Deuteronomistic history); thus one should use the term "rewritten Scripture" only cautiously and selectively. At the other end of the time span, the Targumim Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan contain or allude to narrative episodes that are attested in earlier Jewish literature from the pre-70 C.E. period. Finally, a New Testament text such as Matthew 2 illustrates the aggadic process, recounting a story about Jesus' infancy that mirrors the antagonism between Moses and Pharaoh (2:20; cf. Exod. 4:19) and expounds Hosea 11:1 (Matt. 2:15). *See also* MIDRASH; REWRITTEN BIBLE; SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION.

Aggadat Ḥazitah *see* SONG OF SONGS RABBAH

Agnostos theos *see* GOD, UNKNOWN

agoranomos official in charge of a city's market (Gr.: *agora*) who was responsible for regulating buying and selling. He (or they, for there were often several) collected the customs, kept order, regulated the quality of goods, and ensured correct weights and measurements. The post in Tiberias was held by Agrippa I before he became king. The term is also mentioned quite often in rabbinic literature, and Rab is said to have held the post in Babylonia.

Agr. *see* DE AGRICULTURA

Agrippa I (10 B.C.E.–44 C.E.) son of Aristobolus and Bernice, grandson of Herod the Great; ruled as Roman-appointed king of Judea from 41–44. He was raised in Rome where he became friends with the emperor Tiberius (14–37), the future emperors Gaius Caligula (37–41) and Claudius (41–54), and other members of the aristocracy. In his youth Agrippa was known for his imprudence and extravagance. He fell deeply into debt because he spent lavishly to win imperial patronage and only extricated himself with the help of wealthy friends, after which he left Rome for Judea. His uncle, Antipas, the ruler of Galilee and Perea, made him supervisor of the market in Tiberias, a position he soon found inadequate. He then moved to Antioch to the court of Flaccus, the Roman governor of Syria, but lost favor there when he took a bribe. Returning to Rome, he again ran up large debts in seeking the favor of Gaius. After he spoke loosely about Gaius succeeding Tiberius as emperor, Tiberius jailed him for suspicion of sedition. When Gaius succeeded Tiberius as emperor in 37, he immediately released Agrippa and made him king over the territories north of Galilee. When Antipas lost his tetrarchy in 39, Agrippa was made ruler of his territory, Galilee, and also Perea.

In 41, Agrippa was in Rome when Gaius was murdered. He helped Claudius secure the throne and so received Samaria and Judea as additional parts of his domain. He was an amiable ruler, according to the historian Josephus, and carefully observed the Jewish laws incumbent on a king. At the same time, he erected statues and buildings and supported the athletic games in various Greek cities outside his realm. He attempted to fortify Jerusalem further and coordinate the activities of a number of kings in the area, but the Roman authorities suspected and stopped these activities. According to the Acts of the Apostles, chapter 12, which incorrectly refers to Agrippa as "Herod," he executed James, son of Zebedee, one of Jesus of Nazareth's disciples, and imprisoned another, Peter. He died at Caesarea after a brief illness. After his death, Roman procurators replaced him as the rulers of Judea and Jerusalem.

Agrippa II (28–93, 94, or 100 C.E.) son of Agrippa I and Cypros, daughter of Phasael, raised in Rome during the reign of Claudius. He was too young to succeed his father in 44 but he was active in support of Jewish interests in the imperial court. Around 50, the emperor Claudius appointed him king of Chalcis in Lebanon and gave him the right to appoint the high priest in Jerusalem. In 53, Claudius transferred him to the territories north of Galilee. Nero (54–68) added parts of Galilee and Perea to Agrippa II's territory. He was an active member of the Roman ruling elite and a faithful supporter of the Temple. Amid persistent rumors of an incestuous relationship between them, his sister Berenice lived with him at his court and had great influence on him. According to Acts 25–26, the procurator Festus (60–62) consulted Agrippa and Berenice in Caesarea concerning the case against the apostle Paul.

During the war with Rome (66–70), Agrippa first

tried to reconcile the people of Jerusalem to Rome. When he failed and war broke out, he vigorously supported the Romans with auxiliary troops. After the war his territory was augmented, and his reign endured at least until the time of Domitian (81–96). The date of his death is uncertain, but should probably be placed in the nineties.

agunah *see* ABANDONED WOMAN

Aḥa **1.** second-century C.E. Tannaitic authority, who was a younger contemporary of Simeon b. Yoḥai

2. third-century Palestinian amora referred to as Raba (the Great)

3. third-century Palestinian amora, the brother of Abba

4. fourth-century Palestinian amora, an associate of Jonah and Yose, born in Lydda but active in Tiberias

Aḥa b. Abbuha Savoraic authority active at Pumbedita; died on the Day of Atonement in 510 C.E. He is sometimes referred to as Aḥa b. Raba b. Abbuha; his first name is also given as Aḥai.

ahaḇah *see* LOVE

Ahaḇah b. Zera Palestinian amora; son of Zera I; active at Caesaria and known for transmitting his father's teachings and for his scriptural interpretations. His first name is alternatively recorded as Ahaḇah, Aḥa, and Aḥva.

Aḥa b. Ḥanina Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; active in Daroma, in southern Judea. He is known for his explanations of the ninth and tenth of the Eighteen Benedictions and for his belief that visiting the sick facilitates a cure (B. Nedarim 39b).

Aḥa b. Jacob Babylonian amora of the early fourth century C.E. He was an older contemporary of Abayye and Raḇa and a student of Ḥuna. Known for his extreme dedication to study (see, e.g., B. Eruḇin 65a), he was a renowned scholar and legal authority (B. Eruḇin 63a). He is said to have been a skilled writer of Torah scrolls (see, e.g., B. Baḇa Batra 14a). Some mystical discussions are attributed to Aḥa b. Jacob (e.g., B. Baḇa Batra 75a) and he reportedly rid the academy at Pumbedita of a demon (B. Kiddushin 29b).

Aḥa b. Pappa Palestinian amora of the third century C.E.; a contemporary of Abbahu; referred to by the surname Arikha.

Aḥa b. Raḇ Babylonian rabbi of the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century C.E. He was a student of Rabina I and disputed some of Rabina's rules. Mesharshiyah was his grandson.

Aḥa b. Raḇa Babylonian amora, the son of Raḇa b. Joseph; a contemporary of Amemar and Ashi; died in 419 C.E. At the end of his life, he was head of the academy at Pumbedita.

Aḥai b. Josiah Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch (late 2d c. C.E.). B. Shabbat 152b reports Aḥai's speaking from his grave to the Babylonian amora Naḥman. The story's setting, on Naḥman's property, and other talmudic traditions regarding Aḥai's activity suggest that he spent considerable time in Babylonia. His name appears exclusively in Babylonian texts.

Aḥa of Lydda *see* AḤA

Aḥa of Shabḥa Babylonian rabbi of the eighth century C.E., who migrated to Israel after being passed over for appointment as gaon of Pumbedita. He is the author of Sheiltot, an influential collection of rabbinic homilies on biblical and rabbinic ethics and values.

Ahawa b. Zera *see* AHAḆAH B. ZERA

Aḥer *see* ELISHA B. ABUYAH

aḥer, aḥerim *see* OUTSIDER

Ahikar, Story of old Mesopotamian court tale transmitted in Jewish and Christian circles. Although the story is of non-Jewish Mesopotamian origin, its earliest attestation is in a fragmentary fifth-century-B.C.E. Aramaic papyrus discovered in 1907 among the literary remains of the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt. Later and more extensive versions are preserved in manuscripts of Christian origin in languages such as Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Slavonic. The oral form of this story must precede the fifth century by some considerable time, making it contemporary at least with the Babylonian exile. Its folkloric roots may be very old indeed.

The heart of this story is a traditional genre about the vindication and exaltation of a persecuted and condemned courtier, attested also in the Joseph story (Gen. 37–45), the story of Mordecai in the Book of Esther, and Daniel 3–6. It is enhanced here through the inclusion of long strings of proverbial material that emphasize Ahikar's role as a court sage. Ahikar, an official of the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, falls afoul of a death plot by his own nephew Nadan. Eventually Ahikar is rescued by an old friend and restored to power. Many of his proverbs focus on issues appropriate to the court, family matters, and everyday conduct.

The wide knowledge and influence of the story is evident in the excerpts that appear in the Greek Life of Aesop and in the allusions to details of the story in the Book of Tobit, who is said to be a relative of Ahikar (Tob. 1:21–22, 2:10, 14:10). The story's transmission in Christian circles may reflect

the fact that its genre was also used to recount the passion and death of Jesus in the New Testament gospels. The Mesopotamian origins of the story attest the multicultural roots of narrative material like that in Genesis, Esther, and Daniel.

Aila name given to Eilat early in the second century C.E., when the city served as a Nabatean port (Strabo, *Geography* 16:2, 30; Pliny, *Natural History* 5:12). Aila remained a major Roman and then Byzantine commercial and military port, the headquarters of Byzantine defense of the south of Palestine.

aiōn (Gr., age, eternity) When used in reference to God, *aiōn* means "eternity"; but when referring to human matters, its meaning is closer to "age." It is normally the translation of *olam* in the Septuagint. The word is found especially in discussions of eschatology.

aisthēsis (Gr., sense perception) Since philosophers thought that the person should be controlled by the mind (Gr.: *nous*), whereas most people seemed to give themselves over to the senses, the word often had a negative connotation. Among Jewish writers, the term is especially important in the works of Philo of Alexandria.

Aitha Aitha Ashaab, referred to at Tosefta Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Akabiah *see* MAR UKBA II

Akabiah b. Mehallel early Tannaitic master, of the late first or early second century C.E. His dictum is recorded at M. Abot 3:1: "Reflect upon three things and you will not fall into the clutches of transgression: Know from whence you come, where you are going, and before whom you are going to have to give a full account [of yourself]. . . ." M. Eduyyot 5:6–7 reports that he was excommunicated for refusing to retract a legal position.

akedah (Heb., binding) Abraham's binding and (intended) sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22). In this central episode of the Abraham cycle, God tests (v. 1) the patriarch's readiness to obey unconditionally. It is a test of Abraham's faith, although this word does not occur in chapter 22. Abraham's faith was mentioned in 15:6 in response to the promise of progeny, and God now asks the old man to give up the son who fulfills that promise.

Early Jewish interpretations emphasize that Abraham had been "found faithful" when put to this test (Jub. 17:15–18:16; Ecclus. 44:20; 1 Macc. 2:52; cf. Neh. 9:8). The version in Jubilees 17–18 enhances the testing motif by framing the story with a heavenly prologue and epilogue reminiscent of Job 1–2. The account of the incident in the Book of Biblical Antiquities 32:1–4 alludes to the prologue and epilogue of the Jubilees version and emphasizes Isaac's willingness to die. The parallel story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter in the Hebrew Bible mentions the same willingness as an essential element in the effectiveness of her sacrifice (LAB 40; cf. Judg. 11). Josephus (*Ant.* 1.13.1–4:222–236) highlights Abraham's faith and Isaac's willingness to die in a father–son dialogue that is reminiscent of the conversation of the mother and her seven sons in 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees 8–18. The latter text also cites Abraham's obedience at the *akedah* as a model for the mother's courage (4 Macc. 15:24–30, 16:20, 18:11). Similar elements appear in Philo (*On Abr.* 167–207) and in Targum Neofiti Genesis 22:10.

Explicit New Testament references to the *akedah* describe Abraham's faith as obedient action. In Hebrews 11:17–19, the *akedah* exemplifies the pattern of faith enunciated throughout the chapter. The wording in James 2:21–24 indicates dependence on the tradition attested in Nehemiah, Jubilees, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees, and the story reiterates the author's thesis that justifying faith must embody itself in deeds (2:14–26).

The reference to Abraham's faith in the resurrection in Hebrews 11:19 takes up another motif traditional in Jewish texts (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.13.1: 230–231, and its parallels in 2 Macc. and 4 Macc.; LAB 32:3) and suggests the application of the *akedah* story to Jesus (cf. Rom. 4:16–25). Such an analogy between Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac and the God who gives his only, beloved son to die seems implied in several New Testament texts (Rom. 8:32; John 3:16, where the key words "love" and "believe" are displaced to refer to those in whose behalf the son is given; Mark 1:11). The analogy is also suggested in the Testament of Levi 18:6–7 in a portrait of the eschatological high priest reminiscent of the story of Jesus' baptism (Mark 1:9–11). The Isaac-Christ typology takes on increasing importance in Christian patristic discussions of Jesus' sacrifice.

Akhmadiyeh ancient Jewish village site in the northern Golan Heights with architectural fragments of a highly decorated, perhaps third-century C.E. synagogue (Arab. name: Amûdiyee). Carved stones found since 1885 include a lintel stone decorated with a nine-branched menorah having a single bar across the top and a three-pronged base but no lamps or flames. The menorah is flanked to the right by a shofar and to the left by an etrog. A second lintel stone has two seven-branched menorahs, one similar to the nine-branched menorah

just described and a second, smaller menorah with arms separated at the ends. One stone was decorated with a relief carving of an eagle with outspread wings standing on a roundel or circular object. Another stone was ornamented with a carved garland attached to a bull's head with a bird to one side and a grape cluster to the other. An architrave or beam was decorated with flowers, amphora, and grapevine and has an enigmatic inscription in Hebrew letters: *tmush mshmr.* A Doric capital is in reuse in the ruined village. These fragments are most easily interpreted as fragments of a synagogue. G. Schumacher visited the ruin in 1885, and an Israeli survey team headed by Clare Epstein and Shmaryahu Gutmann visited the site again after 1968. The site remains unexcavated.

Akiba one of the most important Tannaitic authorities, active in the late first and early second centuries C.E. between the two Jewish wars with Rome; his full name is Akiba b. Joseph. In the Mishnah and Tosefta, far more legal statements are ascribed to Akiba than to any other authority of his generation or to almost any later authority. Mishnaic and toseftan laws cited in Akiba's name point to his special concern for the role of human intention in the law. Akiba held, for instance, that whether a utensil is susceptible or not susceptible to ritual uncleanness is determined by the intentions of the user rather than by traits intrinsic to it. This interest in the nature and impact of human will and concern for ascertaining the contexts in which a person's actions and intentions affect the law reveal Akiba's centrality in the legal program of the Mishnah as a whole. While Akiba's concerns were unique in his own age, by the completion of the Mishnah these issues had become a central concern of the document as a whole.

Akiba is also known for his unique approach to interpretation of scripture. He maintained that the Bible is derived from God, contains no redundancies, and that every element of the text, including spelling and orthographic characteristics, has meaning and purpose. In line with this thinking, Akiba even found meaning in the accusative particle "et," which introduces a direct object but which generally is held to have no semantic significance.

Akiba's importance in Tannaitic law is reflected by T. Zabim 1:5's statement that he "arranged laws" and by midrashic references to the "great Mishnah-compilation" of Akiba (and of several other Tannaitic authorities). Scholars have taken these statements to mean that Akiba organized a collection of Tannaitic law that served as a source for the final version of the Mishnah, understood to have been compiled by Judah the Patriarch. This view of Akiba's role in Tannaitic law is represented in B. Sanhedrin 86a's statement that all anonymous rules in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Sifra, and Sifre reflect Akiba's legal perspective. While reflecting Akiba's centrality as a Tannaitic authority, this statement clearly is not in any way literally true.

Early rabbinic sources only preserve Akiba's legal pronouncements. Later texts add a great deal of information about his life. Born into a humble family, in his youth Akiba reportedly was unlearned and an enemy of scholars (B. Pesahim 49b). He worked as a shepherd for Kalba Sabua, the wealthiest man in Jerusalem. Akiba's interest in study of Torah began when Kalba Sabua's daughter Rachel, against her father's wishes, agreed to marry him if he would devote himself to study. To fulfill her request, Akiba reportedly left Rachel for a total of twenty-four years, eventually returning, according to the talmudic story, with twelve thousand of his own students (B. Ketubot 62b).

Akiba's early teachers were Joshua b. Hananiah, Nahum of Gamzo, and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus. He also studied at Yabneh under Yohanan b. Nuri (Sifre 4:9) and with Tarfon (B. Ketubot 84b). Akiba ultimately headed his own academy in Bene Berak. According to Y. Taanit 4:7, 68d, unlike his rabbinic colleagues, Akiba enthusiastically welcomed the Bar Kokhba Revolt and saw in Bar Kokhba the long-awaited messiah. For continuing publicly to teach Torah, Akiba was imprisoned by the Romans and was tortured to death after a long stay in prison (B. Berakhot 61b).

Akra Seleucid military citadel or garrison established under Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem in 168 B.C.E. Though its precise location has been a matter of great controversy, it was clearly close to the Temple area, according to 1 Maccabees 1:36: "for the citadel became an adversary against the sanctuary." It was staffed by Gentiles (see Dan. 11:39) and supported by some "renegade" Jews (see 1 Macc. 11:21). It is mentioned frequently in 1 Maccabees (1:36; 2:31; 3:45; 4:2, 41; 6:18–21, 26, 32; 7:32; 9:52–53; 10:32; 11:20–21, 41; 12:36; 13:21). Despite the many attempts of the Maccabees to conquer it, it fell to Simon only in 141 B.C.E., thus marking the definitive success of the Maccabean revolt. The name Akra derives from the Greek word *akron* (high point).

Akrabba town located "a day's distance" north of Jerusalem (M. Maaser Sheni 5:2); in manuscripts, alternatively referred to as Akrabbat; probably equivalent to Akrabattene, referred to by Josephus (*War* 3:3, 5). Akrabba is distinct from the biblical

Akrabim (Num. 34:4), on the southeastern border of Judea.

akum abbreviation of the first letters of the words in Hebrew for "worshipers of stars and planets," standing for pagans in general

ala *see* HIPPARCH

alabarch office held by several important individuals of the Jewish community in first-century-C.E. Alexandria, including Alexander, Demetrius, and Tiberius Julius Alexander. The office probably had something to do with the collection of customs duties, originally east of the Nile. The office is also called *arabarches* in some Greek and Latin writings; indeed, this form may be the more original, but Josephus uses the term *alabarches*. Those holding the office were clearly honored by the authorities in being granted the post, showing the esteem in which certain Jews of Alexandria were held.

Albinus, Lucceius Roman procurator of Palestine (62–64 C.E.). According to Josephus's account in *The Jewish War,* he was noted for graft, taking bribes from litigants, opposing political parties and the Sicarii. He stole from public and private funds, freed criminals for a price, and ignored lawlessness. In *Antiquities of the Jews,* Josephus suggests that he was unable to deal effectively with rising unrest. He served as procurator of Mauretania and was executed in 69 C.E. in a power struggle.

Alcimus (Heb. name: Yakim) second-century-B.C.E. leader of the pro-Seleucid party and an opponent of Judas Maccabeus. He was appointed high priest by Demetrius I in 162 B.C.E. and installed by an army led by Bacchides. After a group of Hasideans submitted to him, he executed sixty of them (1 Macc. 7:12–16). Turmoil and conflict required the intervention of the Seleucid general Nicanor, who was defeated, and the intervention of Bacchides again. In 160 B.C.E. Alcimus razed a wall separating the inner court of the Temple from outer areas. It is uncertain whether the wall kept Israelites from areas reserved to priests or Gentiles from sacred areas reserved to Israelites. Alcimus died in 160 B.C.E.

aleinu (Heb., it is incumbent on us) the first words of a prayer. The full prayer reads: "It is incumbent on us to praise Him, Lord over all the world; Let us acclaim Him, Author of all creation. He made our lot unlike that of other peoples; He assigned to us a unique destiny. We bend the knee, worship, and acknowledge the King of kings, the Holy One, praised is He. He unrolled the heavens and established the earth; his throne of glory is in the heavens above; his majestic Presence is in the loftiest heights. He and no other is God and faithful King, even as we are told in his Torah. Remember now and always, that the Lord is God. Remember, no other is Lord of heaven and earth. We, therefore, hope in You, O Lord our God, that we shall soon see the triumph of your might, that idolatry shall be removed from the earth, and false gods shall be utterly destroyed. Then will the world be a true kingdom of God, when all mankind will invoke your name, and all the earth's wicked will return to You. Then all the inhabitants of the world will surely know that to You every knee must bend, every tongue must pledge loyalty. Before You, O Lord, let them bow in worship, let them give honor to your glory. May they all accept the rule of your kingdom. May You reign over them soon through all time. Sovereignty is yours in glory, now and forever. So it is written in your Torah: *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.*"

Alexander, son of Aristobulus II brother of Antigonus. He was captured by Pompey during the latter's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. He escaped while being transported to Rome. In 57 B.C.E., he raised an army in Palestine, but was defeated and captured by the Roman governor Gabinius. In 49 B.C.E., he was executed in Antioch on Pompey's orders for supporting Julius Caesar.

Alexander, son of Herod son of Herod the Great and Mariamme. He was educated in Rome (23–17 B.C.E.) along with his brother Aristobulus. After Herod brought them back to Jerusalem, intrigues within the Herodian family led Herod to suspect the brothers of plotting against him. On a trip to Rome in 12 B.C.E., Augustus reconciled Herod to his sons. Further discord, slander, and plotting in the Herodian court led to the brothers' arrest, trial in Berytus, and execution by strangulation in Sebaste in 7 B.C.E. A number of their supporters were also executed.

Alexander Balas Seleucid ruler (151–145 B.C.E.). He claimed to be a son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and was recognized as ruler of Syria, Mesopotamia, and parts of Asia Minor by the Roman Senate in 153 or 152 B.C.E. He gained Jonathan the Hasmonean's support by appointing him high priest in 152 B.C.E. He defeated Demetrius I for the Seleucid throne in 151 B.C.E. and ruled until 145 B.C.E., when he was defeated by Demetrius II and subsequently assassinated.

Alexander Jannaeus (from Heb. Yannai, a shortened form of Jonathan) son of John Hyrcanus; high priest and king of the Jewish kingdom from the death of his brother Aristobulus I in 103 B.C.E. to his own death in 76 B.C.E. He married Aristobulus's

wife, Alexandra Salome, and had two sons, Hyrcanus II and Aristobolus II. Early in his reign he killed one of his remaining brothers.

Alexander greatly enlarged his territory through numerous wars. After an early attempt to conquer Ptolemais (Acco) on the Mediterranean coast was repulsed, he gradually conquered all the cities south of it, except for Ascalon. In several campaigns he conquered a number of Transjordanian cities, the Golan and Hauran, and areas north of Galilee.

The middle of Alexander's reign was characterized by internal conflict and external defeat. About 95 B.C.E., when Alexander was presiding in the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, a dispute over ritual practice led the people to pelt him with their ritually prescribed citrons (Heb. *etrog*). According to Josephus, Alexander responded by slaughtering six thousand worshipers. Josephus's whole account of Alexander Jannaeus and stories about him in rabbinic literature stress his cruelty and ruthlessness. Popular discontent was so substantial that about 93 B.C.E. a six-year popular rebellion by dissident Jews, including the Pharisees, began when Alexander's army was ambushed and defeated in the Golan by the Nabatean (Arab) king, Obedas I. Alexander fled to Jerusalem. In 88, as the conflict dragged on, Alexander's opponents sought the intervention of Demetrius III, the Seleucid ruler of part of Syria. Demetrius defeated Alexander at Shechem but this Seleucid conquest prompted six thousand Jews to change to Alexander's side. Eventually Demetrius left the country and Alexander besieged and captured the final group of rebels. In a notorious incident recorded in Josephus and alluded to in the Qumran commentary on Nahum, he had eight hundred opponents crucified in Jerusalem and their families slaughtered before their eyes while he caroused with his mistresses.

About 84 B.C.E., the Nabatean king Aretas invaded Judea and imposed terms on Alexander before withdrawing. From 83 to 80 B.C.E. Alexander successfully conquered a number of Transjordanian cities. In his final three years (79–76), he suffered from a painful illness that led to his death. Josephus reports that Alexander was so unpopular that he advised his wife and successor, Queen Alexandra, to form a coalition with the Pharisees so they could win popular support for her rule.

Alexander Polyhistor (c. 105–35 B.C.E.) Greek writer from Miletus. He produced several compilations, that is, works that were mainly excerpts from other writers. One was *Concerning the Jews,* which contained passages from a number of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers as well as a few non-Jewish writers who mentioned the Jews. Most of what we know about such writers as Eupolemus, Demetrius, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Artapanus, and Aristobulus the Exegete come ultimately from him, via such writers as Eusebius and Josephus, who quoted him.

Alexander Romance legendary account of Alexander the Great's conquests, which circulated widely in various forms, including Armenian, Latin, and Hebrew. The Romance is apparently based on an actual Hellenistic historical account, but the historical part has been overlaid and spiced up with fantastic and miraculous events. These include a journey to the end of the world. The version under the name of Callisthenes is the product of the third century C.E. Especially interesting is a Jewish story found in some versions in which Alexander visits Jerusalem and bows to the high priest, a story also found in Josephus.

Alexander the Alabarch head of the family of which Philo of Alexandria was a member. Alexander was the brother of Philo and the father of Julius Tiberius Alexander. He was one of the wealthiest individuals of his time, loaning a fortune to Agrippa I before the latter became king (actually to Agrippa's wife, because he knew of Agrippa's profligacy). He was imprisoned by Caligula in a fit of anger but was released by Claudius when the latter came to the throne. The office of alabarch may have been passed down in the family, since it was also held by Alexander's brother, Demetrius, and his son, also named Alexander.

Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.E.) Alexander III of Macedon, son of Philip II and the Epirote princess Olympias. For three years (c. 342–340), Aristotle was Alexander's tutor. Under Philip II, Macedonia was expanding its power south into Greece and east into the Balkans. When Philip was assassinated in 336 B.C.E., Alexander succeeded as leader and continued Philip's plans to invade Persia. Alexander crossed into Asia in 334 and twice defeated the Persian forces, the first early on at the river Granicus, then at Issus in November 333. Alexander followed up these successes by a long siege of Tyre, the main base for the Persian fleet, and then swiftly moved south through Gaza and entered unopposed into Egypt. A late legend has him visiting Jerusalem during this time, offering sacrifice to God and allowing the Jews to follow their ancestral laws (Josephus, *Ant.* 11, secs. 304–345). In Egypt he laid plans to build Alexandria and was crowned Pharaoh, son of the god Amun-Re.

Alexander defeated the Persian king Darius again in 331 and was proclaimed king of Asia. Alexander gained control of the major cities of the Persian empire, slowly conquered the Persian provinces Bactria and Sogdiana in Afghanistan, crossed into modern-day Pakistan, and was turned back from pushing further into India only by the refusal of his soldiers to go further. Alexander was worshiped as a god by some Greek cities, and he certainly had performed remarkable deeds. He fell ill and died on June 10, 323 B.C.E.

One wonders whether the brilliant soldier could have managed his empire, which stretched from Greece to Afghanistan. Alexander attempted to weld together Macedonians and Persians through marriage and military training, but met with opposition. His lasting legacy would be the great Hellenistic kingdoms, Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria, which emerged out of the struggle between Alexander's generals over his inheritance.

Alexandra, Queen Alexandra Salome (Heb.: Shalomtzion), ruler of the Jewish kingdom (76–67 B.C.E.) after the death of her husband, Alexander Jannaeus. Her older son, Hyrcanus II, served as high priest. Alexandra removed many of Alexander's retainers from power and sent them to desert forts. She gave domestic power to the Pharisaic party and took steps to reconcile those who had been estranged by Alexander. Thus, she is remembered as a benign monarch. In international affairs she built up the army, conducted military campaigns, using her other son Aristobulus II as commander, and engaged effectively in foreign negotiations. The divisions that split the kingdom during her husband's reign continued to fester. As she suffered her final illness in 67 B.C.E., Aristobulus II gathered his supporters and took over numerous cities, thus initiating a civil war for supremacy with his brother, Hyrcanus II. The conflict was resolved by the Roman conquest in 63 B.C.E.

Alexandria, Graeco-Roman culture in The Macedonian rulers of Egypt, from the time of Ptolemy I (Soter) on, developed a deliberate policy of patronizing arts and sciences in Alexandria, encouraging the leading scholars and cultural figures to settle there. As a result, Alexandria became the cultural center of the Mediterranean world. The chief symbol of this policy was the establishment of the famous Mouseion (Temple of the Muses) and its Library by Soter, aided by the Peripatetic philosopher Demetrius of Phaleron. There, scholarship and the arts were given a subsidized context in which to flourish.

Alexandrian scientists played leading roles, especially during the Hellenistic period. Medicine achieved a level in Alexandria by the third century B.C.E. that was not exceeded until the seventeenth century C.E. Alexandrian mathematicians and astronomers include such famous figures as Euclid, founder of geometry; Aristarchus, who developed a heliocentric theory of the universe; Eratosthenes, whose calculation of the circumference of the earth was only 200 miles off; and Apollonius, a leader in conic theory. Mechanical engineering was also highly developed in Alexandria. Of course, the "false sciences" of astrology and alchemy were also represented there.

Classical scholarship as we know it developed in Alexandria during the Hellenistic period. This involved the study of Homer and other Greek authors, the development of textual criticism, preparations of new editions of classical works and commentaries thereon, and the development of Greek grammar. Greek philosophy was not so strong in Alexandria in the early period, but Peripatetic (Aristotelian) philosophy is represented in the second century B.C.E. by one Agatharchides and the Jew Aristobulus. Both skeptical and metaphysical branches of Platonism were well represented by the first century B.C.E. One of these philosophers, Eudorus, may have influenced Philo Judaeus, who is also often counted among the (Middle) Platonist philosophers.

Alexandrian literature was a high point of culture in Alexandria. One of the more interesting prose writers was the Egyptian priest Manetho, who wrote, in Greek, a history of Egypt. Much of what survives of his work is preserved in Josephus's *Against Apion*. A number of Alexandrian writers produced geographical works and travel accounts. Alexandrian poetry is especially important. The epigram as an artistic expression was very popular and highly developed. Narrative poetry is best represented by the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. Hymns on traditional themes were important vehicles for poetic expression; the most important of these were composed by Callimachus. Drama, both tragedy and comedy, was also represented, though in this field Alexandria did not succeed in eclipsing Athens.

The arts in Alexandria were also highly developed. Alexandrian craftsmen excelled in work in glass and faience. Alexandrian artists also developed, in paintings and mosaics, themes of a specifically Egyptian character, such as Nile river scenes. The catacombs of Alexandria are particularly rich in examples of Graeco-Egyptian artistic fusion.

It is obvious that the Graeco-Roman culture of Alexandria would have had a major impact on the Jewish population of that city. Alexandrian Greek literature provided models for much of the literature produced by Jewish writers. It is possible that some Jewish scholars were members of the Mouseion, such as Aristobulus, whose allegorical interpretation of Torah was based on contemporary allegories of Homer and who cites Greek writers in his defense of Jewish philosophy. From his time on, there was a strong Jewish philosophical school tradition in Alexandria. Its greatest product was Philo, who, in turn, greatly influenced such Christian theologians as Clement and Origen. It was clearly possible for Jews in Alexandria—Philo is again the best example—both to imbibe the best of Graeco-Roman culture and education and to remain faithful to Torah as observant members of the synagogues. *See also* ALEXANDRIA, JEWS IN.

Alexandria, Jews in Jews settled in Alexandria soon after that city's founding in 331 B.C.E., some of them coming originally as prisoners of war or as military personnel in the service of the rulers of Egypt. Eventually the Alexandrian Jews came to constitute the largest and most important Jewish community of the entire diaspora. They became the predominant population in two of the city's five major neighborhoods, and were present in the others as well. The Alexandrian Jews enjoyed considerable autonomy, and were encouraged by the rulers of Egypt (the Ptolemies, and later the Roman emperors) to live according to their ancestral customs. Their religious life was chiefly concentrated in the synagogues ([houses of] prayer), of which there were many in Alexandria. One of these is described in rabbinic sources as a very large, double-colonnaded basilica, and referred to as "the glory of Israel." It was destroyed in the rebellion of 115–117 C.E.

While the earliest Jewish population was largely Aramaic-speaking, Greek very soon became the dominant language of the Alexandrian Jews. Jewish worship in the synagogues was conducted in Greek, probably from the first half of the third century B.C.E. on. Accordingly, the Hebrew Bible came to be translated into Greek in Alexandria—first the Torah (early 3d c. B.C.E.), and then the Prophets and most of the Writings (by the end of the 2d c. B.C.E.), to which were later added material composed in Greek. The legend of the origin of this translation, the Septuagint, is set forth in the Letter of Aristeas.

The high level of culture and education achieved by Alexandrian Jews is reflected in the literature they produced in Greek: historical writings and prose romances (e.g., Demetrius, Artapanus, 3 Macc., Joseph and Asenath), epic poetry and drama (e.g., Ezekiel the Tragedian), philosophy (e.g., Aristobulus, Philo), poetic compositions attributed to pagan authors (e.g., "Sibylline" oracles), and additions to the Bible (e.g., Wisd. of Sol., 2 [Slavonic] Enoch). The greatest of all of the Alexandrian Jewish writers was Philo, whose numerous writings are dominated by a philosophical interpretation of Torah.

With the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C.E., resulting in new tax burdens, and the rising hostility of Greek citizens of Alexandria, Jewish life in Alexandria became increasingly difficult. With the acquiescence of the Roman prefect, Flaccus, an Alexandrian mob waged a pogrom against the Jews in 38 C.E., followed by Jewish riots. The situation was stabilized for a time by the new emperor, Claudius, in 41 C.E., but the Jewish community suffered severe losses in another pogrom in 66 C.E., with wholesale bloodshed. Finally, under the emperor Trajan, a Jewish revolt took place in 115–117, which resulted in the virtual destruction of the Jews of Alexandria and had devastating effects in the Egyptian countryside and in Cyrene as well. The Jewish community of Alexandria never recovered from these catastrophic events. *See also* ALEXANDRIA, GRAECO-ROMAN CULTURE IN; EGYPT.

Alexandrian Martyrs, Acts of *see* ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

Alexandrion (or Alexandrium) fortress built by King Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.) in the territory of the Samaritans about 32 kilometers southeast of biblical Shechem and 26 kilometers north of Jericho (also known as Sartaba). The widow of Alexander Jannaeus hid at Alexandrion with her son Aristobulus, who fought the Roman general Pompey there. Pompey prevailed, captured Aristobulus, and sent him to Rome. Later, in 57 B.C.E., the Romans under Gabinius and Antony razed the fortress to the ground in the war with Alexander, grandson of Alexander Jannaeus. Herod the Great, who rebuilt it as one of his fortresses in 38 B.C.E., buried family members there (including his first wife Mariamme), and used it to guard his treasures.

Excavations at the Alexandrion starting in 1981 disclosed a two-story palace of Herod's day built around a square hall about 20 meters long on each side. The building had been beautifully decorated with frescoes, Corinthian capitals, and mosaics. The remains of an earlier palace, identified by the

excavator as that of Alexander Jannaeus, lay beneath the ruins of Herod's palace. Many wine jars imported from Italy were found, smashed, in the levels associated with Alexander Jannaeus. During the First Revolt against Rome, a Roman garrison stayed at Alexandrion.

Ali b. Abutalab (598–661 C.E.) known in Arabic as Ali ibn Abi Talib; Mohammed's cousin, becoming the Prophet's son-in-law upon his marriage to Mohammed's daughter Fatimah. In 656 he was elected the fourth caliph during a period of turmoil. He was assassinated in 661 while preparing to lead prayers at the Mosque of Kufah. Ali was famous as a warrior and general during Islam's early struggles for survival. Sherira states that he conquered Piruz-Shapur in Babylonia in 658. The Jews welcomed the caliph to the city, and he treated them cordially.

aliyah (Heb., ascent) going up, specifically, migration to the Land of Israel, which is held to be higher than all other lands, as Jerusalem is higher than all other cities, and Mount Zion higher than all other mountains

aliyah laregel *see* PILGRIMAGE

allegory from the Greek, meaning "to say something different," the literary device of presenting one subject in the guise of another. Small stories (e.g., 2 Sam. 12:1–6) may have been designed as allegories; no biblical works as a whole are so constructed. While biblical allegories are limited, allegorical interpretation of biblical texts has played a major role in the appropriation of scripture.

In the Hellenistic period (330–31 B.C.E.) allegorical interpretation of Greek mythology became commonplace, and myths were understood as symbols of natural processes. Jewish interpreters, influenced by such cultural currents, adopted allegorical interpretation as a way of preserving the Torah's relevance. In the second century B.C.E. Aristobulus used the method in a limited way to deal with the problem of anthropomorphism in scripture (in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.3–8). The Letter of Aristeas explains biblical regulations as symbols of profound ethical teaching (148–71). One common locus for allegorical ingenuity was the scriptural account of the construction of the tabernacle. This dry bit of priestly lore becomes in the hands of allegorical exegetes a profound cosmic symbol (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 3.179–87).

The major exemplar of Hellenistic Jewish allegorical exegesis is Philo of Alexandria, the philosophical interpreter of scripture of the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. While some of his interpretive work operates on a literal level (*Life of Moses*, bk. 1), much of it seeks deeper meanings hidden in the text (e.g., *Allegory of the Laws*). At the same time, Philo is careful to reject an allegorical interpretation that dispenses with observance of the Torah (*On the Migration of Abraham* 89). Philo's allegorical interpretation features many interesting readings but is dominated by the conviction that scripture is really about the journey of the soul to God. Hence, the patriarchs become symbols of ways to approach God, through teaching (Abraham), natural ability (Isaac), and practice (Jacob).

Evidence of Jewish allegorical interpretation is present among early Christians, particularly Paul (Gal. 4:24). It became even more common among Alexandrian Christian interpreters such as Clement and Origen.

alley (for defining space; Heb.: *mabo*) an alley, marked off by a clearcut entryway, that combines all the courtyards opening up into the alley into a single domain for purposes of carrying objects about on the Sabbath. The alley makes the connecting courtyards all one property, so that people may carry things about from courtyard to courtyard throughout the area on the Sabbath. Since on the Sabbath it is forbidden to transport objects from one domain to another, for example, from private domain to public domain, if the alley is not designated as a single space through provision of a crossbeam at the opening into public domain, the alley will be subdivided, and thus on the Sabbath people may not carry objects through it. *See also* ERUB.

Alma ancient Jewish village site in northern upper Galilee with architectural fragments of a highly decorated, perhaps third-century synagogue. Carved stones reported since 1880 include fragments of black granite columns, limestone columns, column bases, a stone decorated with a rosette, and a decorated lintel with a Hebrew and Aramaic inscription. Foundations of an ancient building found near the fragments are assumed to be the synagogue. A collapsed cave may be an ancient catacomb.

The lintel is decorated with three rows of leaves, and the bottom row is flanked on both sides with astragali. The three fragments of this lintel were found in 1914, 1949, and 1957 and read as follows: (1) (Heb.) [proper name ending in -nah] of Tiberias R . . . / [donated the l]intel. May the King of the W[orld give his blessing upon . . .]; (2) (Heb.) May there be peace upon this place and upon all the places of his people Israel . . . ; and (3) (Aram.)

Amen Selah, I, Jose bar Levi the Levite, the craftsman who made . . . .

Jose bar Levi is also mentioned in a lintel inscription from Kefar Baram, also in upper Galilee. The scholar who first published the lintel thought that Jose bar Levi the Levite was a Jewish artisan of the third century C.E. who perpetuated his name where he worked. The Aramaic word for "artisan" (*'wn*) appears in Syriac on sixth-century church lintels in Syria.

alms support for the poor, commanded in the law (e.g., Deut. 14:28–29 on tithing) and commended in prophetic and wisdom teaching (Isa. 58:7; Prov. 14:21; Sir. 4:1–6; Matt. 25:31–46). The Sibylline Oracles equates the giving of alms with "lending to God" (2:80), and Pseudo-Phocylides 1:29 insists "of that which God has given you, give of it to the needy." The Vision of Ezra 31–32 describes the torments of the uncharitable (24–26) and the rewards of almsgivers (64–65; cf. Test. Jacob 7:24–25). According to Josephus (*War* 2.8.6), the Essenes offered alms individually rather than through an institutional structure, but the Damascus Document 14:12–16 requires community members to contribute to a charitable fund administered by the Guardian and the judges. Matthew 6:2 suggests that some charitable donations were accompanied by public announcement. Throughout his travels Paul collects money for the poor of the Jerusalem church (Gal. 2:10; 1 Cor. 16:1–4; 2 Cor. 8:1–9:15; Rom. 15:25–33). *See also* POOR, TREATMENT OF.

al-Mundhir *see* MUNDHIR, AL-

altar (Heb.: *mizbeaḥ*) **1.** structure of wood overlaid with bronze plate used for the twice-daily burnt animal offering, but also for grain, wine, and incense offerings in temple worship. Only priests could approach the altar and minister there.

The Jewish altar was "horned" according to Exodus 27:1–8 and 38:1–7 and measured 5 by 5 by 3 cubits or about 7.5 by 7.5 by 4.5 feet. In the First Temple an altar was built by Solomon 20 by 20 by 10 cubits, but it was not called an altar of burnt offering. A nearly complete but dismantled horned altar is known from a seventh-century B.C.E. context at Beer Sheba, though it is made of cut stones and is just over four cubits high. A second early burnt-offering altar measuring 4 by 4 by 4 cubits of unhewn stone is known from Arad near Beer Sheba. Although the altar of burnt offering is mentioned in many Jewish and other texts, we have no archaeological examples. In 1 Maccabees 1:54 the altar was desecrated, which resulted in its dismantlement and in the building of a new altar in 1 Maccabees 4:44–47, though no dimensions are given. In the Second Temple, according to Josephus, the altar of burnt offering would resemble a square 50 by 50 by 15 cubits. It was made of uncut stones and was horned. The altar of burnt offering as described in the M. Middot 3:1–5 would measure 32 by 32 by 9 cubits, and the area for the fire was 24 by 24 cubits, but the whole passage owes more to the Book of Ezekiel than to the Book of Exodus.

2. gold-covered wooden box or a block of stone or masonry used to hold coals with incense as an accoutrement of temple worship. The Jewish altar was "horned." According to Exodus 30:1–10 and 37:25–28, the altar of incense in the Tent of Meeting (Tabernacle) measured 1 by 1 by 2 cubits (about 1.5 by 1.5 by 3 ft.), was made of acacia wood, and was covered with gold plate. This altar was equipped with horns, molding, rings, and poles for carrying by the priests. A simple representation of this or a first-century-C.E. incense altar appears scratched into the wall plaster of a house in Jerusalem destroyed in 70 C.E. This graffito also shows the temple menorah and a third item that could either be the altar of burnt offering or the table of shewbread. Coins of the Jewish king Agrippa II of 85/86 C.E. show an incense altar, but without horns and surely not of the Second Temple, for it has been copied from a coin of the emperor Domitian. Altars—though, for the most part, they are pagan sacrificial ones—appear on third-century C.E. city coins minted at Acco, Caesarea, Neapolis, Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), Panias or Caesarea Philippi, and other cities across the Jordan. The incense altar of the Second Temple in Jerusalem is mentioned in Josephus (*War* 5.5.4) and in the New Testament (Luke 1:11), which remarks on Zechariah's priestly service at this altar. In Revelation 9:13 there appears a reference to a gold altar, which is surely the incense altar.

Alypius (4th c. C.E.) native of Antioch and close friend of the emperor Julian. While Julian was in Gaul, Alypius served as his representative in Britain, and he sided with Julian against Constantius. Alypius was also known for his scholarly interests. In 362 C.E., Julian placed him in charge of rebuilding the Jerusalem Temple. In May of 363, an earthquake rocked Jerusalem and caused a fire at the construction site. Julian was in Persia, and it was probably Alypius who called a halt to the building project. Although a pagan, Alypius accepted an important imperial office under the Christian emperor Valens.

Amaduni name of a Jewish family that migrated to Armenia. Moses Xorenazi claims that this family,

descended from a certain Manue, came to Armenia in the second century C.E., at the time of Trajan's invasion of the area during Ardashes' reign. Xorenazi states that the family came from the eastern part of the country of the Arik, near Ahmadan (Hamadan), where it was highly regarded, and that it continued to be an important noble family in his day. In Persia the family was known as the Manuyans. It is impossible to know if Xorenazi's report is historically accurate. However, some have seen Manue as the Armenian form of the name Monobases. Thus, the family may be descended from the Adiabenian king Monobazes, whose son, Izates, converted to Judaism in the first century C.E. Monobazes opposed Trajan, and his family could have been forced to flee to Armenia after Trajan invaded Adiabenia. It is also possible that upon the family's leaving Adiabenia, a new royal family came to power, which was favored by those who rejected Izates' conversion to Judaism, and therefore the family could not return to its original home and was forced to move to Armenia. Being the royal family, it is likely that it would have been treated with respect by the Armenians.

Amalek blood enemy of Israel (Exod. 17:8–16), symbolizing implacable foes through all time. He is described as the irreconcilable enemy, ancestor of all later enemies, and is often identified with Rome.

Amanah mountain mentioned in Song of Solomon 4:8 and referred to in rabbinic literature as demarcating a border of the Land of Israel. Apparently situated in southern Syria and distinct from Mount Amanus, further north, it is usually identified with Jabal az-Zevedani, which forms part of the Anti-Lebanon chain, northwest of Damascus.

Ambrose (339–397 C.E.) bishop of Milan. Ambrose was a noted biblical scholar who knew Hebrew as well as Greek and who was familiar with the works of Philo and Plotinus. In 374 he was elected bishop of Milan by both the Arians and the Catholics. He was forced to devote a good deal of his time to fighting Arianism. Ambrose also supported Gratian's removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate house and the emperor's decrees against paganism that followed. After 388, Ambrose backed the emperor Valentinian, who also enjoyed the emperor Theodosius's support. Theodosius and Ambrose struggled to establish their realms of authority. Ambrose wrote that "civil law must bow before religious devotion," and he believed that Judaism and the Jews were matters of religious concern for the state. In 388 the bishop of Callinicum on the Euphrates incited a mob to torch a synagogue. The governor appealed to Theodosius for advice about what to do. The emperor censured the governor for his inaction and ordered the bishop to rebuild the synagogue. But Ambrose forced Theodosius to rescind his orders so that the synagogue would not be rebuilt. In order to support his authority, Theodosius banished Ambrose from his court and issued a number of decrees that were unfavorable to the church.

Amemar **1.** third-century-C.E. Babylonian amora who was a younger contemporary of Judah b. Ezekiel and Sheshet

2. Babylonian rabbi, an older contemporary of Ashi, who restored and, from 390 to 422 C.E., headed the academy at Nehardea

amen in the Hebrew Bible, a concurring response to a prayer, doxology (Neh. 8:6; 1 Chron. 16:36; Ps. 41:13), command (Jer. 11:5), blessing or curse (Deut. 27:15–26; Num. 5:22). It occasionally occurs in conversation as confirmation of what another has said before (Jer. 28:6; 1 Kings 1:36). It derives from the Hebrew root *'mn* meaning "to support" or "to be true or faithful," or in the *hiphil* "to believe." The Septuagint translates it as "so be it" or "truly" but sometimes leaves it untranslated, attesting to its formulaic nature. Usage in postbiblical Judaism and early Christian literature closely follows that of the Hebrew Bible, except where Jesus uses "amen" not as a response but to introduce a solemn statement. In Revelation 3:14, an angel calls Jesus "the Amen" because of the faithfulness and truth of his witness.

Am haAretz (Heb., people of the land) in rabbinic usage, boor, unlearned, not a disciple of the sages; assumed not to observe certain tithing laws and not to eat home meals in a state of ritual cleanness.

Amidah (Heb., standing) principal part of the fixed liturgy, recited standing and in silence. On weekdays, the Amidah consists of prayers of praise, petition, and gratitude. The prayers conclude with a blessing: "Blessed are You, Lord. . . ." The liturgy also is called the Eighteen Benedictions (Heb.: *shemoneh esre*), though in fact it includes nineteen blessings. In the Mishnah and Talmuds it is called the Prayer (Heb.: *tefillah*). The blessings are as follows: (1) God of the fathers; (2) praise of God's power; (3) holiness; (4) prayer for knowledge; (5) prayer for repentance; (6) prayer for forgiveness; (7) prayer for redemption; (8) prayer for healing the sick; (9) blessing of agricultural produce; (10) prayer for ingathering of dispersed Israel; (11) prayer for righteous judgment; (12) prayer for punishment of the wicked and heretics; (13) prayer for reward of the pious; (14) prayer for rebuilding Jerusalem; (15) prayer for restoration of house of David; (16) prayer for acceptance of

prayers; (17) prayer of thanks; (18) prayer for restoration of Temple service; and (19) prayer for peace.

The Amidah includes the following passages. *The founders:* "Praised are You, Lord our God and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob [in some contemporary versions of the liturgy: God of Abraham and Sarah . . . Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah and Rachel], great, mighty, revered God, exalted, who bestows loving kindness and is master of all things, who remembers the acts of loyalty of the founders and who in love will bring a redeemer to their descendants for his great name's sake. King, helper, savior and shield, praised are You, Lord, shield of Abraham." *God's power:* "You are powerful forever, Lord, giving life to the dead. You are great in acts of salvation. You sustain the living in loyalty and bring the dead to life in great mercy, holding up the falling, healing the sick, freeing the prisoners, and keeping faith with those who sleep in the dirt. Who is like You, Almighty, and who is compared to You, King, who kills and gives life and brings salvation to spring up? And You are reliable to give life to the dead. Praised are You, Lord, who gives life to the dead." *God's sanctity:* "We shall sanctify your name in the world just as they sanctify it in the heights of heaven. . . . Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory. . . ." On weekdays, petitionary prayer follows. The concluding blessings, common to all versions of the Prayer, are as follows: "We thank You, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, Defender of our lives, Shield of our safety; through all generations we thank You and praise You. Our lives are in your hands, our souls in your charge. We thank You for the miracles which daily attend us, for your wonders and favor morning, noon, and night. You are beneficent with boundless mercy and love. From of old we have always placed our hope in You. For all these blessings, O our King, we shall ever praise and exalt You. Every living creature thanks You, and praises You in truth. O God, You are our deliverance and our help. Selah! Praised are You, O Lord, for your Goodness and your glory. Grant peace and well-being to the whole house of Israel; give us of your grace, your love, and your mercy. Bless us all, O our Father, with the light of your Presence. It is your light that revealed to us your life-giving Torah, and taught us love and tenderness, justice, mercy, and peace. May it please You to bless your people in every season, to bless them at all times with your light of peace. Praised are You, O Lord, who blesses Israel with peace."

ammah *see* CUBIT

Ammianus Marcellinus (330–395 C.E.) the last major Roman historian. A Greek who was born in Antioch, he settled in Rome after 378 and wrote a Latin history designed as a continuation of Tacitus's work. He wrote thirty-one books covering the period 96–378, but books 1–13 have been lost. Although a pagan, he wrote tolerantly about the Christians and is our most reliable and impartial source concerning Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple. He did not witness the events, but reports that "balls of fire" suddenly issued from the building's foundations, burning several workers. He states that "the undertaking stopped," without specifying who ordered a cessation of the work.

Ammi b. Abba *see* RAMI B. ABBA

Ammi b. Natan Palestinian amora; student of Yoḥanan and Hoshayah, generally referred to without the patronymic, frequently in conjunction with Assi; active in Tiberias. Ammi was an eminent authority of his day (3d c. C.E.); he and Assi were called "the renowned Palestinian priests" (B. Megillah 22a). A native of Babylonia, he studied there under Rab. In the Land of Israel, Ammi had close connections with the patriarchate; along with Ḥiyya b. Abba and Assi, he served under Judah II as an inspector of education (Y. Ḥagigah 1:7, 76c).

Ammon a people who emerged from the Syro-Arabian desert during the second millennium B.C.E. Genesis 19:38 associates them with the incestuous relationship between Lot and his younger daughter. Deuteronomy 23:4 forbids participation by Ammonites (and Moabites) in the Israelite community. Tannaitic authorities narrowed the prohibition to males alone (M. Yebamot 8:3). Later rabbis totally abrogated the prohibition, holding that contemporary Ammonites and Moabites were not of the same nation as those referred to in scripture (B. Berakhot 28a).

amora rabbinical teacher in Palestine and Babylonia in talmudic times (c. 200–500 C.E.). The term usually refers to a spokesman for a major authority; the teacher spoke and the amora repeated what he said to the audience or translated Hebrew into the Aramaic vernacular.

Amos, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

amphora (pl., amphorae) two-handled ceramic or metal vase, often with a long neck and pointed base or, in depictions on coins, with a stand for a base; used for transportation and storage of wine and other liquids. It can also be a motif in Jewish and other art. Amphorae are portrayed in Jewish art on coins, lamps, gold glass, plates, and on

ossuaries. They are also known to have been painted in tombs and carved in relief in synagogue art. Often the amphora is shown with vine tendrils or grape clusters growing out of its neck. The first amphorae on coins appear in year two of the First Revolt (67 C.E.). These specific vessels have two ring handles on the shoulders, open necks without lids, and a stand like an upside down funnel. They are usually interpreted as vessels from the temple cult used to hold water or wine. Amphorae also figure in Jewish epitaphs, sometimes in the center of the stone, sometimes to the side. They also appear in relief in synagogue art, as for example, on lintels or on a frieze, but not commonly with the menorah.

Amram grandson of Levi, son of Kohat, and father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Num. 26:59). Though not prominent in the Bible, he is a hero in the Book of Biblical Antiquities 9, exhorting the Israelite men to disobey Pharaoh by begetting children. The Qumran testament attributed to him legitimates the high priestly line.

Amram, Testament of an Aramaic work in five fragmentary copies (4QAmram^{a-e}) that contains an admonition by Amram—the father of Moses—to his children. The work was discovered in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952, and published by J. T. Milik in 1972. The oldest of the five copies dates from the early or mid-second century B.C.E., a date that places the work's composition before the foundation of the Qumran Community (c. 150–135 B.C.E.).

The Testament's characters are drawn from the biblical Book of Exodus, but the scene of the Testament is not biblically based. Its genre is uncertain: It contains a testamentary introduction, but the body of the text is a dream vision characteristic of apocalypses. The Testament's importance lies in its testimony to the existence of the dualism found in other Qumran documents (e.g., the Community Rule, the War Scroll) at an early date. The chief characters of Amram's vision are Melchiresha (Prince of Evil)—the angelic leader of the Sons of Darkness—and Melchizedek (Prince of Righteousness; this name has been restored by the editor)—the angelic leader of the Sons of Light. These two are locked in combat over humanity; finally, however, God will give victory to Melchizedek. This dualism of light and darkness is attested in ancient Judaism only in the Qumran scrolls, but it figures prominently in certain strands of early Christianity.

Amram Darah fourth-century-C.E. Samaritan poet, whose poetry forms a base for the Samaritan liturgy and initiates a new poetic style. He lived in Nablus (ancient Flavia Neapolis), a city about forty miles (65 kilometers) north of Jerusalem, in the midst of a brief golden age of Samaritan renaissance. Influenced by the obscure Samaritan leader Baba Rabbah and aided by an unstable political situation, Samaritan culture bloomed.

Amram Darah is the first recorded Samaritan poet. Many feel that his poetry was inspired by the Psalms of the Hebrew Bible. Samaritans refer to his widely imitated poetry as a string of "Pearls" (Durran), and twenty-eight of them appear in the Samaritan prayer book, the Defter. There is no rhyming in his poetry, nor does he have a fixed number of lines in a verse or a set number of words per line. Neither do his poems utilize acrostics, that is, beginning lines or verses with subsequent letters of the alphabet, a frequent feature of biblical and later Samaritan poetry.

From his poems various nuances of fourth-century theology can be deduced, particularly the attributes of God, as well as an early indication of such Samaritan practices as the intercalculation of the calendar to establish the dates of the various feast days. *See also* DURRAN.

amulet portable implement of solid (e.g., earthware, metal) or soft materials (e.g., papyrus or cloth) inscribed with incantations and symbols that are designed to provide protective or coercive power for its owner.

Jewish use of amulets is well documented in the artifactual and literary evidence and extends from at least the Second Temple era to the modern period. Earlier use of amulets is hinted in the biblical text (e.g., Isa. 3:20), but more certain evidence is found beginning in the sixth century B.C.E. A silver amulet tentatively dated to the sixth century and incised with the priestly benediction (Num. 6:24–27) was recovered during excavations of Jerusalem. There are allusions to amulets in the wisdom literature (e.g., Prov. 6:21), and 2 Maccabees has a very clear reference to Jews using amulets (2 Macc. 12:40). The Mishnah and Talmud have several references to amulets and the texts suggest widespread use. The point of the discussion in the rabbinic texts is typically a clarification of the appropriate times and applications of the power carried by the amulet (e.g., M. Sab. 61A) and not an attack on their use. A persistent theme of Christian attacks on Jews from the third century forward is that they are the source of magical devices like amulets (e.g., John Chrysostom, *Against the Jews,* Homily 8), which because of their success continue to seduce the Christian population. The later archaeological evidence also bears

witness to the ongoing popularity of amulets among Jews and to the pivotal role of Jews in producing amulets. Late fourth- and fifth-century-C.E. contexts have yielded significant numbers incised in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic.

Amulets typically impart their power by way of written or incised magical signs or symbols and incantations. It is not unusual to find amulets associated with Jewish use that invoke powers from across the spectrum of ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean religions or employ symbols that are not specific to Judaism. The incantations use such things as biblical (I-Am-Who-I-Am) and nonbiblical (Nereg) names for God, angels (Gabriel), biblical verses (Num. 12:13), names (Joseph), places (the four rivers of paradise), magical beings, or powers (Abraxas) to capture the necessary power. The magical signs may be an extension or an addition to the incantation. They may take the form of zodiac signs, letter permutations, or geometric designs or *charaktêres,* but in any case, they are clearly intended as esoteric expressions of magical powers.

The most common use of amulets by Jews was for protection from disease or illness. Illness or disease was frequently considered to be caused by contact with the evil eye. The amulet drew into the sphere of the user the power of divine beings that could deflect the attacks of such evil. Amulets were also used in ways that were not simply protective but rather promoted the welfare of the user in terms of health or fertility. Amulets were employed as well in more coercive ways, for example, to cause another to fall in love with the amulet owner or to bring ill fortune on a business competitor.

Ananias, son of Nedebaeus appointed high priest (c. 47–59 C.E.) by Herod of Chalcis, the grandson of Herod the Great, who had been given this function by the Romans. After a violent clash between Jews and Samaritans, the Roman governor of Syria, Quadratus, sent Ananias and other Jewish leaders to Rome in chains, but they were exonerated through the influence of Agrippa II. Ananias and his family were wealthy and influential in Jerusalem. According to Acts of the Apostles, chapter 23, Paul was brought before the Jerusalem Sanhedrin headed by Ananias in about 58, and Ananias then brought charges against Paul before the Roman procurator Felix in Caesarea.

According to the historian Josephus, Ananias increased his wealth by stealing the tithes destined for other priests and won favor with the people and procurator by giving them gifts. In the sixties, he was active in trying to avoid war with Rome. The Sicarii kidnapped his son and other members of his household and exchanged them for their jailed comrades. His house was burned and he was killed by revolutionaries at the beginning of the war against Rome in 66.

Ananias, son of Onias with his brother, Chelkias, served as a general for Cleopatra III Euergetis in her civil war (107–102 B.C.E.) with her son, Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus. He interceded to keep peace between Alexander Jannaeus and Cleopatra. His father, Onias IV, built the Temple at Leontopolis.

Ananias, son of Tzadok Pharisee and distinguished nonaristocratic leader of the revolutionary party in Jerusalem. In 66 C.E., he was a member of the delegation that promised safe passage to the Roman garrison if it left Jerusalem, a pact not honored. He was also one of the four envoys, all good speakers, sent to Galilee to remove Josephus from command.

Ananus, captain of the Temple son of the high priest Ananias, son of Nedebaeus. After the armed disturbance between Jews and Samaritans, he was one of the Jewish leaders sent to Rome, along with the procurator Cumanus and Samaritan leaders, c. 52 C.E. Through the intercession of Agrippa II, the Jewish leaders were freed.

Ananus, son of Ananus high priest; appointed by King Agrippa II after the death of the Roman procurator Festus in 62 C.E. Because the new procurator, Albinus, had not yet arrived, Ananus convened the Sanhedrin and had his enemies, including James, the brother of Jesus, executed. For this he was deposed after only three months. He was a leading figure in the early stages of the war against Rome (66–70 C.E.). He was put in charge of the defense of Jerusalem and was one of the Jerusalem authorities who sought to remove Josephus from command of Jewish forces in Galilee. When the Zealots, under the leadership of John of Gischala, took over much of Jerusalem, Ananus persuaded the people to oppose them. He closed the gates against the Zealots' allies, the Idumeans, and tried to persuade them to take his side. When the Idumeans finally entered the city, they killed him and his supporters.

Ananus, son of Sethi high priest (6–15 C.E.); appointed by the Roman prefect Quirinius after Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, was deposed. Five of his sons were appointed high priests at different times during the first century. He appears in the New Testament several times under the shortened name Annas. The Gospel of Luke (3:2) refers vaguely to the high priesthood of Annas and Caiphas as the time when John the Bap-

tist received the word of God, and Acts of the Apostles says that Annas was high priest just after Jesus' death. The Gospel of John correctly identifies Annas as the father-in-law of Caiaphas who was high priest at the time of Jesus' execution (18:13). Though Caiaphas was high priest, Annas retained influence in the governing class.

Anastasius I Byzantine emperor (r. 491–518 C.E.) who improved the economic condition of the empire. He was a supporter of the Monophysites and often used the term "Jew" to abuse his enemies, the supporters of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. He followed a policy of not interfering with the Jews. During the reign of the previous emperor, Leo, a Persian named Amorcessus had occupied the island of Jotaba, expelled the Byzantine custom collectors, levied tolls on ships passing along the gulf, and brought a community of Jewish merchants to the island. In 498, Anastasius occupied the island of Jotaba, leaving the Jews there unmolested.

Anastasius of Sinai abbot of the monastery at Sinai, seventh century C.E. He reports that a monk from his monastery saw a vision in his dreams that caused him to abandon Christianity and convert to Judaism. The convert lived among the Jews of Naaran and Livias in the Jordan Valley.

anathema (Gr.: *anathēma,* translating Heb.: *ḥerem*) something devoted to God, either to be consecrated or cursed (Lev. 27:28; Josh. 7:1–13). The related verb in Greek is used to describe the taking of an oath that will bring a curse upon the person who breaks it. The verb occurs in 1 Enoch 6:4–6 for the watchers' oath and explains the origin of the name of Mount Hermon (cf. Acts 23:14 for a similar oath). Anathema comes eventually to be synonymous with "curse" or "cursed" (Rom. 9:3; 1 Cor. 12:3, 16:22; Gal. 1:8–9).

Ancient Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, OLD

Ancient of Days title for God in Daniel 7:9. Daniel sees in his vision how "thrones were set and an Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was white as snow and his hair like lamb's wool." He is seated on a fiery throne and is surrounded by thousands of attendants. Then "one like a son of man" comes on the clouds and is presented before him. The imagery of this vision has its roots in ancient Canaanite mythology, known now from the texts discovered at Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra in Syria) in 1929. It is unusual in a biblical context in so far as both the Ancient of Days and the "one like a son of man" appear to be divine beings. (In the Hebrew Bible it is YHWH who rides on the clouds.) In the Ugaritic texts, however, the god Baal rides on the clouds, and he is subordinate to the high god El. El is depicted as an aged, gray-bearded god, and is called *ab shanima,* "father of years." In Daniel's vision, the El figure represents YHWH and the Baal figure, the "one like a son of man," most probably represents Michael, the patron angel of Israel.

Andreas leader active in the uprising against the Romans (115–117 C.E.). Dio Cassius reports on the atrocities perpetrated by the Cyrenaican Jews under Andreas's leadership, claiming that the Jews engaged in cannibalism, mutilated the Gentiles, made clothes out of their skins and entrails, and used some in wild beast shows and as gladiators. Dio reports 220,000 Gentiles died.

angel (from Gr.: *angelos*; Heb.: *malakh,* messenger) in modern usage the most common term for a whole range of divine beings to whom biblical and Second Temple texts ascribe a variety of names and functions. The belief that heaven was populated by a multitude of such divine beings was common in the religions of the ancient Near East, and evidence of such belief appears in various strata of the Hebrew Bible. Deuteronomy 32:8 refers to the "sons of God," to whom the Most High apportioned authority over the nations. The Song of Deborah asserts that "the stars" fought against Sisera (Judg. 5:20). Psalm 82 criticizes the *elohim* (gods), the "sons of the Most High" (perhaps the gods of the nations), because they have rebelled against God (*elohim*) by not maintaining justice in the world that had been put into their charge. Other texts refer to a single "messenger (*malakh*) of YHWH," who serves as God's presence among God's people and is difficult to distinguish from God.

Complex "angelologies" developed in the Hellenistic period, especially in apocalyptic literature, paradoxically complementing the notion of God's sovereignty while providing a means of connection with the heavenly throne room. Early texts refer to these divine beings variously as "sons of God," emphasizing their divine nature, "holy ones," focusing on the quality that makes them fit to stand in the presence of the Holy One," and "[holy] watchers," a term of uncertain connotation. A special group, the cherubim, seraphim, and ofanim, are in intimate contact with the divine throne. The holy ones attend the divine King in the heavenly throne room and serve as priests in the heavenly temple. A named group of four or seven holy watchers act as intercessors and advocates and as God's agents in the world, enacting judgment, healing humanity, and interpreting God's activity

and bringing messages. In this latter respect they are, properly speaking, "angels." By the turn of the era, this last term is developing into a generic expression for the whole heavenly entourage, gradually replacing "holy ones," "watchers," and "sons of God." The change reflects the fact that many of the texts recount instances of heavenly beings appearing to humans.

Military and governing functions are also ascribed to heavenly beings. The term "host (Heb.: *tzaḇa*) of heaven" denotes their role as God's army, and the title "prince" (Heb.: *sar*) indicates military and ruling functions (Dan. 10:13, 20; cf. also Dan. 7:13–14, and the enthronement of Israel's patron). On a more cosmic scale, 1 Enoch imagines large numbers of heavenly beings in charge of the heavenly bodies and places of eschatological significance in the world.

If the world of angels, holy ones, and sons of God served to assure a beneficial connection between the heavenly world and the righteous on earth, there was also a dark side to the divine realm. A number of myths developed that ascribed the origin of evil to a revolt by heavenly beings, and thus, as in Daniel 10, human existence and history is perceived as a battleground between warring supernatural powers. *See also* ADVOCATE; ANGELOPHANY; CHERUBIM; DEVIL; EVIL, ORIGINS OF; GABRIEL; HOLY ONES; INTERCESSION; JERAḤMEEL; MICHAEL; OFANIM; PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS; RAPHAEL; SARIEL; SATAN; SERAPHIM; SPIRITS, TWO; STARS; TEN THOUSAND TIMES TEN THOUSAND; URIEL; WATCHERS.

Angelic Liturgy (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 4QShirShabb) Hebrew composition found in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952. There are also eight fragmentary copies from Cave 4 (4Q400–407), one from Cave 11 (11QShirShabb), and one from Masada (MasShirShabb). Since the earliest copy dates from the middle of the first century B.C.E., the work itself was composed no later than the beginning of the first century B.C.E.

The composition, which is most likely sectarian, contains a cycle of songs composed for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year, according to the solar calendar; each song was evidently meant to accompany the holocaust offering on that Sabbath. The songs emphasize the sect's belief in the simultaneity of heavenly and earthly worship. Each song begins with a heading (e.g., "To the Master. Song of the holocaust of the first Sabbath, on the fourth of the first month."), followed by a call to praise God, addressed to the heavenly court. The body of the songs developed various ideas of angelic praise, the celestial sanctuary, and the divine throne. The songs seem to be intended for communal worship.

The songs, which take their inspiration particularly from the divine-throne vision of the first three chapters of the Book of Ezekiel, are especially important for the light they shed on the historical antecedents of *merkaḇah* (throne-chariot) mysticism and *hekhalot* (heavenly palace) literature of the rabbinic and postrabbinic eras. The content of the songs, in which angels function as priests in the heavenly temple, indicates a strong priestly identity for the group for whom they were intended; and the large number of copies, and their influence on other compositions from Qumran, show the songs' popularity among the Qumran sect, a group that emphasized the role of the priest. The composition's presence at Masada may be explained by the presence of sectaries there after the destruction of Qumran in 68 C.E., or it may point to a wider distribution of the text outside the Qumran community. In any event, the Angelic Liturgy indicates a wider dissemination (perhaps in a priestly milieu) of the *merkaḇah* and *hekhalot* literature's mystical and speculative ideas, which the rabbis would later attempt to control and suppress, than was previously thought.

angel of death (Heb.: *malakh haMavet*) in the Talmuds, the divine agent that brings death at the proper time

angelophany appearance of an angel to a human being. The purpose of such appearances is normally to make an announcement or commission the person to a task or role. The stereotyped literary form describing the angelophany parallels the form of other epiphany accounts in the Bible and related literature. *See also* EPIPHANY.

angels, tongues of phrase used by Paul in 1 Corinthians 13:1 to refer to glossolalia, a form of ecstatic speech: "If I speak in the tongues of mortals and of angels, but do not have love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal." The apparent reference is to sounds that belong to no human language, but are thought to come from the heavenly language of the angels. While the phrase is not found elsewhere, similar ideas are attested in the Testament of Job 46–50 (1st C. B.C.E.–1st C. C.E.): when the three daughters of Job demand a share in their father's inheritance, they are given magical sashes, which allow them to speak ecstatically in the "dialect of angels." The language of their hymns shows that the women have transcended earthly things. Angelic speech is also a subject of reflection in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb), a fragmentary text found among

the Dead Sea Scrolls. This text describes the songs with which the angels praise God in his heavenly temple. The "wondrous words" of the angels—far superior to any "offering" of "mortal tongue"—reflect their superior knowledge.

angel worship In the Hebrew Bible, angels are God's messengers, lower than God but superior to humans; there is little interest in them as independent entities. During the Second Temple period and afterward, developed angelologies appear showing interest in angels' names and functions; these functions include revelation (Ezek. 43:13–14; Zech. 1:19; Dan. 8:15–17; 1 Enoch 7–8; 4 Ezra 4:1–2; Rev. 1:1), mediation (1 Enoch 15:2), guarding of the heavens (1 Enoch 71:7–8; 3 Enoch), controlling meteorological phenomena (Jub. 2:2; 1 Enoch 7, 60:22), and making war (LAB 61:5). Because of their important roles in the universe, angels are invoked in mystical and magical texts to produce effects such as healing (Test. Sol., Sefer ha-Razim). Colossians 2:18 mentions worship of angels in Colossae, and in Revelation 19:10 and 22:8–9, the seer is rebuked for trying to worship an angel. In the Book of Biblical Antiquities 34:2, Aod gains magical powers through worshiping angels.

aniconism the condition or state of using no images. In the case of the ancient Judaisms of Palestine or the diaspora, this was observed by most populations in the sense that images did not furnish the major matter for the cult. On the other hand, ancient Jewish art after the destruction of the Second Temple developed a huge vocabulary of animal depictions and many human ones. Even some representations of divinities and figures associated with Graeco-Roman religion appear in late Roman and Byzantine synagogue art (Helios, Medusa, Genii, and the like). The absence of images, however, has on occasion been used to argue for the presence of some form of Judaism. For example, in the so-called Hellenistic Jewish Temple of Beer Sheba, the presence in the Phase I floor of images of pagan deities (Demeter and Persephone, a Thoth monkey, a ba-bird, the Nabatean deity Delphinios, a Horus amulet) with cult furniture argues that the temple surely served the interests of a non-Jewish cult. On the other hand, the absence of images or amulets of any kind associated with the later Phase II floor, also provided with cult furniture, argues for an aniconic religion such as some form of ancient Judaism.

In a later context, namely, in the "Cave of Letters" near En Gedi, the Jewish refugees of the Bar Kokhba Revolt hiding in the caves battered the noses or faces of the Roman images on their bronze incense shovels to render them usable. That is, a form of aniconism was at work that required that the Jewish user render the image on the shovel "desecrated" by filing away the nose or face (M. Abod. Zar. 4:5). The interests of aniconism in this context were served by defacing a central element in the image, not by removing the image entirely. From the fourth century C.E., Jewish art was particularly rich in images, especially in mosaic floors in synagogues. Even there, however, aniconism with respect to the deity was observed. Even the hand emerging from the cloud in the binding of Isaac in the floor of the Beth Alpha Synagogue is likely to be understood as that of an angel, not of the deity.

animals, cruelty to (Heb.: *tzaar baalei ḥayim*) inflicting suffering on animals. Cruelty to animals is prohibited by the seven commandments that pertain to all of the offspring of Noah, that is, all of humanity, not only Israel. Its avoidance requires slaughtering animals humanely; not muzzling an ox when it ploughs (Deut. 25:4); allowing animals a Sabbath of rest (Exod. 23:12); feeding animals before eating; not buying animals one cannot properly feed; and showing mercy to animals.

animals, representations of images of mainly fauna, but occasionally of imaginary animals in Jewish art and archaeology both in Palestine and in the diaspora. Animals are well represented in Jewish art and archaeology, but mainly from the fourth century C.E. In the Second Temple, Herod attempted to hang a representation of an eagle above the doorway, but the population took exception to such an addition and tore it down. Josephus records that the palace of Herod Antipas at Tiberias was decorated with sculptures of animals to the displeasure of the local populations. Nevertheless, on everyday objects found in Jerusalem from the time of the Second Temple animals occasionally appear. On the stone handle of a vessel found in a house appears the word *qorban* (sacrifice) engraved with two birds upside down (animals appearing upside down in ancient art are usually understood to be dead). The edge of one table was decorated with a fish. Stucco moldings from the same Jewish houses reveal running stags, lionesses, and boars. Yet hardly two hundred meters away, the enormous architectural presence of the Second Temple was entirely without animal representations. Even at this early period in Jewish funerary art and in the art of everyday objects, animals do appear without apparently offending whatever sense of aniconism prevailed.

In late Roman and Byzantine contexts, animal

representations in synagogue mosaic floors and in other media are very well represented. The synagogue floor at Jerash in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, for example, apparently displays a procession of animals two by two, which is therefore understood by the excavators to be a representation of the Noah's Ark story. Inhabited scrolls in both Byzantine churches and synagogues feature a set of animals within medallions formed by vine scrolls. These include felines, dogs, lions, cocks, ducks, dolphins, fish, peacocks, hares, stags, bulls, goats, sheep, and others. Even in the menorah panel in mosaic floors from ancient synagogues of the Byzantine period birds are found. It even appears that a bull and a red cow are depicted in the late Byzantine synagogue mosaic floor from Sepphoris. In the Jewish funerary art from the catacombs of Beth Shearim in western, Lower Galilee there is an extensive vocabulary in representations of animals. In these catacombs, revealed as Jewish by the names and titles of the deceased and by the many depictions of the menorah, lions, eagles, and birds appear most commonly on the sarcophagi, but also stags and hunting dogs. Engraved on the walls of the burial catacombs appear two horses.

animals, treatment of (in rabbinic Judaism) The rabbis did not approve of hunting for sport and considered it an expression of a base instinct. The prohibition of cruelty to animals is basic to the rabbinic concept of civilization. One of the seven commandments of the children of Noah that governs the conduct of all humans prohibits eating a limb or flesh from a living animal. Some rabbis taught that animal flesh may be eaten only in response to an overpowering need. Others encouraged vegetarianism.

Rabbinic rules generally prohibit inflicting unnecessary pain on all animals. They require that a person feed his animals before he eats and must have feed for his animals before he purchases them. Rabbinic homilies extol kindness to animals as a great virtue. The greatest leaders of Israel, Moses and David, were both compassionate shepherds of flocks before they assumed their positions of greatness. One story tells how Judah the Prince suffered pain for thirteen years because he did not aid a calf that was to be slaughtered. He was relieved of suffering only after showing compassion for kittens. There is little evidence, however, that the rabbis attributed to animals the possession of a soul, subject to reward and punishment or life after death.

The rabbinic attitudes toward domestic animals were generally positive. They considered the sheepdog a reliable pet and they discouraged dwelling in a city that lacked a barking dog. Some, however, considered the dog an unruly and immodest animal. They refer to the contention that is common between cats and dogs and cats and mice and warn of the association of cats with magic. Common folklore about other domesticated animals appears in the literature, including sheep, goats, oxen, swine, horses, and asses.

The fox, wolf, weasel, and lion are wild animals often mentioned in rabbinic legend. The eagle, vulture, and falcon are named from among the birds of prey, while the raven and dove often take on symbolic significance in rabbinic interpretation. The rabbis preached that a person could learn ethical behavior from observing the animal kingdom.

A main concern to rabbis was the identification and preparation of the animals that were permitted for consumption. Humane and hygienic preparation of food were primary factors in many of the regulations legislated by the rabbis. To qualify as kosher an animal, bird, or fish had to belong to an acceptable species and be without disease or defect. Beasts and fowl had to be slaughtered and their blood removed by salting and washing. The rules of kosher slaughter require that a trained *shoḥet* rapidly and without interruption cut through the major portion of the windpipe and esophagus of a beast in order to inflict the least possible pain on the animal and to ensure the efficient drainage of its blood. The Talmud's tractate Ḥullin, which is the major source of information pertaining to these rabbinic issues, includes the following: procedures for slaughtering an animal according to the requirements of rabbinic law; diseases and deficiencies that render an animal *treif*, that is, nonkosher; a talmudic discourse on veterinary pathology; classification of animals, birds, fish, insects, as clean or unclean; a talmudic taxonomy of natural species; laws regarding an animal fetus; fractures in animals and birds; the biblical injunction against killing an animal and its young on the same day; the ritual for covering the blood of an animal after slaughtering; food taboos; forbidden cuts of meat; the injunction against eating an animal's sciatic nerve; mixtures of forbidden meats with permitted cuts; general theoretical discussion of the doubtful status of any item that is subject to rabbinic law; neutralization of a banned food substance in a mixture with permitted substances; the prohibition of mixing milk and meat; meal regulations; preparation of some animal organs for consumption; rules regarding the uncleanness of the carcass of an animal that dies; rules regarding gifts

to the priests from animals (taxes); various cuts of meat and shearings of sheep that go to the priests; the biblical law of sending the mother bird away from the nest before taking the young. Interspersed throughout the tractate's discussions and analyses of these subjects are a variety of theological and moral excursuses, biblical exegeses, etiologies of dietary practices, mythic tales, historical legends, and homilies.

Rabbinic sources distinguished domesticated from wild beasts. The latter were not valid for sacrifice, their fats were prohibited, and one was obligated to cover with dust the blood that spurted out at the time of their slaughter. An animal that died was unclean as carrion and prohibited for consumption. A dead reptile was singled out as a generative source of uncleanness.

The rabbinic notion of the messianic age includes the defeat of the mythic beast Leviathan, a banquet served from its flesh, and a sukkah made from its luminescent skin. *See also* RITUAL SLAUGHTERER.

Annas abbreviated form of the Hebrew name Ananus, found several times in the New Testament in reference to the high priest Ananus, son of Sethi (Luke 3:2; John 18:13, 24; Acts 4:6).

Annius Rufus one of the first Roman governors of Judea. A man of equestrian rank, he is the third governor that Josephus names. Scholars usually date his tenure to 12–15 C.E. A Greek fragment from the basilica at Sebaste has the name L. Annius Rufus, and this may be a reference to the governor.

annona Roman tax occasionally imposed upon the provinces in addition to the regular taxes. In the second century, the *annona* signified an imperial order requiring the inhabitants of the provinces to deliver supplies to the Roman troops as they marched through the land. The army paid for the goods, although seldom at their market value. With the increased frequency of troop movements in the third century, the *annona* posed a severe hardship on the civilian populations because it could be demanded at any time and the amount was not set. The Jewish custom of allowing the land to remain fallow every seventh year meant that the *annona* could present unique problems to the Jewish farmers of Palestine, and it may be the basis for some of the rabbinic rules liberalizing the restrictions of the Sabbatical year. By the second half of the third century, it became a mainstay of the Roman economy because severe inflation had forced an almost complete abandonment of a money economy. When Diocletian stabilized the economy, he made the *annona* a regular tax levied on the basis of a property valuation that occurred every fifteen years. The tax affected the peasants and the few town dwellers who owned land.

annual cycle pattern for weekly readings of the Torah (Pentateuch) that takes a year to complete. As early as the first century, Josephus and the New Testament reveal that passages from the Hebrew Bible were regularly read in synagogue worship. By about the sixth century, Jews in Babylonia had established a pattern of reading the whole of the Torah (i.e., the Pentateuch) in one year. This annual cycle divided the Torah into fifty-four divisions (*parshayot*). Over the medieval period, the annual cycle gradually replaced the trienniel cycle among all Jewry, although as late as the twelfth century some synagogues still used the trienniel cycle. Today, the annual cycle is used almost exclusively.

anointed (Heb.: *mashiaḥ* [hence, messiah]; Gr.: Christos) Anointing (with oil) was part of royal and priestly investiture ceremonies (Exod. 29:7 [Aaron]; 1 Kings 1:39 [Solomon]; Sir. 46:19 [David]; 2 Mac. 1:10 [Aristobulus]; 2 Enoch 22 [Enoch]; passages throughout the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs [many of which may be Christian additions]). Passages such as 1 Samuel 24:6 and Daniel 9:25, which speak of the "Lord's anointed," contribute to later eschatological speculations: signifying a divine agent, the "anointed one" appears in Psalms of Solomon 17:32 and 18:5; 2 Baruch 29, 30, and 72 and 4 Ezra 12 impart that a future king called "the anointed" is expected. Qumran documents speak of two anointed figures, one royal and one priestly.

Josephus notes that the Essenes reject anointing with oil (*War* 2.8.3). Anointing with spices is a ritual for preparing a corpse, as in Testament of Abraham 20:11; Apocalypse of Moses 40:1; Mark 16:1; and Luke 24:1. The accounts of Jesus' anointing (Mark 14:3–9; Matt. 26:6–13; John 12:1–8) thus foreshadow his death as well as signify divine commission.

Ant. *see* ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

anthropomorphism, targumic treatment of An anthropomorphism is the interpretation of what is not human or personal in terms of human or personal characteristics. In the Bible, anthropomorphic statements frequently attribute human characteristics or activities to God. For example, "God created" (Gen. 1:1), "God spoke" (Gen. 1:3), and "God saw" (Gen. 1:4) speak of God in human terms. The targums have a strong tendency to alter such anthropomorphisms. In Targum Neofiti, these changes are sometimes carried out by assigning an

action to an attribute of God; attributes used include God's *memra* (word), *shekhinah* (presence), or "Glory." So instead of God creating, for example, God's *memra* creates. At other times the action is not performed by God but in front of God, or is rendered in the passive voice. In Genesis 1:4, for instance, the statement that "God saw" becomes "it was manifest before the Lord." *See also* ANTHROPOPATHISM, TARGUMIC TREATMENT OF.

anthropopathism, targumic treatment of an anthropopathic statement attributes human emotions or passions to God. The targum translators usually avoid anthropopathisms. When the biblical text has them (e.g., Isaiah 1:10–14), the targumist treats them as it does anthropomorphisms. *See also* ANTHROPOMORPHISM, TARGUMIC TREATMENT OF.

Antichrist the human embodiment of a transcendent eschatological opponent of God. The term, of Christian coinage, occurs in the Epistles of John (1 John 2:18, 22, 4:3; 2 John 1:7) and emphasizes the role of antichrists as deceivers, false teachers who embody the deceit of the devil, the spirit of error. Christian theology cites 2 Thessalonians 2:3–12 as the classic description of *the* Antichrist. This text's portrait of "the man of lawlessness," the opponent of Jesus, may reflect an interpretation of Isaiah 14:4–20 and Ezekiel 28:1–19, which describe the hybris and ultimate judgment of a monarch who strives to be equal or like God. This tradition may also inform descriptions of the death of Antiochus IV (2 Macc. 9) and Pompey the Great (Ps. Sol. 2:24–31), who are seen as human agents of a demonic opponent of God (cf. Acts 12:20–23, of Herod Agrippa I). Reference to the temple of God (2 Thess. 2:4) led some Reformation theologians to identify the central figure as the Roman pope or a personification of the papacy, but the tradition and probably the passage refer to the religious functions or divine aspirations of a royal figure.

anti-Christian prayer *see* BIRKAT HAMINIM

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II (Heb. name: Mattathias) Hasmonean king of the Jewish kingdom (r. 40–37 B.C.E.). He was captured and paraded in Rome by Pompey after the latter's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. He and his father escaped from Rome and in 56 B.C.E. raised a small army in Palestine, which was defeated by the Romans. The Parthians made him king of Israel and high priest in 40 B.C.E. during their invasion of greater Syria. During 39–37 B.C.E., he fought a series of battles with Herod the Great, who had been appointed king of Israel by the Roman Senate. Finally, he was besieged and captured in Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. by Herod and the Roman legate Sosius and was subsequently executed in Antioch. With his death, the Hasmonean dynasty ended.

Antigonus, son of John Hyrcanus popular general and talented leader. He served his brother Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.E.) in the latter's attack on Samaria. He aroused his brother's envy and was murdered by him in Jerusalem.

Antigonus of Sohko Pharisaic scholar, active at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. He is listed at M. Abot 1:3 as the successor of Simeon the Righteous in the chain of transmission of Torah. He is credited with the statement: "Do not be like servants who serve the master on condition of receiving a reward, but like servants who serve the master not on condition of receiving a reward; and let the fear of heaven be upon you."

anti-Judaism, Christian opposition to Judaism on Christian religious grounds. Unique Christian opposition to Judaism arose with the claim that Christianity rather than Judaism was the true embodiment of Israel's religion. Although its origins lie in the first century, this theologically oriented anti-Judaism has flourished in the nineteen-century history of the church.

The results of historical criticism notwithstanding, it seems clear that Jesus of Nazareth criticized persons, practices, and forms of religiosity and social behavior within his native Judaism. This critique, however, was modeled in part on the Israelite prophetic tradition. Jesus spoke as a Jew to Jews.

In the early decades of the church, opposition to Judaism began to emerge that related to one's definition of what truly constituted Jewish religion. Convinced that the God of Israel had raised Jesus from the dead and exalted him in heaven as Lord and Messiah, Christians maintained that history was moving toward a culmination that Israel's prophets had predicted, and they asserted that Jews must affirm Jesus' status as God's unique eschatological agent if they wished to attain the covenantal blessings. Being a true Jew involved being a Christian—having faith in Jesus Christ. The absence of such faith rendered one's Abrahamic descent null and void.

This exclusivism, which had parallels in contemporary sectarian Judaism (e.g., the communities of 1 Enoch and the Qumran Scrolls), was complemented by an inclusivistic strain that drew on impulses in the Bible (e.g., Isa. 40–66) and some pseudepigraphical texts (the Sibylline Oracles, the Letter of Aristeas, and also 1 Enoch). God's new action in Jesus had catalyzed universal salvation for

humanity. Thus, with remarkable rapidity, Christian preachers began to develop missions in gentile communities. This raised a crucial question within early Judaism and Christianity: Was obedience to the Torah necessary for Gentile converts? The debate was complex and often heated, but by the end of the first century, a predominantly Gentile church identified faith in Jesus as the mark of a true child of Abraham, while Jews maintained that Torah obedience (however one might construe this), and not faith in Jesus as Messiah, was constitutive of Judaism.

The New Testament attests these developments. Paul argues in Romans and Galatians that both Jews and Gentiles are made right with God through faith in Christ and not through observance of the Torah (especially circumcision and food laws). Nonetheless, as a Jew, Paul anguishes over the "unbelief" of Israel and envisions a day when the Gentile mission will be complete and most Jews will come to faith in Jesus (Rom. 9–11). The gospels present a different picture. The unbelief of the Jews is seen to be permanent, and the people of God is identified with the church. In narrating this state of affairs to their largely Gentile audiences, the evangelists highlight Jesus' critique of aspects of Judaism. Conversely, they depict widespread Jewish opposition to Jesus' ministry, and they lay the blame for his crucifixion on the shoulders of the Jewish hierarchy, in particular, and the Jewish people, in general. Matthew 27:25 describes Pontius Pilate's dramatic declaration of Jesus' innocence, while the Jewish people call down a blood curse on themselves and their children. In Luke 23:13–25, the Roman governor delivers Jesus to the will of the Jewish people, who lead Jesus away to be crucified. Luke's story continues in the Book of Acts with Jewish opposition to the apostolic mission. In Gospel of John, "the Jews" is a veritable synonym for unbelievers. Thus, a picture of the Jews as unbelieving opponents of Jesus, responsible for his crucifixion, is ready for assembly from a selective reading of the texts that are achieving canonical authority in the second and third-century church.

Leaders of the postapostolic church develop the picture. For Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, and Melito of Sardis, it is the Christians and not the Jews who truly understand the gist and goal of Israel's ancient scriptures and traditions. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* and Melito's *Homily on the Passover* are early examples of a developing genre of anti-Jewish literature.

A crucial turn is taken in the Protestant Reformation, especially in the writings of Martin Luther, where Paul's formulation of law and gospel provides a model for contrasting true Christianity with the legalism of medieval Roman Catholicism. This theological construct has left a deep imprint on nineteenth- and twentieth-century discussions of early Christianity written by Protestant historians; they depict first century Jews as clones of their Roman Catholic opponents. Sometimes employing the philosophical categories of Hegelian idealism, they contrast ethical prophetic religion (thesis) with postexilic legalism (antithesis), which is the foil for the Christian synthesis of Israel's religious tradition. With the coming of Christ at the fullness of time, first-century Judaism is dubbed "late Judaism" by some theologians, a term that characterized it as outmoded and defunct, obsessed with the law, and blind to the fulfillment of the heart of the prophetic message, the coming of the Messiah.

At its center—and true to its origins—this anti-Jewish critique remains theological, based on the conviction that the Jews misunderstand their own religion, and it proves its thesis from elements in Jewish scripture and tradition. Nonetheless, this theological conviction has had wide-ranging and incalculable effects on the social and intellectual history of humanity. At times it has provided a rationale for anti-Semitic agendas and has itself shown an anti-Semitic face.

The Holocaust and its sensitizing of humanity to the long history of anti-Semitism in the West have helped to spur a new, empathic understanding of Judaism at the turn of the era. While the specter of anti-Judaism still hovers over Christian theology, piety, and practice—not least when its scriptures are read in public worship—many Christian individuals and communities are increasingly struggling to redefine their religious self-understanding in ways that are more faithful to first-century history and consonant with a broader range of elements inherited from their mother religion. *See also* ANTI-SEMITISM, PAGAN; LEGALISM.

antinomianism the view that, by grace, Christians are set free from the need to observe any moral law. Although the viewpoint is attributed to the Apostle Paul, his attitude toward the Torah was complex, and he repeatedly emphasized the need to lead a righteous life that was, in effect, often consonant with commandments of the Torah. The use of the Greek expression "do lawlessness" (Matt. 7:23, 13:41) has been cited as evidence that Matthew was combating antinomianism in the early church, but the expression is idiomatic and simply denotes wrongdoing that violates the Torah.

Whether certain Gnostic groups espoused antinomianism on the grounds that matter is evil and, therefore, bodily actions are indifferent, is a point of scholarly dispute because of the polemical character of the ancient documents making the charge. Antinomian teaching, technically speaking, does appear, however, in the Reformation and post-Reformation period. *See also* LAWLESSNESS.

Antiochenes term used in 2 Maccabees 4:9 for the citizens of Jerusalem when it was turned into a polis during the Hellenistic reform under Jason (175 B.C.E.). The exact origin and significance of the name are uncertain, but it is reasonably conjectured that the name derives from that of Antiochus IV, and that Jerusalem may have been renamed Antiochus.

Antioch on the Orontes, Jews in Antioch, located on the coast of northern Syria, was founded in 330 B.C.E. by Seleucus I, one of the successors of Alexander the Great. Seleucus ruled Mesopotamia and Syria. Antioch was a gateway between the Mediterranean and the East and later became one of the three largest and most important cities of the Roman empire. Josephus the historian claims that Jews were recognized there as citizens from the beginning, but the evidence he presents makes it more likely that they were recognized as a legal ethnic community within the city. During the war of Antiochus IV against Jerusalem (167–164 B.C.E.), the community may have suffered some oppression, but it was restored to its former status after his rule. The Roman conquest of Antioch in 64–63 B.C.E. did not change the status of the Jewish community. Any conflicts with the authorities in Antioch were particular and of limited duration, rather than chronic. For example, in 41 C.E. the Antiochene Jewish community protested the expedition of the Roman governor Petronius to place a statue of Gaius Caligula in the Jerusalem Temple on imperial orders. They caused him to delay the expedition until Gaius had died.

During and after the war between Rome and Jerusalem (66–70 C.E.), the Jewish community in Antioch was threatened and persecuted by the rest of the population, but their fundamental legal status was reaffirmed after the war by Titus, the victorious Roman general. Later inscriptions and literary sources show that the Jewish community, which may have numbered twenty thousand or more, was centered in the southern part of the city and ruled by a council of elders (*gerousia*). Among a number of synagogues, there was a prominent one dedicated to the Maccabean martyrs. Jewish leaders were involved in the civic life of the city through the fourth century C.E. and also maintained vital relations with leaders in Palestine. The works of the fourth century rhetorician, Libanius, show that Jewish farmers lived in the rural areas around the city. The Jewish community in Daphne, a suburb south of Antioch, contained a beautiful synagogue.

Antiochus III (the Great) (b. 241 B.C.E.) Seleucid ruler. He succeeded his brother Seleucus III Soter in 223 to a greatly reduced Seleucid kingdom, which he set out to restore and expand. In the Fourth Syrian War against Egypt (221–217 B.C.E.) to regain Palestine and Syria under Ptolemaic control, he was eventually defeated by Ptolemy IV Philopator at Raphia in Gaza (217). Antiochus then turned eastward and conquered Parthia, Armenia, and Bactria (212–205) with forays into India and Arabia, thus earning the title "the Great." Antiochus conspired with Philip V of Macedon against the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes and, by the Battle of Panias (200), gained control of Ptolemaic Syria and Palestine, including Judea. A letter from Antiochus to the Jews allowed them to continue their ancestral laws and granted subsidies to the temple worship (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138–147). After making peace with Ptolemy in 195, he invaded Europe to recover Thrace, but fell into conflict with Roman interests and was defeated both on land and on sea. The Peace of Apamea (188) ensured that the Seleucid empire was no longer a Mediterranean power, and the high indemnity imposed on the Seleucids kept successive rulers searching for new sources of revenue.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215 B.C.E.–164 B.C.E.) Seleucid king (r. 175–164 B.C.E.) regarded as Israel's great enemy before and during the Maccabean revolt; son of Antiochus III. After the Roman defeat of his father at the Battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.E.), Antiochus IV was sent to Rome as a hostage and remained there until 176 B.C.E. Following the assassination of his brother Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV gained control of the Seleucid empire and became king in 175 B.C.E.

Antiochus IV invaded Egypt in 170/169 B.C.E. and again in 168 B.C.E. But the Roman general Popillius Laenas issued an ultimatum that forced Antiochus to withdraw from Egypt or be counted an enemy of Rome. As he returned from Egypt to Antioch, Antiochus IV plundered the Jerusalem Temple (perhaps in both 169 and 168 B.C.E., or perhaps only once). Drawn into political and religious affairs in Judea by a faction of "progressives" (see 1 Macc. 1:11–15), Antiochus IV either promoted or cooperated in a program that brought Greek insti-

tutions to Jerusalem (a gymnasium, among others), substituted new laws for the Torah, and changed the order of worship at the Jerusalem Temple.

The Jewish sources describe the Baal altar/stone symbolizing the new order of worship instituted in 167 B.C.E. as the Abomination of Desolation. It involved the worship of the Semitic deity Baal Shamin (Lord of the Heavens), an epithet thought to be the equivalent of ancient Israel's claims about its God as the creator and master of the heavens and earth. Jewish opponents (see Dan. 11:31, 12:11) parodied the divine epithet Baal Shamin as *shikutz meshomem* (a detested thing causing horror, or Abomination of Desolation).

Ancient sources and modern scholarship debate the precise involvement and the motives of Antiochus IV in interfering with Jewish life from 168 to 165 B.C.E. The ancient writings attribute his actions to personal arrogance (1 Macc.) or describe them as divine discipline prior to Israel's vindication (2 Macc.; Dan.). Modern scholars variously view them in terms of religious persecution (though there is little ancient evidence for this), the cultural program of "Hellenization," choosing one side in a Jewish civil war with religious and/or social dimensions, the plan to develop an eastern equivalent to the Roman Empire, or an economic scheme to tap sources of money by giving the Jewish high priesthood to the highest bidder and plundering the Jerusalem Temple and its treasury. A combination of religious, political, social, cultural, and economic motives probably lay behind Antiochus IV's involvement in Jewish affairs. At this point it is not possible to untangle them.

Jewish resistance to the new order centered in the Maccabean movement, led first by the priest Mattathias of Modein and then by his son, Judas. In early 164 B.C.E., Antiochus IV granted conditional amnesty to the rebels and ended the ban on observing the Torah and the persecution. This move coincided with (and was perhaps due to) Antiochus's campaign to stabilize and expand the eastern part of his empire. He died in late 164 B.C.E., around the time of Judas Maccabeus's purification of the Jerusalem Temple. The ancient sources give conflicting accounts of his death. But Antiochus IV most likely died of an unknown disease at Tabae, in ancient Persia (Polybius 31.9; compare Appian 11.66; 2 Macc. 1:13–17, 9:1–28; 1 Macc. 6:1–16; Dan. 11:40–45).

The son and successor of Antiochus IV Epiphanes was surnamed Antiochus V Eupator ("of a good father"), suggesting admiration for Antiochus IV in the Seleucid dynasty. The ancient reports about his character by Polybius suggest that he was both charming and erratic ("mad" [*epimanēs*] rather than "god manifest" [*epiphanēs*]), and that he was a patron (rather than an enemy) of local religious observances—hardly a religious persecutor. Antiochus IV was the first Seleucid king to be named Theos (god) on his coinage—a fact that probably fueled Jewish religious opposition to him. The claim that Alexander Balas was his son was disputed even in antiquity. *See also* MACCABEAN REVOLT.

Antiochus V Eupator (c. 173–162 B.C.E.) son of Antiochus IV, reigned less than two years (164–162 B.C.E.) under the guardianship of Lysias. Both were put to death in Antioch when Demetrius I arrived to claim the throne. During his reign, Antiochus V under Lysias made peace with the Jews and allowed them to resume their ancestral customs (2 Macc. 11:22–26).

Antiochus VI Epiphanes Dionysus (c. 148–142 B.C.E.) son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra Thea; put forward as a child in 145 as a rival claimant to the Seleucid throne against Demetrius II by the military commander of Apamea, Diodotus, who was later called Tryphon. Jonathan Maccabeus supported him when Demetrius II reneged on his promises to Jonathan; in return, Jonathan's position as high priest and previous concessions were confirmed by Antiochus VI, and Simon Maccabeus was appointed governor from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt (1 Macc. 11:54–59). Tryphon later deposed Antiochus VI in 142 and then had him murdered (1 Macc. 13:31–32).

Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetēs) (c. 159–129 B.C.E.) second son of Demetrius I, succeeded his brother Demetrius II when Demetrius was captured by the Parthians (139 B.C.E.). Antiochus, able and energetic, hunted down Tryphon and forced him to commit suicide (138). He respected the religion of the Jews but demanded back territory ceded to Jonathan Maccabeus and tribute (1 Macc. 15:26–36). He captured Jerusalem in 131/130, and for a brief period the city was once again under Seleucid rule (Josephus, *Ant.* 13 sec. 236–248). He then set out to reconquer the East from the Parthians (130/129 B.C.E.), supported by a Jewish brigade under John Hyrcanus, but he was defeated and killed.

Antipas *see* HEROD ANTIPAS

Antipater father of Herod the Great; an Idumean by birth. Antipater rose to prominence by reason of his diplomatic skills in dealing with various Roman generals in their efforts to establish Roman rule in Palestine. In 67–63 B.C.E. he supported the legitimate Hasmonean successor, Hyrcanus II,

against his brother Aristobulus and acquiesced in Pompey's settlement of the problem despite its reduction of Jewish self-control. He aided Scaurus in reaching terms with his friend Aretas III, the Nabatean king. After the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (49–48 B.C.E.) he was able to win the former's favor by providing him with troops for a campaign into Egypt and was rewarded with Roman citizenship as well as prominent administrative positions for his sons Herod and Phasael. He was murdered in 43 B.C.E.

Antipater, son of Herod son of Herod the Great and Doris, his Idumean first wife. Antipater and his mother were repudiated by Herod, but he was recalled by Herod in 14–13 B.C.E. to counteract the influence of his half-brothers, Alexander and Aristobulus. He plotted their executions (7 B.C.E.) with Herod's brother Pheroras and sister Salome. His intrigues to succeed Herod became known after Pheroras's death in 5 B.C.E., and he was arrested. He was tried before Varus, governor of Syria, and executed days before Herod's death.

Antipatris Roman city in western Judea known as Aphek in the Bible (Josh. 12:18). Antipatris was built or rather built up by Herod the Great in honor of his father, Antipater, as a commercial center at a major crossroad. It had been known as Pegai (springs) in the Hellenistic period, but was of no particular importance aside from protecting the headwaters of the Yarkon River. Antipatris was halfway between Caesarea on the coast and Jerusalem. Travelers could stay overnight at Antipatris on their way to Jerusalem, as in the case of Paul in the New Testament (Acts 23:31). According to Josephus, the emperor Vespasian destroyed Antipatris during the Jewish War, but it was rebuilt again on a grander scale (*War* 4:8.1). Recent excavations have revealed a well-paved and drained street and road, public buildings, graves, and a mausoleum from the Roman period. The mausoleum, evidently used by a local family, was built around 100 C.E. and was destroyed in some major conflagration around 300 C.E.

Antiquitates Judaicae *see* ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

Antiquities of the Jews the English title of the work in twenty books by Josephus that is usually known by its Latin title, *Antiquitates Judaicae,* abbreviated as *Ant.* The work covers the period from the Creation to the eve of the 66–70 C.E. war against Rome. About half the writing parallels the Hebrew Bible and is more or less a paraphrase of it, though it contains many additions, omissions, and reinterpretations. It is usually thought to have been written in the early 90s C.E. *See also* JOSEPHUS.

anti-Semitism, pagan (in the Graeco-Roman period) Pagan attitudes toward Judaism before around 200 B.C.E., as attested in the extant literature, were neutral or positive in nature. The most common characterization of the Jews in this period was as a "nation of philosophers," an image that persisted to some degree throughout the Graeco-Roman era.

The first firm evidence for pagan anti-Semitism occurs in the period following the Maccabean Revolt (167–164 B.C.E.) against Greek (Seleucid) rule; advisers of a Seleucid king are said to have maligned the "misanthropic and impious customs" of the Jews (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica,* 34.1.1–5). Earlier, Mnaseas of Patara (c. 200 B.C.E.) was the first to report the story, repeated by later authors, that the Jews worshiped the head of a donkey in the Jerusalem Temple.

The official Roman policy toward Judaism, established as early as 150 B.C.E. and continuing until around 400 C.E., granted the Jews full rights to practice their ancestral customs. This does not indicate a special sympathy toward Judaism but reflects characteristic Roman policy toward subject peoples. Among Roman literati during the Republic, divergent attitudes toward Judaism are attested. Varro (c. 50 B.C.E.), for example, praised the Jewish cult, whereas his contemporary Cicero was hostile toward Judaism, attacking Jewish customs as anti-Roman. Criticism of Judaism, where it did occur, was normally directed against the peculiarity of certain Jewish practices, especially circumcision (regarded as unnatural), Sabbath observance (regarded as laziness), and abstention from pork (regarded as superstitious).

Especially significant for a consideration of pagan anti-Semitism in the early Empire are events that took place in Egypt. When Rome annexed Egypt in 31 B.C.E., the large Jewish population of Egypt became pro-Roman, a move that set them at odds with the Greeks and the native Egyptian population. The Romans, in turn, confirmed the rights of the Egyptian Jews, many of whom were attempting to gain citizenship. A number of pagan Egyptian authors of the early first century C.E. include distinctly anti-Semitic material in their writings, indicative of a growing tension between Jews and pagans, especially in Alexandria. Recent studies indicate that much of this anti-Semitism had political causes: the Jews were seen as favorites of the Romans and were hated for that reason, and increasing Jewish ambitions for citizenship were resented.

In 38 C.E. the Roman governor of Egypt, Flaccus,

apparently under pressure from anti-Jewish factions, issued a series of rulings restricting Jewish rights. At the same time, acts of mob violence against Jews broke out in Alexandria. After the violence subsided, representatives from both sides sailed to Rome to plead their case before the emperor. In 41 C.E., Claudius issued a letter instructing the Egyptian Greeks to be more tolerant toward the Jews, but warning the Jews not to be politically overambitious.

These events marked both the end of friendly relations between Rome and Egyptian Jewry, and a rise in military activism among Egyptian Jews. From this point until 117 C.E., Jewish-pagan relations in Egypt were marked by sporadic outbursts of violence. As a result of the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 115–117, the Egyptian Jewish community was decimated.

Attitudes toward Judaism among the Romans themselves in the early empire reflect the same sort of ambivalence as noted earlier. Certain Roman satirists—Martial, Petronius, and Juvenal—direct pointed barbs against Judaism. Especially Juvenal and certain other authors of the late first and early second centuries, such as Tacitus and Quintilian, seem to reflect a growing hostility toward Judaism among Roman literati.

Anti-Semitism in early imperial Roman literary circles can be traced to several causes. One is a general xenophobia among certain Roman conservatives: Jews were seen as representative of undesirable foreign elements in general. Adding fuel to such anti-Semitic attitudes was the fact that Jews seem to have been especially successful in gaining proselytes in Rome in the first century C.E. Thus, Judaism was perceived by some conservative groups as a threat to traditional Roman religion and values.

A second factor contributing to Roman anti-Semitism was the Jewish revolts against the Romans in 66–73 (in Israel) and 115–117 C.E. (in the Diaspora). Negative Roman attitudes toward Judaism seem to have peaked in the late first century C.E. Despite such attitudes, the official Roman policy upholding traditional Jewish rights remained in force.

The other side of the picture is, of course, represented by those Romans to whom Judaism appealed. Admiration for, and conversion to, Judaism seem from the available evidence to have been quite common in Rome during the first two centuries C.E. The appeal of Judaism among Romans of all classes and social strata is attested in many sources. Authors of the early empire who present neutral or positive portrayals of Judaism include the historians and ethnographers Nicolaus of Damascus, Diodorus Siculus, Pompeius Trogus, and Strabo; the philosophers Longinus, Epictetus, and Plutarch; and the natural historian Pliny the Elder. Many of these authors reflect the long-standing tradition that the Jews are a nation of philosophers.

When Judaism ceases to pose a political or social threat to Rome, as after 135 C.E., antipathy toward Judaism largely disappears. Sources from the later empire tend to express a neutral or positive attitude toward Judaism. Several pagan emperors are explicitly portrayed as pro-Jewish. Even the later Christian emperors continue to protect traditional Jewish rights.

It appears, then, that pagan anti-Semitism in the Graeco-Roman period is relatively circumscribed. The anti-Semitism that is attested seems to stem mainly from political and social rather than religious causes. Anti-Semitic sentiments were, on the whole, expressed among discrete and identifiable groups that were reacting against specific political and social issues concerning Jews and Judaism. Pagan attacks on particular Jewish practices were generally not invective directed against Judaism per se but pretexts for an antagonism arising from Jewish involvement in concrete political or social circumstances. *See also* ANTI-JUDAISM, CHRISTIAN.

Antonia Fortress, archaeology of the excavation and reconstruction on paper of the Roman fortress adjacent to the northwest corner of the Second Temple Mount in Jerusalem. In the nineteenth century, builders of the Sisters of Zion Convent in the Old City of Jerusalem unearthed nearly 40 by 90 meters of a fine stone pavement formed of large limestone blocks. The blocks were well worn from use, and some of them were scored with multiple, shallow grooves to prevent slippage of pack animals and horses. The pavement was also well drained. The pavement was bordered on the west by the remains of a triple-arched Roman triumphal arch. The central arch measured 5.2 meters wide and 6.25 meters high. (This arch spans the Via Dolorosa today and is termed the Ecce Homo Arch. See John 18:33). The two side arches were 2.36 meters wide and 5.2 meters high. The two side arches were for pedestrian traffic, and the central arch was for carts, horses, and the like. This triumphal arch is beautifully decorated with carved stone moldings and niches, which once held statues. On the eastern side of pavement, a row of stones was laid to form a stylobate, an architectural feature that supports a row of columns such as

those found around a courtyard, beside a street, or around a forum.

Beneath the pavement is a vaulted pool of apparent Roman construction, which the excavators identified with the Strouthion Pool mentioned in Josephus (*War* 5.467). A narrow, rock-cut staircase ascends from the pool to the pavement. The excavators identified this pavement with the lithostrotos, the stone pavement where the Roman governor Pontius Pilate condemned Jesus (John 19:13). In other words, the pavement was understood to comprise the courtyard inside the Antonia Fortress, which was itself identified with the praetorium of John 18:33, the place where Jesus' trial took place. Since renewed excavation in 1972 and after renovation since 1980, the pavement and triumphal arch are identified as the remains of the eastern forum of the city of Hadrian, which was built after 135 C.E. The pool is understood to have been originally an open pool from the time of Herod the Great and is probably the Strouthion Pool. The sole trace of the Antonia Fortress is the rock-cut platform or plinth at the northwest corner of the Temple Mount. This plinth is about 40 by 120 meters in extent. The Strouthion Pool lay outside the boundaries of the Antonia Fortress to the northwest.

Antonines and the Jews (138–193 C.E.) After the Bar Kosiba War (132–135) the Romans evidenced a healthy respect for the Jews' military abilities. The Antonines' policy of common sense and moderation was the result of many factors: the threat of another Jewish uprising; the ties between the Palestinian Jewish community and the Jews living under Persian domination; and the large number of Gentiles who were attracted to Judaism. In Palestine, Antonius Pius relaxed Hadrian's ban on circumcision among the Jews, but left it in force for non-Jews. Jews were prohibited from circumcising Gentile slaves, and the policy may have functioned to restrict converts to Judaism. However, Judaism was again viewed as a legitimate religion; its rites were practiced openly, and the Jews expressed a generally favorable opinion of the Romans. The period of relative peace in Palestine allowed the restoration of normal life within the province; however, there had been major changes. As a result of the Bar Kosiba War, the Jewish population in Palestine moved north into the Galilee, while Judea and Jerusalem became primarily Gentile. Sepphoris, Tiberias, Beth Shearim, and Usha became the centers of rabbinic culture and the Jewish government. The Sanhedrin was reestablished, and the position of the *nasi* was again filled. Simeon III, the *nasi*, raised the dignity and prestige of the office so that it could act as the supreme leader of the worldwide Jewish community. His son, Judah, established control over the totality of Jewish civil and religious life within Palestine, and his authority was recognized by the Jewish communities throughout the world. Babylonian sages traveled to Palestine to study in Judah's schools, and they recognized him as the supreme Jewish authority. The patriarch sent emissaries throughout the diaspora to supervise the organization of individual communities and to collect an annual tax for the support of the patriarch, which replaced the annual Temple tax. The Romans recognized the patriarch's authority, supplying him with bodyguards from Gaul. Nevertheless, Antonius maintained the pagan character of Jerusalem, and he placed a statue of himself next to the one of Hadrian on the Temple Mount. Antonius also maintained the size of the Roman garrison at its postwar level, approximately one-fifteenth of Rome's troops. He selected governors of high rank and ability. Even though Palestine's economy had been devastated, Antonius kept the high tax rates established by Hadrian as punishment for the revolt. As a result of the Parthian War of 162–166, the Romans greatly improved the Palestinian system of roads. In 175 the legate of Syria, Avidius Cassius, revolted against Marcus Aurelius and was accepted as emperor by the eastern provinces. While the troops supported Avidius, there is no evidence of a Palestinian revolt against Marcus Aurelius, who seems to have visited Palestine to secure its loyalty. This visit may be the basis of the rabbinic stories that speak of cordial meetings between Judah I and the Roman emperor, Antonius.

Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius *see* CARACALLA

Antonius Julianus *see* JULIANUS, MARCUS ANTONIUS

Antonius, Marcus *see* MARK ANTONY

Antonius Pius Roman emperor (r. 138–161 C.E.) He was born in 86 into a consular family at Lanuvium in the Alban Hills in northern Italy. He was consular in Etruria and Umbria, and between 133 and 136 he was proconsul of Asia. As emperor he centralized the general administration of the empire, altered many of Hadrian's anti-Jewish policies, and inaugurated a period of good relations between the Palestinian Jews and the Roman government. Although Jerusalem remained Aelia, a pagan city in which Jews could not reside, he relaxed the ban on circumcision among Jews. However, a non-Jew who had himself or his slave circumcised was exiled, his property was confiscated, and the doctor who performed the circumci-

sion was executed. Any Jew who circumcised his Gentile slaves was deported or executed. Papyri indicate that Antonius also allowed circumcision for the Egyptian priestly caste, for whom the rite was also a religious ritual. However, each operation had to be individually approved by the civil and religious authorities after the inquiries concerning the candidates priestly qualifications. Although Palestine's agricultural economy had suffered as a result of the Bar Kosiba War, Antonius maintained Hadrian's high rate of taxation for the country.

Apamea **1.** capital of Apamene, Syria, south of Antioch. According to Josephus (*War* 2.18, 5), at the outbreak of the Jewish War, its citizens protected the city's Jewish inhabitants.

2. Phrygian city to which Antiochus transplanted many Jews (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.3, 4). It is referred to at B. Berakhot 62a, in connection with witchcraft; B. Niddah 30b; and possibly B. Yebamot 115b.

3. town at the division of the Tigris. At B. Kiddushin 71b, the genealogical purity of its residents is questioned.

Apamea, Peace of After losing to Rome at the Battle of Magnesia, Antiochus III (the Great) was forced to accept Roman peace terms at Apamea, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, in 188 B.C.E. Antiochus gave up all claims to Thrace and Greece, withdrew to eastern Asia Minor, and was burdened with a huge, yearly indemnity payment to Rome. These terms weakened the Seleucid kingdom over the next few decades by cutting it off from its source of Greek manpower and its mines in Asia Minor and by imposing a huge financial burden. *See also* MAGNESIA, BATTLE OF.

Apamea, synagogue in located in the Orontes Valley south of Antioch. Apamea yielded a late-fourth-century synagogue with an elaborate mosaic floor built according to the style of the Antiochene school. A mosaic menorah at the sourthern end of the synagogue is in front of a Torah niche in the wall facing Jerusalem. The nineteen inscriptions in the synagogue indicate that the synagogue officials included three *archisynagogi* (leaders of the synagogue), a leader of the council of elders, and at least four elders. In the fifth century a church was built over the synagogue.

Apellaios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Ḥeshvan (October/November) and sometimes to the month Kislev (November/December).

Aphek *see* ANTIPATRIS

Apheka ancient Jewish village site in the northern Golan Heights with architectural fragments of a highly decorated, perhaps third-century synagogue (Arab.: Afiq, Fiq). Carved stones reported since 1885 include a fragment of a lintel with a circle enclosing a seven-branched menorah with a shofar to the right and a bound palm branch (lulab) to the left, another fragment with a five-branched menorah, an Ionic capital, and a column fragment with a seven-branched menorah and an Aramaic inscription. The inscription reads: "I, Judah, the *ḥazan* . . ." The word *ḥazan* (*ḥbz'nb*) appears only once more in synagogue inscriptions for a synagogue functionary, at Khirbet Ammudim.

apikoros *see* EPIKOROS

Apion Greek writer of Alexandria in the early first century C.E. He represented the Greek citizens of Alexandria before Caligula in their dispute with the Jews over the question of citizenship. He wrote a history of Egypt in which he discussed the Jews in several passages. According to him, the Jews originated from a diseased people expelled from Egypt, while Moses was himself an Egyptian. He also stated that Antiochus IV found a Greek kept captive in the temple, awaiting sacrifice by the Jews at one of their festivals. Apion was later attacked by Josephus in *Against Apion*. *See also* AGAINST APION.

apocalypse genre of revelatory literature popular in the period 200 B.C.E.–100 C.E., (and much later in Christianity). The main biblical examples are the Book of Daniel in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Revelation in the New Testament. The oldest Jewish apocalypses, however, are found in the Book of Enoch, some parts of which date from the the third century B.C.E. Apocalypses claim a supernatural character, which is highlighted by the role of a mediating angel, who interprets visions or serves as guide on an otherworldly tour. The Jewish apocalypses are always pseudepigraphic, that is, they are attributed to venerable figures from the past, such as Enoch, Daniel, Ezra, or Baruch. The content of the apocalypses always involves eschatology, and differs from the older prophetic revelations in the prominence attached to the judgment of the dead. Some parallels can be found in the neighboring cultures, from Greece and Rome on the one hand to Persia on the other, but the sources are not sufficient to permit a full reconstruction of the development of the genre.

Apocalypses are of two types. One type, which may be called "historical" apocalypses, typically takes the form of a symbolic vision, followed by an interpretation. Daniel chapter 7 is a classic ex-

ample. The revelation in this kind of apocalypse concerns the course of history, much of which is "predicted" after the fact. Often history is divided into a set number of periods, ten generations, four kingdoms, or the like. The revelation concludes with a real prediction of the climax of history. First there will be a period of great distress. Then there will be a decisive divine intervention, sometimes mediated by an angel or by the messiah. Then there will be a judgment, which includes a judgment of the dead; in the historical apocalypses it is cosmic in scope. A new, utopian state results, sometimes involving a new creation. This kind of apocalypse is found in Daniel and some sections of 1 Enoch (the Animal Apocalypse in chaps. 83–90, the Apocalypse of Weeks in chaps. 93 and 91) from the early second century B.C.E., and in several apocalypses from the late first century C.E. (Revelation, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch). These apocalypses are clustered around two great, traumatic events in Jewish history, the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes in 167–164 B.C.E. and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E.

The second type of apocalypse is characterized by an otherworldly journey, in which the visionary ascends to heaven or descends to the netherworld. The oldest apocalypse of this type is the Book of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 1–36, which dates from the late third or early second century B.C.E. Enoch has a vision of God on his throne, which has a close parallel in the "historical" apocalypse of Daniel 7. He is then taken on a tour to the ends of the earth, guided by an angel. The places he sees include the abodes of the dead and the place that is prepared for the final judgment. Later apocalypses often have the visionary ascend through seven heavens. Some of these apocalypses show relatively little interest in history, but all include some element of eschatology, in so far as they describe the judgment of the dead and subsequent rewards and punishments. Other apocalypses of this type include 3 Baruch and 2 (Slavonic) Enoch, both of which are thought to have been composed in Egypt in the first century C.E. These apocalypses represent an early stage in the tradition of Jewish mysticism.

The apocalypses functioned as a means of consolation in time of distress and of exhortation. They claimed that there was more to the world than meets the eye. Human destiny is shaped by the actions of angelic and demonic forces, and the course of history is predetermined. Ultimate success is not achieved in the temporal realm, but depends on the final judgment. The apocalypses, then, provided a way of framing human actions against the backdrop of a heavenly world of angels and demons and the prospect of a definitive judgment to come. They offered an imaginative view of the world which had great influence in some strands of Judaism and especially in Christianity.

apocalypticism The noun apocalypticism (and the adjective apocalyptic) derive from the term "apocalypse" and refer to a worldview that is similar to what we find in that genre. Because there are different degrees of similarity, there is some variation in what scholars call apocalyptic. Key elements in the world view of the apocalypses include lively eschatological expectation, on the one hand, and interest in the heavenly, angelic world on the other.

Apocalyptic eschatology has its roots in the later books of the Hebrew prophets, and is marked by colorful mythic imagery. Isaiah 24–27, a late passage sometimes called "the apocalypse of Isaiah," envisages a time when God "will swallow death forever" (25:8) and will slay Leviathan and the dragon that is in the sea (27:1). According to Isaiah 65:17, God is about to create new heavens and a new earth. Some of these passages date from a time shortly after the return from exile in the late sixth century B.C.E., but many eschatological passages in the prophetic books are difficult to date. This line of tradition is taken up in the Book of Daniel at the time of the Maccabean revolt. Daniel envisages the Gentile kingdoms as beasts that come up out of the sea, which will be destroyed by divine judgment. Daniel, however, introduces an element not found in earlier biblical books in the resurrection of individuals for judgment (12:1–3). Several apocalypses of the late first century C.E. (Revelation, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch) are heavily dependent on the imagery of Daniel.

Another apocalyptic tradition is found in 1 Enoch, which is really a collection of five apocalyptic books. In this tradition, the basic myth is provided by the fall of the angelic "sons of God" in Genesis 6. This myth is taken up in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), as an allegory for the spread of evil on earth. Again there is the promise of a judgment to cleanse the earth. The Book of the Watchers goes on to describe the ascent and otherworldly tour of Enoch, with the result that earthly upheavals are seen against the backdrop of cosmic order.

The sectarian community of the Dead Sea Scrolls may reasonably be described as an apocalyptic movement. The books of Enoch and Daniel were popular and influential in the Dead Sea sect. The

sect, however, developed a distinctive mythology of its own, which was probably indebted to Persian dualism. According to the Qumran Community Rule, the world is divided between the Spirits of Light and Darkness, and humanity is divided according to its share in each. The War Scroll anticipates a final battle between the Sons of Light, led by the archangel Michael, and the Sons of Darkness, led by Belial. The Kittim, or Romans, figure prominently among the Sons of Darkness. Important roles in the final transformation will be played by messianic figures, a warlike messiah of Israel and a priestly messiah of Aaron. The Scrolls are also characterized by a strong interest in the heavenly world. Several passages in the Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot) indicate that the sectarians thought they were already joined in community with the angelic host. A document called The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice describes the heavenly liturgy and represents an early example of the Jewish mystical tradition. Unlike the apocalypses, the Scrolls contain few references to the resurrection of the dead, but there are eternal rewards and punishments for the followers of the two Spirits in the Community Rule. It may be that resurrection was less urgent for the sect because of the belief that they were already mingling with the angels.

Early Christianity also had its origin in a Jewish apocalyptic movement. While the Book of Revelation is the only full-blown apocalypse in the New Testament, much of early Christianity is informed by a view of the world similar to what we find in the historical apocalypses. Paul taught that the resurrection of Jesus was the first fruits of a general resurrection, which could not be far away (1 Cor. 15). The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke all promise that Jesus would come back on the clouds of heaven as the Son of Man foretold by Daniel. Apocalypticism continued to flourish in Christianity down to the Middle Ages. In contrast, Tannaitic Judaism seems to have repudiated apocalypticism, probably because of the disappointment of eschatological hopes in the great revolts of 66–70, 115–118, and 132 C.E. Apocalyptic motifs do reappear, however, in the later midrashim, and the tradition of apocalyptic ascents to heaven was taken up in Jewish mysticism.

Apocrypha a collection of Jewish writings composed between about 250 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. The origin of the designation (from Gr., meaning hidden things) is uncertain. Most of the writings were included in major manuscripts of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, but excluded from the rabbinic canon. The Apocrypha consists of 1 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Rest of Esther, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Additions to Jeremiah (Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah), Additions to Daniel (the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Children, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon), the Prayer of Manasseh, and 1 and 2 Maccabees. Most editions also include the apocalypse 2 Esdras (4 Ezra), which is not found in extant manuscripts of the Septuagint. There is some indication that the Apocrypha continued to circulate in Jewish circles even after they had been excluded from the rabbinic canon; however, they have been preserved because Christian scribes included them in their Greek manuscripts of the Bible.

The development of the Apocrypha as a collection was the work of Jerome, the fourth-century Christian translator, exegete, and theologian, who included them in his new Latin translation (the Vulgate), but gathered them separately at the end, emphasizing that the Jewish community did not consider them canonical. The Council of Trent (1546), called by Pope Paul III, decreed that all of the Apocrypha except 1 and 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh were part of the Old Testament, although the Roman Catholic Church subsequently distinguished between protocanonical works (the Hebrew canon) and deuterocanonical books (the Apocrypha). The latter appear in Roman Catholic Bibles roughly in the sequence in which they appear in the Greek codices. The Eastern Orthodox churches follow the same practice and also include 1 Esdras, Psalm 151, the Prayer of Manasseh, and 3 and 4 Maccabees. Although the Protestant Reformers showed respect for some of the Apocrypha—though not according them canonical status—subsequent English-speaking Protestant practice deleted them from editions of authorized translations. Thanks to the renewed study of Judaism in the past decades, the Apocrypha are regularly included in editions of the Bible, where they provide a valuable resource for the study of early Christianity and its Jewish context.

Apollonia city on the coast of Palestine, 9 miles north of Jaffa, referred to twice in antiquity, both times by Josephus. In *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.395, he says that Apollonia belonged to Jewish territory during the reign of Alexander Yannai (102–76 B.C.E.). In *The Jewish War* i. 166, Josephus says that Apollonia had been restored by Gabinius, in the time of Alexander the Great. Some scholars hold that Apollonia was founded by the early Seleucids, at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. This is improbable, since they did not control the coast of Palestine.

Apollonis military magistrate of Apollinopolis-Heptacomis in Upper Egypt (113–120 C.E.). A major owner of property in and around Hermoupolis in Middle Egypt, he served in the campaigns against the Jews (115–117). Jewish forces invaded Hermoupolis and plundered Apollonis's estate. Two minor officials in Lycopolis were reprimanded for failing to supply Apollonis with agricultural goods he was expecting. They claimed that the "Jewish commotions" had prevented them from fulfilling their obligations. In the autumn of 117, after returning home, he requested sixty days' leave from the prefect, arguing that his property in the villages and the metropolis of Hermoupolis needed his attention as a result of the Jewish attacks.

Apollonius Molon Greek rhetor who taught at Rhodes and Rome in the first century B.C.E. Among his pupils were Cicero and Julius Caesar. He seems to have written a work about the Jews in which, according to Josephus, he made a variety of slanderous charges, including the accusation that the Jews sacrificed and ate a Greek each year. Other quotes from him, however, seem to be only descriptive rather than defamatory and to show considerable knowledge of Jewish tradition. He included references to the migration of Abraham, Abraham's son "Laughter" (the meaning of Isaac in Hebrew), and Abraham's sons by Keturah.

apologetic literature genre that developed significantly during the Hellenistic period. After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Jews came into intimate contact with Hellenic culture, both in such centers as Alexandria and in the Land of Israel itself. The dominance of Greek philosophy, literature, and science challenged Jews and other eastern peoples to defend their contributions to civilization. Greek rationalism called into question the meaning of Torah observances. Tension between Jews and Gentiles elicited more specific and threatening charges. Jews, said their enemies, were misanthropes, offspring of Egyptian lepers, and worshipers of an ass's head in Jerusalem. Jewish apologists responded.

An early apologetic work from the Hellenistic period is the Letter of Aristeas. Written in Alexandria in the second or first century B.C.E., this work recounts the legend of the origin of the Septuagint, the translation of the Torah into Greek by seventy sages. It further recounts a banquet given by the Greek king Ptolemy II, where the translators responded to questions about Jewish observances, demonstrating that apparently irrational practices had a profound ethical meaning.

Other early apologetic works survive in fragments preserved by Christian writers such as Eusebius, particularly in his *Preparation for the Gospel.* In the second century B.C.E. Aristobulus, who apparently had some philosophical training, defended the antiquity of Israelite culture and argued that it was the source of Greek culture. Aristobulus also explained biblical anthropomorphisms as acceptable metaphorical language. Further cultural polemics appear in the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemus, who claimed that Abraham taught Egyptian priests astrology, and in Artapanus, who credits Moses with the invention of most significant Egyptian institutions.

As relations between Jews and Greeks worsened during the later Hellenistic period more serious apologetics became necessary. Throughout the writings of Philo, in the early first century C.E., there are numerous apologetic touches, and several works with an explicit apologetic focus. The most important are the *Embassy to Gaius* and *Against Flaccus,* both occasioned by disturbances in Alexandria in 38 C.E. In these works, Philo, a member of an official delegation to the emperor, presents the Jewish side of the affair and attacks the Roman governor Flaccus as biased. His smaller apologetic treatise, the *Hypothetica,* preserved in Eusebius (*Prep. Gos.* 8.5.11–8.7.20; 8.11.1–18), explains such Jewish practices as Sabbath observance and defends the excellence of the morality taught by the Torah.

The final major work of Jewish apologetics of the Hellenistic-Roman period is *Against Apion,* written by the historian Josephus in the last decade of the first century C.E. This two-volume work records the slanders leveled against the Jews during the Hellenistic period by Egyptian polemicists such as Apion, Apollonius Molon, and others. Like his apologetic predecessors, Josephus defends the antiquity of the nation and the humanity and reasonableness of the Torah.

Apologia pro Iudaeis *see* HYPOTHETICA

apostasy rebellion against authority; specifically, rebelling against kings (1 Esd. 1:48; 2:23.27; cf. Jdt. 7:15). Israel's covenantal relationship with God meant that acting against the laws of God was seen as a rebellion (Josh. 22:22; Jer. 2:19). So Daniel 9:9–10 is a prayer for forgiveness from God to his people, who have rebelled against Him and not followed his law; see also Prayer of Azariah 3–10 and the Wisdom of Solomon 3:10. A more precise definition of apostasy, however, is given in Exodus 22:19, where one who sacrifices to another god is to be utterly destroyed. In Deuteronomy 13 those who incite their fellow Israelites to follow other

gods are to be put to death. This law is restated in the Temple Scroll found at Qumran and is echoed particularly in the description of those whom the author of 1 Maccabees accuses of wanting to destroy Israel's traditions: "In those days lawless men came forth from Israel and misled many saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles round about us" (1 Macc. 1:11). The leaders of this movement, the high priests Jason and Menelaus, are called apostates (2 Macc. 5:8, 15). Similarly, in 3 Maccabees, some Jews are said to have committed apostasy under the threat of persecution (3 Macc. 2:25–30). In the dream vision of the history of the world in 1 Enoch, the sheep of Israel are often blinded and go astray, that is, are guilty of apostasy (apostasy and return to belief, 89:32–33, 41, 51–54, 74; 90:8). The same view is found in 1 Enoch 93:4, 8, 9, and 91:11. The motif of apostasy is also used to characterize primordial events: the angelic watchers deliberately rebel against God (1 Enoch 6). Apostasy is also part of the description of eschatological evil (Jub. 23:16f.; cf. Dan. 12:3). Since the members of the Qumran Community also entered into a covenantal relationship with God, one finds rules governing those who committed apostasy and left the community (1QS8). Within the early Christian writings, Paul is described in Acts of the Apostles 21:21 as one who has allegedly rejected Moses. Paul himself, in the opening chapters of Romans, describes the history of humans as one of progressive movement away from God. In Hebrews 6:6, those who have once entered the Christian community and then left are said to crucify the Son of God and hold him up to contempt. In the Book of Revelation, the primordial rebellion is that of the dragon (Rev. 12:7), while 2 Thessalonions 2:3 predicts that the coming of the Lord will take place only after the rebellion and the appearance of the man of lawlessness.

apotropos (Gr., guardian) court-appointed custodian of affairs of another person, for example, an adult unable to take care of his or her own property. *See also* BAILEE.

Appian Greek writer from Alexandria in the early second century C.E. who worked in Rome. An admirer of Roman imperialism, he wrote a history of Rome during the Republican period and the early Empire to the time of Trajan. Not all of his work survives, but the section called the *Civil Wars* is extremely valuable for events during this period of time, from the death of Julius Caesar to the eventual triumph of Augustus. This period was very important for Judea, extending from the end of Hasmonean rule to the rise of Herod the Great. Appian also mentions other Roman interactions with Judea in a number of passages, especially in his work *On Syria*. He mentions the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, Pompey's procession in a chariot studded with gems, and the imprisonment of Aristobulus II. He knows of the special tribute required of Judea and other eastern countries under Mark Antony. He mentions the same oracle of a ruler from the East that Josephus recorded. He refers to a special tax on the Jews of his own time, though the exact significance of this is disputed. He himself had to flee for his life during the Jewish revolt in Egypt under Trajan.

Aquila translator of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, probably in the second century C.E., alleged to have been a convert to Judaism. His translation, a replacement for the Septuagint (which had gone out of favor with the Jews) is characterized by its extreme literalness and faithfulness to the then-current Hebrew text. *See also* ONKELOS.

Araba city referred to by Josephus as one of the three leading cities of the Galilee, alongside Tiberias and Sepphoris. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and Ḥanina b. Dosa taught there. *See also* GABARA.

Arabia the region of the Arab tribes, who are usually understood to originate in the northwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula in modern Saudi Arabia. The location of a place called "Arabia" is not always the same from period to period. The Fourth Satrapy of the Persian empire was named Arabia. It occupied the area between Athura, the Fifth Satrapy (Syria-Palestine) and Babylon, the Third Satrapy. During this same period, notably during Nehemiah's struggles to rebuild Jerusalem in mid-fifth century B.C.E., one of the groups opposing Nehemiah was Geshem the Arab (Neh. 4:7, 6:1). This Geshem is usually identified as a member of an Arab group south of Judea, perhaps the king of Qedar named Geshmu in sources outside the Bible. During the Maccabean period, Zabdiel the Arab is mentioned from Arabia, which seems to be east and south of Damascus. The "Arabs who are called Zabadeans" in 1 Maccabees 12:11 also appear to have lived in the vicinity of Damascus. In 2 Maccabees 12:10–12, Judas Maccabeus defeated a force of five thousand Arabs with five hundred cavalry at Dathema east of the Sea of Galilee. These Arabs are sometimes identified with Itureans, since the Nabateans, who were also ethnically Arabs, sympathized with the Jews. In the New Testament, Paul mentions that he went away into Arabia, which is usually understood to be in Transjordan or Nabatea. In fact it appears that in the Roman period Arabia referred to a general area south and east of Judea

with no firm boundaries. Part of this was the Arab kingdom of Nabatea.

In 106 C.E., the Roman emperor Trajan annexed this kingdom and the wider area occupied by Arab tribes as Provincia Arabia. By 107 C.E. Claudius Severus was the new governor with one Roman legion, the III Cyrenaica, brought in from Egypt. From a scrap of papyrus, a soldier's letter to his father in March of 107 C.E., we know that the main cities of Arabia were Petra, southwest of the Dead Sea, and Bostra to the north of the province. The letter mentions that merchants have taken advantage of the annexation of Arabia to pour into the new province from Pelusium, the commercial city between Palestine and Egypt. A new highway was built from Ailia at the head of the Red Sea northward to Petra and Bostra. Other Roman army units spent time in Arabia as attested by Greek graffiti left by soldiers. These include the Ala veterana, an auxiliary from Italy, the Cohors I Hispanorum from Egypt, and the Cohors I Thebaeorum, also from Egypt. Three former cities of the Decapolis found themselves in the new province: Aderaa, Gerasa, and Philadelphia. Furthermore, the people of Oboda in the Negeb began to date their inscriptions by the founding of the new province, which suggests that Arabia extended perhaps to the eastern Negeb. Indeed, since Roman outposts are known in the Sinai, it is likely that informally at least, parts of the Sinai were considered to be Arabia. Emperor Trajan elevated several towns of Arabia to the status of cities: Rabbath-Moab (later called Aeropolis), Characmoba (later Kerak), and Heshbon, now called Aurelia Esbus. Nabateans entered the Roman army in numbers now, as did other Arabs in the new province. Since discharged veterans were usually granted Roman citizenship, from this point onward Arabs will be Roman citizens. There was a census in Arabia, likely in 107 and another in 117, and we have mention of the census of 127 in a court document of a woman named Babatha. During the reign of Valerianus (253–260), the town of Edrei or Adraene was elevated to a city.

Arabia underwent some changes with the accession of Emperor Diocletian in 284 C.E. Diocletian split the civil and military command. The army was under the command of the Dux Arabiae. It may have been Diocletian who transferred the southern part of Arabia from the Arnon River southward from Arabia to Palestine. The Tenth Legion was transferred from Jerusalem to Ailia at the head of the Red Sea. The Dux Arabiae commanded all garrisons in the line of forts across the Negeb and in Transjordan from Aelia to Bostra.

In about 324 C.E. the Christian emperor Constantine solidified civil and ecclesiastical controls. Major cities became the seat of a bishop. We find episcopal sees in Augustopolis, Elusa, Mampsis, Petra, and other cities. By about 358 C.E. Palestine was divided north and south at the Limes Palaestinae, or the line of forts just mentioned. The southern half was no longer Arabia, but Palaestina Salutaris. Its lead city and bishopric was Petra. Other changes took place in Palestine about 400 C.E., so that Palestina Salutaris was now named Palestina Tertia.

Arabianus, Marcus Ulpius governor of Syria Palaestina, 196 C.E. His governorship is mentioned in an inscription in his honor at Amatris, Paphlagonia, most likely the place of his birth. Later he served as a proconsul of Africa.

Arabs The first literary evidence for the Arabs occurs in the Assyrian records of Shalmaneser III, which lists one of their leaders as part of a military coalition against the Assyrians. They are subsequently mentioned in various extrabiblical records (Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian). However, in the Graeco-Roman period they become much better known and various regional groups come to be distinguished in the literature. Their origins are obscure, but they were certainly nomadic tribes that operated on the fringes of the Arabian Desert, and various opinions prevail as to whether they originated in the southern or northern part of the peninsula. Throughout the first millennium B.C.E. their livelihood was based on providing the settled communities with livestock and in controlling the caravan routes that transported luxury goods through the desert. It was the campaign of Alexander the Great that opened up the Arabian peninsula to the Greek world. Both the Seleucids and Ptolemies colonized various parts of the region and entered into trading alliances with various local kingdoms. The continuing interest was due to the geographical location and the importance of the trade routes, both on land and by sea. Rome's policy of absorbing local kingdoms and territories into its provincial system was only partially successful with the Arabs. Pompey's campaign resulted in the emergence of the Roman province of Syria and also in the recognition of the Iturean Arab principality in northern Transjordan, which was only gradually dissolved under Augustus by being parceled out to various city-states, as well as to the enlarged kingdom of Herod the Great in 20 B.C.E. In the south, the Nabatean Arabs held out as client kings until 106 C.E.

arakin *see* VALUATION

Arakin Mishnah tractate on Leviticus 27:1–8, vows of the value of a person (chaps. 1–6); Leviticus 27:16–25, dedication to the Temple and redemption from the Temple of a field one has inherited (chaps. 7–8); Leviticus 27:28–29, the devoted thing (chap. 8); and Leviticus 25:25–34, the sale of a house in a walled city and how it is redeemed (chap. 9). All may pledge the value of another or have their own value pledged by others; there is a difference between pledging a valuation, which is fixed, and pledging the worth or price, which is determined by the market; pledges are collected from those who promise a valuation. A field that one has inherited reverts at the Jubilee; if its value is pledged to the Temple, one redeems it proportionate to the years the Temple will hold it; if the field is not redeemed when the Jubilee comes, the priests take it and pay for it. The tractate is ignored by both Talmuds.

Aramaic an important Semitic language of the ancient Middle East. Even though it was the lingua franca of the Fertile Crescent during the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., Aramaic is now best known as the language of the targums, the Peshita, and large sections of the Talmuds and the midrashim.

The Aramaic language was brought into the Middle East by the invading Aramaean tribes during the last centuries of the second millennium B.C.E. By the ninth century, the Aramaeans had settled in the region of Syria, after they were stopped in their southern movement by the newly formed Israelite kingdom in Palestine. From this period, Aramaeans gradually entered and became influential in the Assyrian Empire. By serving as scribes and political advisers, Aramaeans made their language widely used in official business throughout the empire. This is the period of Old Aramaic, also called Early or Ancient Aramaic.

With the rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 612 B.C.E., Aramaic became the official language of government, at least in its dealings with the scattered parts of the empire. This official status of Aramaic continued during the Persian Empire and into the third century B.C.E. A single, dominant dialect was used across the whole empire, from the Indus valley in the east to Egypt in the west, although there were regional variations caused by interaction with local dialects. Scholars call this official dialect by several names, including Imperial Aramaic, Official Aramaic, and Standard Aramaic. Alongside Imperial Aramaic, a literary version of the dialect developed, now called Standard Literary Aramaic. The Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel, for example, were written in this dialect.

When Alexander the Great conquered Persia in 330 B.C.E., Greek replaced Aramaic as the official language of state. This inaugurated the period of Middle Aramaic, which had two dominant characteristics. First, Imperial Aramaic, although no longer in use, continued its influence through its offspring Standard Literary Aramaic. Second, the dominance of Greek as the language of state led to the isolation of Aramaic in different regions across the territory of the former Persian Empire. This brought about the development of independent dialects, such as Jewish Literary Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Hatran. Historically important works such as the Aramaic texts from Qumran and Bar Kokhba, as well as the original versions of Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, were composed in Jewish Literary Aramaic.

By the third century C.E., the development of different dialects hit its peak, while the influence of Standard Literary Aramaic had largely disappeared. This begins the period scholars designate as Late Aramaic. It lasted well into the Middle Ages, despite the impact of Islam and Arabic that began in the seventh century. The plethora of dialects in this period can be divided into two groups, Eastern and Western. Eastern Aramaic consists primarily of dialects originating in Syria and Mesopotamia. Western Aramaic consists of dialects based in Palestine.

There are three main Eastern Aramaic dialects. First, Syriac was written and spoken by Christians in the Eastern church. It is the best documented dialect, with translations of the Old and New Testament as well as theological, philosophical, and scientific literature. There was also a wide range of poetic and prose literature composed in Syriac. Second, Babylonian Aramaic was used by Jews in the Aramaic sections of the Babylonian Talmud and was the language of the later gaonic writings. Third, Mandaic Aramaic was used by the non-Christian gnostic sect of the Mandaeans.

The three main Western dialects known to modern scholarship are from Palestine. Palestinian Jewish Aramaic is the best evidenced and can be divided into two subdialects. The first is Palestinian Targumic Aramaic and appears in the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch. The second is Galilean Aramaic and appears in the Palestinian Talmud, early aggadic midrashim, such as Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah, inscriptions, and later gaonic writings. The other two Western Aramaic dialects are Samaritan Aramaic, used by the Samaritans,

and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, possibly centered in Judea.

Only one dialect straddled the division of Late Aramaic into Eastern and Western dialects, namely, Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, which combined aspects of earlier Eastern and Western Aramaic. It contains elements from Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Literary Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, and Babylonian Aramaic. Its vocabulary shows similarities to Syriac as well. Late Jewish Literary Aramaic was used in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, the Targum to Psalms, and other targums to books of the Writings.

In the modern period, Aramaic survives only in isolated pockets. A Western Aramaic dialect is spoken in the region of the Syrian village of Malula. A descendant of Syriac is still used by some Christians in eastern Turkey. A few Mandaeans in southern Iraq and Iran, until recently at least, still used Aramaic.

Aramaic, Babylonian an Eastern dialect of the Late Aramaic period, used primarily by Babylonian Jews. It appears extensively in the Babylonian Talmud (completed around the sixth century C.E.) and in the later writings of the Babylonian geonim.

Aramaic, Biblical the Aramaic used in the books of Ezra (4:8-6:18, 7:12-26), Daniel (2:4-7:28), and a verse in Jeremiah (10:11). Scholars consider it to be a form of Literary Aramaic or its offshoot, Standard Literary Aramaic.

Aramaic, Christian Palestinian a Western dialect of Late Aramaic. It was probably used by Jewish Christians living in Judea. Unlike other Western dialects, it was written in a Syriac script.

Aramaic, Eastern a group of dialects of the Late Aramaic period from the eastern Fertile Cresent, that is, from Syria and Mesopotamia. The three main dialects are Syriac, Babylonian Aramaic, and Mandaic—the language of a non-Christian sect of Gnostics.

Aramaic, Galilean a form of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, used by Galilean Jews from the late third century C.E. into the seventh century and perhaps later. Most Aramaic inscriptions from Galilean synagogues were composed in this dialect, as were the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and the earlier aggadic midrashim—Genesis Rabbah and Exodus Rabbah. After 600 C.E., it was also used by the Palestinian geonim.

Aramaic, Imperial the empirewide Aramaic dialect used by the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires as their official language of state as early as 625 B.C.E. It survived the fall of the Persian Empire (in 330 B.C.E.) by about a century. It had a remarkably stable orthography, despite minor local variations, and was used from the Indus Valley to Egypt.

Aramiac, Jewish Literary Middle Aramaic dialect used in Palestine, probably centered in Judea. The Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of Levi, the Targum to Job, and other Qumran Aramaic texts were written in this language. It was probably also the language of the earliest versions of Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. The dialect has much in common with Standard Literary Aramaic.

Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian a Western form of Late Aramaic, based primarily in Palestine. It appears in two subdialects: Galilean, which we know from the Palestinian Talmud, the midrashim of Genesis and Leviticus Rabbah, and synagogue inscriptions; and Targumic Aramaic, which is the sole dialect of all but one of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch (Targum Neofiti, the Fragmentary Targums, and the targum fragments from the Cairo Geniza). Targum Pseudo-Jonathan contains some passages written in this dialect, but other passages are in Late Jewish Literary Aramaic.

Aramaic, Late the period of the Aramaic language beginning in the third century C.E. and lasting into the Middle Ages. Most Aramaic texts are from this period, including the targums, the Peshita, and other Syriac literature, as well as the two talmuds and some midrashim.

Aramaic, Late Jewish Literary a composite, literary dialect of Late Aramaic, probably used in the general region of Syria. It combines elements of Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Literary Aramaic, Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (especially targumic Aramaic), and Babylonian Aramaic. Portions of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan were written in it, as well as the Targum to Psalms and other Writings targums.

Aramaic, Middle a period of the Aramaic language lasting from the mid-third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. It follows the period of Imperial Aramaic. With the breakdown of Imperial Aramaic, regional and local dialects came to prominence, with only Standard Literary Aramaic providing any semblance of the language's former international character.

Aramaic, Modern a few dialects of Aramaic used by peoples that have long been separated from each other. The most numerous are Jacobite Christians in eastern Turkey. Mandaic speakers in southern Iran and Iraq, and the villages of Malula and Jubbadin in Syria.

Aramaic, Old the earliest period of recorded Aramaic language lasting from the initial appearance

of the Aramaeans in the Middle East to Aramaic's standardization as the Imperial dialect at the end of the seventh century B.C.E. The few inscriptions from across the Middle East suggest regional differences. The *beit David* inscription from Tell Dan was composed in this dialect.

Aramaic, Samaritan a Western dialect of the Late Aramaic period, used by Samaritans living in and around the Palestinian city of Shechem. The Samaritans translated their Pentateuch into this language, as well as composing liturgical, exegetical, and poetical works in it.

Aramaic, Standard Literary a literary form of Imperial Aramaic that survived the disappearance of Imperial Aramaic during the third century B.C.E. It remained influential throughout most of the Middle Aramaic period, appearing as late as the second century C.E. Jewish texts written in it include the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel as well as the Aramaic texts as Qumran and the Aramaic Bar Kokhba letters.

Aramaic, Western a group of Late Aramaic dialects, primarily from Palestine. They include Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Scholars generally consider Palestinian Jewish Aramaic to be centered in the northern part of the country, that is, in Galilee. Samaritan Aramaic, used by the Samaritans, comes from the area around Shechem, while Christian Palestinian Aramaic was probably used by Jewish Christians in Judea.

Araq el-Emir the modern name for Cave of the Prince, an ancient Jewish village or town across the Jordan in today's Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Josephus explained (*Ant.* 12.4.11) that Joseph ben Tobiah ben Hyrcanus settled across the Jordan early in the second century B.C.E. Joseph built a strong fortress in Arab territory, decorated it with animals carved to a great size, and otherwise built it into a fortified village or town that he called Tyre. Thus this settlement is important for understanding the significance of the Hellenistic Tobiads, who are also known in Ezra 2:60, Nehemiah 2–4, 6–8, 2 Chronicles 17:8, and Zechariah 6:8–15. They are also known in the Zenon papyri as a politically powerful family in Transjordan in the late Hellenistic period. Excavations and surveys at the site have revealed an aqueduct bringing water from the wadi to the north, a large square building, a fortified castle or a fortress with great lionesses in relief, many caves, and a monumental gateway. The castle appears never to have been finished but was destroyed with its builder about 175 B.C.E. This two-storied, fortified building was reused during the Byzantine period. The monumental gateway east of the castle was also destroyed about the same date in an unfinished state. It was never reused. The site was quite rich in finds, including jewelry, coins, glass, pottery, stamped Rhodian jar handles (amphorae for wine imported from Rhodes), and stucco decoration. A stone weight was inscribed in Aramaic with the name of its owner, Raham-Ner, perhaps an Ammonite name.

arbah kosot *see* FOUR CUPS

Arbela location in the Galilee, northwest of Tiberias, where the remains of a third-century-C.E. synagogue and fortified caves, connected by stairs, have been found; possibly equated with Beth-Arbel, mentioned at Hosea 10:14. Josephus (*Ant.* 12:421) reports that in the campaign against Judah Maccabee, the Seleucids captured the "steps at Arbel." In 39 B.C.E., Zealots sought refuge from Herod the Great in these caves; in 66–70 C.E., Josephus fortified the area (*Vita,* 188); after 70 C.E., priests of the house of Jeshua settled in the area, known for its fertility. *See also* ARBEL SYNAGOGUE.

Arbela, Chronicle of Syriac history of the Nestorian Christian community of Arbil, capital of the Hedayab (Adiabene) region of northern Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq), covering a period from the beginning of the second century C.E. to the middle of the sixth century C.E. It survives in a single tenth-century manuscript, which is full of anachronisms and chronological impossibilities and must be used with caution.

Arbel Synagogue ancient Roman and Byzantine synagogue north of Tiberias and west of the lake. There is an ancient Jewish village there, evidently of the same name, but only the synagogue has been investigated archaeologically. In Maccabees 9:2 the Hasmoneans fought a battle with Bacchides in the plain of Arbel. At the beginning of his reign, Herod the Great killed the last of the rebels against his reign in the cliffs of Arbel just north of the ancient settlement. The ancient synagogue of the town had its major facade pointed south toward Jerusalem. The interior space was divided by columns into a nave and two side aisles, with a series of benches between the walls and the columns. The stonework is highly decorated with moldings, Corinthian capitals, engaged columns, triglyphs, dentilation, and pieces ascribed to windows, though they may be pieces of a synagogue ark. It is possible that this is the building seen by Samuel bar Simson in 1210 and by Rabbi Isaak Chelo in 1333. They both ascribed the synagogue to Rabbi Nitai of Arbel, though the locality was known as the ruin of Irbid.

arbit *see* EVENING PRAYER

Arcadius emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (r. 395–408 C.E.). Some of his court officials favored Hellenism, and he hesitated to persecute any community that regularly paid its taxes. In 400 he prevented the bishop of Gaza from destroying a pagan temple because the pagan citizens were loyal taxpayers. He also respected the Jews' loyalty and their regular tax payments. In 396 Arcadius, along with the western emperor Honorius, issued a decree stating that no outsider should pass judgment on Jewish religious or secular activities. Their decree was eventually incorporated into the Theodosian Code.

Archelaus son of Herod the Great and his wife Malthace. Herod had designated Archelaus as his principal successor in his final will, to be ratified by the emperor Augustus. Archelaus badly mishandled the protests of the Jewish people on the death of Herod (4 B.C.E.), leading to a massacre of many Jews. Though Augustus confirmed him as ruler of Judea and Samaria in accordance with the terms of Herod's will, thus thwarting the ambitions of his brother Antipas, he refused him the title king until he should prove worthy of it. While these matters were being debated in Rome a serious revolt broke out in Jerusalem and all over Palestine against the Herods. On his return Archelaus was never able to win acceptance from either the Jews or the Samaritans. He continued many of the oppressive policies of his father, but without his astuteness. In 6 C.E. Augustus summoned him to Rome to answer charges against him emanating from Palestine, banished him to Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, and imposed direct Roman rule in Judea for the first time. His cruelty is referred to in the Gospel of Matthew 2:22, which gives it as the reason for the parents of Jesus migrating to Galilee on their return from Egypt after the death of Herod the Great.

archiereus (Gr., high priest) often used in Jewish writings in Greek to refer to the Jewish high priest in Jerusalem. In the writings of Josephus and in the New Testament, however, it sometimes seems to mean not the high priest in office but a former high priest or even only an immediate member of his family.

archisynagogos (Gr., head of the synagogue) Although a number of assumptions are often made about the office and its duties, neither Josephus nor Philo of Alexandria uses the term. However, it occurs in inscriptions from the first century C.E.

archon a Greek term for an official, especially of a Greek city. Whatever the precise government of the city, its decrees were usually carried out by these elected or appointed officials. Leaders of the Jewish communities in various places often bore this title as well. The term is also used of demonic powers in Gnosticism.

Ardashir I (c. 180–241 C.E.) first ruler of Sassanid Babylonia. He was a Persian, the son of Papak and the grandson of Sasan, who later Sassanids claimed were heirs of the Achaemenids, descended from Darius. Sasan, the eponymous ancestor of the new dynasty, was a Zoroastrian priest in Persis, and his son Papak, born in about 150 C.E., achieved no higher post. Ardashir, by contrast, became commandant of the garrison and fortress of the town. By about 208, he began a struggle for supremacy in the district.

Ardashir's reign came about when, in response to Ardashir's attempt to extend his power, the Parthian king Artabanus V engaged him in battle. Artabanus's defeat, coupled with his death in 227, ended four and a half centuries of Arsacid control of the lands of present-day Iran. When Ardashir finally defeated a coalition of Parthians, Armenians, and Kushans, who may have had Roman support, he firmly placed the Sassanid dynasty in control of the lands once ruled by the Parthians. During his reign, he extended the Sassanid territory by constantly waging campaigns on the Roman frontiers, particularly intent upon capturing Armenia and Mesopotamia. Ardashir died in 241 and was succeeded by Shapur I.

Ardashir legitimated his reign through marriage to an Arsacid, a daughter or cousin of Ardavan. He was crowned in September 226 at Istakar, where four centuries of his Sassanid successors were to be invested. His capital was across the river from Ctesiphon, at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, renamed Veh-Ardashir. Babylonia was the center of his interest, and he engaged in an expansive program of construction of new towns, buildings, canals, temples, and other public works. At his death, the frontiers of the empire stretched from the Euphrates to Merv, Herat, and Seistan; this territory would be further extended by Shapur I.

Jews had enjoyed a long period of peace and political autonomy under the Arsacids and did not welcome the change in dynasty. Worse, the Sassanids immediately determined to unify their disparate empire through cultural and religious reforms, establishing a state church and intervening as they wished in the affairs of their subjects in the Mesopotamian valley. B. Abodah Zarah 10b–11a reports Rab's dismay over the death of Ardavan; B. Yebamot 63b reports Yohanan's concern over the arrival in Babylonia of Zoroastrian Magi. After cen-

turies of religious freedom, under Ardashir, Jews confronted the Mazdean state church's repression of all practices that offended the Zoroastrian Mobads' sensibilities. Prohibited acts included ritual slaughter of meat, the use of ritual baths, and burial of the dead (B. Yebamot 63b). The Persians undoubtedly also enacted decrees to protect the sanctity of fire (see, e.g., B. Sanhedrin 45a). In light of these developments, the Jews turned to Rome, under whose rule third-century Palestinian Jews lived in relative freedom, and who, despite its destruction of the Second Temple, was viewed as a likely savior from Persian oppression (B. Yoma 10a). Only with the coronation of Shapur I do Jews appear to have been conciliated with the new state.

Ardashir II Sassanid ruler (r. 379–383 C.E.). Some Arabic sources incorrectly claim that he was Shapur II's brother. He supposedly did not collect taxes, which made him a popular ruler. Some Armenians, led by Manuel, revolted against the pro-Roman Moushegh and acknowledged Ardashir as their ruler. Ardashir exchanged Iranian protection for Armenian tribute, effectively establishing a short-lived joint suzerainty with Manuel over Armenia. Ardashir was a follower of Ohrmazd. He opposed the appointment of Christian bishops in his territory, often martyring those who assumed the post. The nobility deposed him after less than four years, complaining of his tyranny.

Ardavan III Parthian ruler (r. 12–36 C.E.), originally king of Atropatene. After defeating Vonoes, he was declared king in Ctesiphon. He probably had close ties with the Jewish rulers surrounding his domain. He recognized the legitimacy of the Babylonian Jewish satraps Anileus and Asineus. When the Romans attempted to put Mithradates of Iberia on the Armenian throne, Ardavan was unable to remove him. He was forced to flee to Adiabene, and he made a treaty with Izates, who had recently converted to Judaism. Eventually he was able to regain his throne.

Ardavan V (also known as Artabanus V) the last Parthian ruler (r. 213–227 C.E.). The Roman emperor Caracalla sought to marry Ardavan's daughter after failing to achieve a military success over the Parthians. Ardavan agreed to the marriage, probably hoping to pit Rome against his rebellious brother, Vologases V. But Caracalla allegedly slew the wedding guests, except for Ardavan, who fled. Caracalla's successor, Macrinus, also failed to defeat Ardavan and was forced to pay a humiliating ransom before Ardavan agreed to the peace of Nisibis in 218. Ardavan's constant dynastic struggles with his brother Vologases V diverted his attention from the threat posed by Ardashir, his rebellious satrap in Persia. Ardavan fell in battle against the Persians in 227. A Jewish story maintains that Ardavan sent a priceless gem to Judah the Patriarch, who sent him a mezuzah. This exchange of gifts may reflect the attempt to form an alliance between Rome and the Parthians during the reign of either Caracalla or Macrinus. Another Jewish source depicts a close relationship between Rab and Ardavan, paralleling the one between Rabbi in Palestine and the Roman emperor Antoninus. Just as Rabbi lamented Antoninus's death, so Rab lamented Ardavan's passing.

aretalogy a hymn or story of praise; from the Greek *aretai,* meaning virtues or manifestations of divine power. An aretalogy was usually written in honor of a god or goddess, though some were written in honor of heroic or semidivine human figures (e.g., Jesus). Some of the best-preserved examples of hymnlike aretalogies are those to the goddess Isis.

Aretas III king of the Nabateans in the first century B.C.E. He was quite successful in resisting Seleucid power in its final days and Roman expansionism in the East under Pompey. According to Josephus he gained possession of Damascus about 85 B.C.E. following the death of Antiochus XII of Syria. On the basis of numismatic evidence, he held Damascus from about 85 until 72 B.C.E. He was not able, however, to hold the city against the incursions of the Armenian king, Tigranes, who in turn had to cede it to Pompey in 66. Aretas also encountered the expansionist policies of Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.) in the Transjordan region of Moab and Galaaditis. This led to a foray into Judea by Aretas, where he defeated Alexander at the battle of Adida, not far from Lydda on the coast, about 84 B.C.E. He withdrew in obscure circumstances, however, only to become embroiled again in Jewish affairs by siding with Hyrcanus in the struggle for succession with Aristobulus II. He actually besieged the latter in Jerusalem, withdrawing only on the order of Scaurus, the Roman general, in 65 B.C.E. Pompey intended to march against Petra, but had to return because of trouble in Judea. In 62 B.C.E., Scaurus exacted the payment of three hundred talents from Aretas through the good offices of Antipater the Idumean. Aretas died soon after.

Aretas IV king of the Nabateans (r. 9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.). A certain Aeneas seized the Nabatean throne on the death of Obodas III in 9 B.C.E., adopted the royal name of Aretas (IV), and ruled successfully in

the Nabatean kingdom until 40 C.E. Augustus was reluctant to recognize him initially, prompted by the powerful administrator of the previous king, Syllaeus. Eventually Aretas, aided by Nicholas of Damascus, Herod's envoy in Rome, was able to win the imperial favor leading to Syllaeus's execution as well as his own acceptance by Rome as king of the Nabateans. On the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E., Aretas sent aid to the Roman governor of Syria, Varus, who was engaged in putting down the disturbances that occurred in Judea. The enmity of the Nabateans for the Jews was expressed in the pillaging and murder that occurred in two villages, Arus in Samaria and Sappho in Judea. The emperor Tiberius ordered Vitellius, the Roman governor in Syria, to punish Aretas for an unwarranted violation of the *Pax Romana* after Herod Antipas had divorced his daughter, but before the order could be carried out Tiberius died and Vitellius ignored the command. This skirmish with Roman imperial power does not seem to have damaged Aretas's standing unduly. The account of Paul's escape from Damascus mentions a governor of King Aretas in that city (2 Cor. 11:32). It is possible that Gaius Caligula had given the city to Aretas as a gift, a fact that would seem to be confirmed by the city coins of Damascus that lack any image of the emperors Gaius and Claudius.

arete *see* VIRTUES AND VICES

Argarizin Greek transliteration of the name of the mountain Har Gerizim (Mount Gerizim), located near ancient Shechem (modern Nablus). The term is found in a number of Greek writings, which were probably written by Samaritans, whereas Jewish writers usually referred to *horos* (Gr., mountain) Garizin. *See also* GERIZIM, MOUNT.

Arianism a fourth-century doctrine about God and Christ condemned as a heresy in Alexandria around 320 and by the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. Named after its first proponent, the priest Arius of Alexandria (d. 336), Arianism in its earliest stage was also taught by the Cappadocian sophist Asterius, whose work is only known through its refutation by Marcellus of Ancyra. In a later stage a strict form of Neo-Arianism was presented in the late 350s by the rhetor Aetius from Antioch (d. 370) and the Cappadocian Eunomius who became bishop of Cyzicus in 360 for a few years. A coalition of Oriental bishops, initially headed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, ignored the anti-Arian decision of Nicaea by keeping a doctrinal line close to Arius's teaching. Ulfilas, a Cappadocian living among the Goths, was consecrated bishop by the same Eusebius in 341. Ulfilas translated the Bible into Gothic and preached the Arian creed to the German tribes, giving Arianism a chance to prevail among the Visigoths and the Vandals who settled in the West in the later part of the fourth century.

Arianism focuses on the Christian notion of deity in reinforcing the transcendent unity of the godhead against any Gnostic attempt to introduce multiple beings. A century earlier, Origen of Alexandria had also opposed Gnosticism, mainly that of the Alexandrian Gnostic Christian Valentinus. In a pioneering theory of divine Trinity, Origen had stressed the peculiar nature of deity understood by church tradition. In his work *On First Principles,* he affirmed the complete divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, both *uncreated* as revealed in the New Testament, and insisted on the *created* nature of all the heavenly powers constituting the so-called noetic cosmos that transcends the material world. Arius followed some of Origen's insights but failed to keep a trinitarian notion of deity. He reduced the Son and the Spirit to the level of created being originating from the Father. A rationalistic approach to scripture and a proximity to Neoplatonic metaphysics characterize the Arian exegesis of the New Testament: Jesus in his human limitations was understood as witnessing to the inferior and created nature of the divine Logos; in his religious dedication, his virtues, and his suffering, Jesus was seen as a model for personal salvation. In response to the Arian challenge, Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Hilary of Poitiers, and other intellectual leaders of the fourth century improved the doctrine of divine Trinity in line with Origen's founding intuition. *See also* ARIUS.

Aristeas, Letter of a pseudonymous Jewish account of the Torah's translation into Greek. Composed in a not very elegant Greek, this document of 322 verses purports to have been written by Aristeas, a courtier of Ptolemy II (r. 285–247 B.C.E.), to his brother Philocrates. Elements of the letter style are largely missing, although the second-person address appears at various points in the text, which is mainly a first-person narrative that employs a variety of traditional Hellenistic genres. Most scholars place its composition in Alexandria between 150 and 100 B.C.E. It is preserved in twenty Greek manuscripts copied between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.

The first major section of Aristeas describes Ptolemy's alleged request that Eleazar the high priest at Jerusalem send a committee of translators to Alexandria (vv. 1–82). In the second section (vv.

83–171), Aristeas describes how he and other members of an Egyptian delegation were awestruck by the Temple of Jerusalem and its cult and were greatly impressed by Eleazar's learned disquisition on the Torah. The longest and most significant section recounts Ptolemy's reception of the Jewish translators and the table talk during the banqueting that preceded the translation work (vv. 172–300). A brief account of the translation and the positive gentile response to it concludes the body of the document (vv. 301–21).

Aristeas is held together by three themes. Basic is the repeated assertion of the universal sovereignty of the one God, who is the Creator, the God of Israel, and the one who guides and moves gentile kings in the ways of justice. Second is the emphasis on the impressive character of Jewish institutions—the Temple, its furnishings and its cult, the Torah and its interpreters. Aristeas's idealized description of Judea employs utopian elements typical of travelogues in classical and Hellenistic literature. The Torah is recommended as "most philosophical," and the allegorical meaning of its commandments is applicable to Gentiles as well as Jews. This connects with the author's third theme. Gentiles need not obey the letter of the Torah to find God's favor; however, they are required to eschew idols and idolatry, avoid promiscuous sexual unions, and act justly to other human beings. In a section that imitates Hellenistic treatises on kingship, the sages enjoin Ptolemy to show justice, munificence, gentleness, mercy, and patience, and to avoid arrogance, cruelty, and tyranny. Although it presents the Torah as divine revelation and the criterion for human conduct, Aristeas also offers a very positive estimate of Greeks and Greek culture and urges peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence and interaction between Jews and Gentiles.

The account of the Torah's translation has the marks of legend: seventy-two scholars work separately for seventy-two days and then compare and harmonize their translations, which are ratified by the Alexandrian Jewish community and admired by the king, who had instigated the project in the first place. Subsequent Jewish and Christian authors in antiquity progressively embellished the legend into a highly miraculous account, which underscored the character of the Greek Bible as an inspired and authoritative text (Philo, *Life of Moses* 2.25–44; Ps.-Justin, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 13; Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies* 3.21.2; Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures* 3–11; B. Meg. 9a).

Aristeas the Historian (or Exegete) Jewish writer, probably from the second century B.C.E., known only from one fragment of his work *On the Jews*. This concerns Job, who is said to be a son of Esau and is identified with the Jobab of Genesis 36:33. The three friends who come to comfort him are all said to be kings.

Aristobulus, son of Herod son of Herod the Great and Mariamme. He was educated in Rome (23–17 B.C.E.) along with his brother Alexander. After Herod brought Aristobulus and Alexander back to Jerusalem, Aristobulus married Berenice, the daughter of Herod's sister, Salome. Competition and intrigues within the Herodian family led Herod to suspect the brothers of plotting against him. On a trip to Rome in 12 B.C.E., Augustus reconciled Herod to his sons. Further conflict, slander, and intrigue in the Herodian court led to the brothers' arrest, trial in Berytus, and execution by strangulation in Sebaste in 7 B.C.E. A number of their supporters were also executed.

Aristobulus I son and successor of John Hyrcanus to the high priesthood (104–103 B.C.E.). He imprisoned his mother, who had been bequeathed the rule of the kingdom, and starved her to death. He imprisoned three of his four brothers and eventually had the fourth, Antigonus, assassinated. He also adopted the title of king for the first time. Before his death from disease, he extended Jewish rule to Ituraean territory north of Galilee. He was succeeded by his brother, Alexander Jannaeus, who married Aristobulus's wife, Alexandra.

Aristobulus II (Heb. name: Judas) Hasmonean king of the Jewish kingdom (r. 67–63 B.C.E.); son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra. During the reign of his mother, 76–67 B.C.E., he plotted to seize power from her and his older brother, Hyrcanus, who was high priest. After her death, he forced his brother to resign, after which he ruled from 67 to 63 B.C.E. Antipater of Idumea recruited Aretas, the Nabatean king, to support Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus prevailed until Aristobulus recruited Roman support from Pompey. Civil war continued for several years. In 63 B.C.E. an embassy from Israel to Pompey in Syria sought to have both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus removed. When Aristobulus fled from Pompey, Pompey pursued him, conquered Judea, and finally besieged the Temple Mount, where Aristobulus's supporters were overcome with great slaughter. Aristobulus was transported to Rome for Pompey's triumph; he later escaped to Judea, but was captured again and sent back to Rome (c. 56 B.C.E.). Julius Caesar released him from jail (49 B.C.E.) and sent him to oppose Pompey in Syria. He was poisoned by Pompey's adherents.

Aristobulus the Exegete a Jewish biblical interpreter, probably from Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. Unfortunately, his work is preserved only in a few fragments, quoted by Eusebius. Aristobulus is the first Jewish writer known to use allegory as a major interpretative device. He puts the Passover in cosmological perspective by discussing the placement of both sun and moon at the time. In a treatise addressed to the Ptolemaic king, he deals with the question of why Moses seems to describe God in human terms. He argues that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato all borrowed from Moses. This was possible because at least some of the Pentateuch had been translated into Greek even before the conquests of Alexander, though he acknowledges that all of it was translated only at the time of Ptolemy II in the Septuagint version. He puts the Sabbath into cosmological terms, makes use of an arithmology on the number seven, and gives the correct etymology of "sabbath" (Gr.: *sabbaton*) as "rest." However, he also quotes verses of Homer and Hesiod to support his argument, even though these are almost certainly spurious.

aristocracy literally, government by the best; historically, a small, privileged class. In ancient bureaucratic societies and empires, 2–3 percent of the population controlled most of the power, land, and wealth, assisted by a small number of specialist retainers (officials, priests, scribes, military, merchants, etc.). About 90 percent of the population lived at a subsistance level from farming or crafts.

Aristotelians *see* PERIPATETICS

arithmology the use of numbers in exegesis. The practice might also be termed "number symbolism" since those who make use of it see significance in the use of certain numbers, especially such numbers as seven, twelve, and forty. "Number mysticism" as found in some Kabbalistic writings is not necessarily implied, however.

Arius Alexandrian priest, born in Libya, declared a heretic about 320 C.E. by the local synod of Bishop Alexander of Alexandria. The Council of Nicaea confirmed the excommunication in 325, but a conservative opposition to Nicaea continued to support Arian doctrine until Theodosius I established Nicaean orthodoxy as official religion in 381. Arius himself died in 336. A few of his letters and fragments of a pamphlet entitled *Thalia* are the only literary remains handed down as documentary evidence by his staunchest adversary, Athanasius of Alexandria, who succeeded Alexander in 328. *Orations Against the Arians* and voluminous apologies witness to Athanasius's opposition to Arian ideas. *See also* ARIANISM.

ark (Heb.: *aron*) place for holding Torah scrolls in the synagogue; generally the visual focus of a synagogue prayer hall

ark, representation of a major motif in ancient synagogue art during the Roman and Byzantine periods, namely, representations of the Ark of the Scrolls in mosaic floors and other media. The motif is also called a synagogue ark. The ark is a chest or standing cabinet with double doors decorated with several square or rectangular panels, and on later arks there is elaborate decoration on the panels. The ark stood on legs and is surmounted by a gable or pediment with a shell. In the diaspora the ark is rendered with doors open showing scrolls on shelves, but ordinarily within ancient Palestine the doors are executed as though shut. Often a curtain hangs in front of the ark. In the mosaic floor from Tiberias the curtain is tied in a knot to reveal the ark. The ark often stands within a Torah shrine or aedicula, which was built of stone, but some arks are depicted as free standing cabinets. The Torah shrine is a stone edifice holding the ark. The Torah shrine contains two columns in front, a pediment with shell motif in the center, and a roof. The Byzantine Torah shrine from Nabratein was even covered with roof tiles, while the pediment found at the same site had two lions sculpted in relief on top of the pediment and a shell in the recessed triangle of the pediment.

Ark of the Covenant boxlike piece of cultic paraphernalia associated with YHWH's presence (Exod. 25:10–22; Deut. 10:1–5). Housed first in the tabernacle and then in Solomon's temple, the ark appears to have been considered the footstool of the invisible deity. According to the accounts in Exodus and Deuteronomy, it contained the "testimony" or the tablets of the ten commandments. Hebrews 9:4 adds to these a pot of manna and Aaron's blossoming staff (cf. Exod. 16:32–34; Num. 17:8–10). At some indeterminate time in the monarchical period, the ark disappeared, and it is not mentioned among the booty that Nebuchadnezzar took to Babylon (2 Kings 25:13–17). A Jewish legend datable to the early second century B.C.E. claimed that Jeremiah hid the ark and other temple furnishings before Nebuchadnezzar pillaged Jerusalem (2 Macc. 2:4–8; 2 Bar. 6, cf. M. Shekal. 6:1–2; B. Yoma 53b–54a). Hebrews 9:11–14 contrasts Jesus' presentation of his own blood in the heavenly holy place with the priestly sprinkling of blood on the "mercy seat" (Heb.: *kapporet*) of the ark (Lev. 16:1–14). According to Revelation 11:19, the ark stands in the heavenly temple and emanates the stormy signs of God's presence.

Armageddon mysterious location of the eschatological battle (Rev. 16:16). It is traditionally thought to be a transliteration of Hebrew *har-megiddon,* "Mount of Megiddo," either the hill city in the Plain of Esdraelon, or nearby Mount Carmel or Tabor, the site of important battles in Judges 5:19 and 2 Kings 23:29. Identification of the location remains disputed.

Armenia, Jews of Although we cannot date the origins of the Jews in Armenia, we know that in 83 B.C.E. the Armenian ruler Tigranes I invaded Syria and northern Palestine. As part of his effort to develop Armenia's economy, the king transported a number of Jews from Syria-Palaestina to Armenia in order to increase the population of Armenia's commercial centers: Armavir, Vaharsabat, Van, Artashat, and Van-Dosp. It also seems likely that in the early second century Ardashar removed the Jews settled in Yerevan to Artashat. It is also plausible that around 365 C.E. Shapur II deported thousands of Jewish families from Armenia and resettled them at Isfahan as part of his policy to destroy Armenia's economy and increase its dependency on Persia. For a few years during the first century C.E., Armenia was ruled by a dynasty of Jewish descent, which was imposed upon the country by the Romans. For a time, Armenia was ruled by Tigranes IV (10–26 C.E.), son of Herod's son Alexander. Tigranes V (60 C.E.) and Aristobulus (60 C.E.), both Herodians, were placed on the throne by Nero.

Josephus did not regard these rulers as good Jews and implies that they had left Judaism. In any case, they had no discernible effect on the history of the Jews or of Judaism in Armenia. There is no reliable information on the religion of Armenian Jewry. The Palestinian Talmud mentions Rabbi Armenia and R. Jacob of Armenia, but we have no way of knowing if they actually were from Armenia. It is reasonable to assume that Judaism must have influenced those areas of Armenia in which Jews settled. We have stories that some of the leading families of these regions were Jewish. Cities such as Vagharshabat had a large Jewish population, and it is probably no coincidence that Gregor Lusavoric, who is credited with having brought Christianity to Armenia, was born in this city. Edessa was the chief center from which Christianity reached Armenia, and its church had a significant number of Jewish converts and was heavily influenced by Judaism. Although Armenia bordered on Babylonia and was close to centers of Babylonian Jewry, Armenian Jewry had no known impact on Babylonian Judaism, and it appears that Babylonian Jewry did not influence the Armenian Jewish community.

There are a number of legends that were created after Armenia had become Christianized, entirely without historical foundation, which attempt to establish a direct connection between Armenia and the narratives of the Hebrew Bible. The most famous of these legends concerns a Jew by the name of Sambat who allegedly settled in Armenia at the time of the Judean exile in 586 B.C.E. Sambat is the ancestor of the Bagartuni family, who were consistently willing to compromise with paganism. Other stories connect the Bagartuni with the Herodian high priest Hyrcanus. In this story the Bagartuni, named Enanus, was forced to reject Judaism, adore the sun, and pay homage to idols.

ARN *see* FATHERS ACCORDING TO RABBI NATHAN, THE

aron, aron haKodesh *see* ARK

Artapanus one of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers in Greek. His work entitled *On the Jews* has survived only in fragments, taken from Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius. Artapanus probably wrote in the second century B.C.E., most likely in Egypt. He is especially important as an example of a Jew who was willing to interpret Jewish tradition by reference to Greek culture, in which he seems at home. His writings have the quality of Graeco-Roman romance and also function as apologetic literature on behalf of the Jews. Like Pseudo-Eupolemus, he claims that Abraham taught astrology to the Egyptians. His story of Joseph differs in a number of ways from the Genesis account: Joseph flees to Egypt of his own accord, becomes finance minister to Pharaoh, is the first to divide off the plots of land, and makes much of the waste land tillable. Artapanus gives a long account of the life of Moses, which seems to be preserved more or less complete. In it Moses is presented as an inventor and the first to divide Egypt into nomes. Artapanus also states that Moses then became an Egyptian general and led in the conquest of Ethiopia before having to flee for his life because the Pharaoh was jealous of him.

Artaxerxes I Longimanus Persian emperor (r. 465–425 B.C.E.) following the murder of his father, Xerxes. Ezra arrived in Jerusalem in the "seventh year of Artaxerxes," probably Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7–8), and Nehemiah's mission took place in the twentieth year of the same reign, which would be 445 or 444 B.C.E. (Neh. 2:1).

Artemion leader of the Jewish revolt in Cyprus. Dio Cassius is the only ancient author who mentions that Artemion was the leader of the revolt of Jews on Cyprus (115–117 C.E.). After mentioning

the Jewish atrocities in Cyrenaica, Dio states that the Jews did similar things in Egypt "and also in Cyprus under the leadership of a certain Artemion." Dio claims that 240,000 people were killed on Cyprus during the revolt. Because of the revolt, Dio claims, no Jews may land on Cyprus and even those who end up there as a result of a shipwreck are executed.

Artemisios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Nisan (March/April) and sometimes to the month Iyyar (April/May).

Asael (Heb., God has made) one of the two chieftains of the rebellious watchers (angels) in 1 Enoch 6–16. He brings evil to earth by revealing forbidden secrets about metallurgy and mining, which enable humans to forge weapons and armor and fabricate seductive jewelry and cosmetics. Raphael the angel casts him into the Abyss until the final judgment (1 Enoch 10:4–6). His portrait may reflect stories about Prometheus in Greek mythology, and it has influenced Revelation 20:1–3. Early in Jewish tradition he is identified with Azazel. *See also* NEFILIM.

asarah batlanim (Heb., full-time, perpetual students) ten men free of all other obligations, available for the study of the Torah and recitation of prayers in a quorum. A large town had ten such persons, assigned to the permanent work of learning and prayer.

asarah beTebet (Heb., tenth of Tebet) fast day on the tenth of Tebet, mourning for the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E.

Asatir a Samaritan chronicle in Aramaic extending from Adam to Moses. It is parallel to the Pentateuch but with many differences, including the addition of aggadic elements. In this it resembles Jewish works sometimes referred to as "rewritten Bible." It has been variously dated but is probably medieval.

ascent journey to the heavenly throne room. The earliest account of such a journey is recorded in 1 Enoch 12–16, from the first half of the third century B.C.E. The text recounts a prophetic call in the tradition of Ezekiel 1–2, although the seer ascends to heaven rather than the chariot throne descending to earth (but cf. Ezekiel 40–48, where the prophet travels in the spirit from Babylon to Jerusalem). Other pseudonymous accounts of ascents occur in Daniel 7, the Apocalypse of Abraham 9–20, and the Life of Adam and Eve 25–29. Among identifiable persons, the Apostle Paul refers to a trip to paradise (2 Cor. 12:1–4), John of Patmos ascends in the spirit to see heavenly mysteries (the Book of Revelation), and a talmudic tradition in B. Hagigah 14b refers to four who entered the Garden: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, Aher (Elisha ben Abuyah), and Akiba, all of them from early second century C.E. Subsequently, a massive Hekhalot and Merkabah literature develops in Judaism. Thus, accounts of ascents appear to have begun in an Ezekiel-related tradition that is marked by a prophetic consciousness. Increasingly, though not exclusively (cf. Rev. 1:11, 22:6–20), ascents (or descents as they are often described) focus on the throne vision in its own right without any notion of bringing a divine message to earth. *See also* CALL; MYSTICISM.

asceticism abstaining from pleasures of this world. Asceticism is common in Judaism in the form of fasting, for example, in time of crisis, along with prayers for rain and divine grace, and may also involve abstaining from wine and/or sexual relations. It expresses fear of sin or penance for sin. *See also* NAZIRITE.

asebeia, asebēs *see* ATHEISM

Ashdod coastal city of ancient Palestine north of Gaza, south of Joppa and about 4 kilometers from the Mediterranean. Ashdod was one of the main Philistine cities in the Bible (Josh. 11:22). During the Persian period Ashdod was capital of the Persian satrapy of Yehud (Neh. 13:23–24). Residents of Ashdod opposed Nehemiah's rebuilding efforts in Jerusalem (Neh. 4:1ff). With the reestablishment of Israel under the Hasmonean kings, Ashdod was reconquered and destroyed by John Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.*, 13.4.5). During this period the city was known as Azotus (Acts 8:40). The Roman general Gabinius rebuilt Azotus as a prosperous city, which it remained during the reign of Herod the Great. Herod was awarded Azotus as a royal estate by Augustus, and he in turn left it to his sister Salome. Salome willed it to Livia, the wife of Augustus, whereupon it became an imperial estate. This was a city of both Jewish and gentile population. Excavations at Ashdod have found John Hyrcanus's destruction of the well-planned Hellenistic city. It was also possible to show from the excavations that Gabinius's rebuilding followed the lines of the Hellenistic city. This showplace was destroyed in 67 C.E. during the First Revolt. The city continued to be occupied, probably because of the major north-south highway upon which it rested and because of its anchorage, Azotus Paralius. Finds of the Byzantine period indicate that both Jews and Samaritans lived in a small town or village closer to the shore.

Ashi (d. 427 C.E.) Babylonian amora, known by the honorific title Rabbana. The most celebrated authority of his day, for over fifty years he headed the academy at Sura. Tradition holds that he was responsible for the major part of the redacting of the Babylonian Talmud, editing and organizing material that had been collected in the Babylonian academies for over 200 years.

Ashkelon coastal city of ancient Palestine (also known as Askelon and Ascalon) north of Gaza, south of Ashdod (Azotus), and situated directly on the coast of the Mediterranean. Ashkelon is one of the oldest biblical cities of Palestine and one of the cities of the Philistines (Josh. 13:32). Sometime after its conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps during the sixth century B.C.E., it became a commercial satellite of Tyre. Under the Ptolemies it became a free port and an autonomous city with connections to Egypt. The Hasmonean kings of Israel never succeeded in defeating Ashkelon. It minted its own coins from 111 B.C.E., and seven years later became independent and dated its coins from its own independence. Herod the Great was a native of Ashkelon and adorned the city with a large stoa, temples, and a palace. During the Roman period the city was a flourishing port with a large gentile population and a significant Jewish population. Many Graeco-Roman deities were worshipped at Ashkelon, such as Isis, Atargatis (a local goddess with the face of a woman but the tail of a fish), Heracles, and Apollo. Graeco-Roman institutions flourished at Ashkelon, including schools of Graeco-Roman rhetoric and philosophy. During the Byzantine period a Jewish population thrived at Ashkelon, and the rabbis knew of the gardens of Ashkelon and the city market. Archaeological investigations in the Roman phase have disclosed a city wall with towers and a gate, a bouleuterion or civic meeting hall attached to a huge basilica, including a small temple to Apollo, many examples of Roman sculpture and architecture, and a magnificent painted tomb of fine Graeco-Roman decoration. Byzantine Ashkelon has yielded remains of two basilica churches and a synagogue with a *bimah* and a chancel screen decorated with finely engraved menorahs, shofars, and lulabs.

Ashkenaz at Genesis 10:3 (= 1 Chron. 1:6), a people traced through Gomer to Japheth, Noah's third son; at Jeremiah 51:27, a nation called to oppose Babylon. In the talmudic literature, the Ashkenaz of Genesis 10:3 is identified with areas in the Roman province of Asia Minor, particularly Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria. The Jerusalem Targum and Targum Onkelos, by contrast, identify it with Riphath (Riphas), elsewhere associated with Adiabene. By the medieval period, Jews identified Ashkenaz with Germany, an identification earlier found in Eusebius's correlation of Ashkenaz with the Teutons.

ashrei (Heb., happy are they) Psalm 145, read during morning and afternoon worship

Ashur Assyria, in the northern part of Mesopotamia; referring in the talmudic literature to Seleucia (e.g., B. Ketubot 10b) or Parthia (e.g., B. Sanhedrin 106a)

Asia Minor, Jews in Ancient authors and inscriptions testify to the presence of Jewish communities in many cities of Asia Minor. Josephus reports that Antiochus III (r. 223–187 B.C.E.) settled two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia in western and central Asia Minor. 1 Maccabees (15:23–24) contains a letter with a list of places where Jews lived, which included most of Asia Minor. Numerous cities on the west coast and its hinterland had Jewish communities, including Pergamum, Thyatira, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Ephesus, Priene, and Halicarnassus. Farther inland cities, such as Aphrodisias, Laodicea, Apamea, Antioch in Pisidia and the territory of Acmonia, had a strong Jewish presence. Many cities along the south coast and Tarsus, the gateway to the interior, are mentioned. Less is known about a Jewish presence in Galatia and Cappadocia in the interior and on the north coast of Asia Minor. *See also* EPHESUS, JEWS IN; SARDIS, JEWS IN.

Askelon *see* ASHKELON

asmakta (Aram., support) an agreement in rabbinic law buttressed by an extravagant penalty or dependent on the fulfillment of a condition that is not binding unless supported by more definite indicators. In rabbinic Bible interpretation, it is a verse that buttresses a legal rule without serving as an integral basis for its authority.

Asmodeus demon in love with Sarah, the heroine of the Book of Tobit. Seven times Asmodeus kills Sarah's husbands on their wedding nights, before Raphael the healing angel exorcizes him, binds him, and banishes him to Egypt. The angelic-demonic opposition recalls 1 Enoch 10:4 and the story may be known in Mark 12:18–23.

ass, slander of Jews worshiping A widespread belief in the Graeco-Roman world was that the Jews worshiped an ass or an ass's head. It probably originated in Egypt, where Judaism was sometimes associated with worship of the god Tryphon, or Seth, who was represented by an ass. We find this repeated by, among others, Apion.

Assalieh ancient Jewish village in the Golan Heights about 3 kilometers west of Qatsrin. Here a

building was found with an entrance through the south wall, which indicates that the building's facade was oriented to Jerusalem. On the lintel of the main entrance appears an outline in relief of what may be a Torah shrine with two columns in front and a niche above that may represent a shell. To the right and left of this possible Torah shrine stand incised two seven-branched menorahs, each with two large knobs affixed in relief. The interior space is divided into a central nave and two side aisles by two rows of Ionic columns. This building is usually dated from the fifth century C.E.

Assi **1.** Babylonian amora of the early third century C.E.; a contemporary of Rab. He lived in Ḥuzal, near Nehardea and reportedly was wealthy (B. Ḥullin 105a).

2. Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; also cited as Issi. A student of Samuel, he emigrated to the Land of Israel, where he was taught by Yoḥanan. He is frequently cited in both Talmuds, often with Ammi, also a student of Samuel.

assimilation accommodation to the surrounding culture. The term is often used, especially in modern times, in a negative sense to imply accommodation to the point that Jews abandon their Judaism. The expression can also be used as a matter of degree, however, without necessarily meaning loss of Jewish identity.

Jews have always adapted to their local environment, especially when living in the diaspora. It was common in antiquity, as now, to adopt the language, clothing, and many other aspects of the lifestyle of those among whom they lived. Typically, Jews dressed as those around them. The mode of dress varied, depending on one's wealth and social status, but the descriptions preserved do not generally indicate a differentiation between the Jews and others in clothing. Indeed, the mode of dress that sets some Jewish groups (e.g., Hasidic Jews) apart today was worn as normal clothing by their ancestors at another time and place (such as in Eastern Europe).

In language, Jews took on the dominant speech of their habitation. During the later Assyrian, Persian, and Parthian periods, the Jews of the Syrian and Mesopotamian areas spoke Aramaic in its various forms. This was true even when Hebrew may have been known to a lesser or greater extent (Palestine, for example, was a multilingual society). In the Graeco-Roman part of the Mediterranean, Greek was the primary language (despite the prominence of Latin in Italy), and the Jews were linguistically a part of this world, with the vast majority of Jews speaking Greek as their first, and often only, language.

Much of the Jewish writing known from this period is in Greek. Although in some cases the literary conventions followed have most in common with the biblical tradition, the bulk of Jewish literature shows a greater or lesser acquaintance with Greek literary practices, and even in some cases considerable training in rhetoric and literary style. Perhaps the pinnacle of this is reached in the works of Philo of Alexandria, but others such as Josephus and some of the fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers also show a high level of skill in Greek literary style even when interpreting the biblical or other Jewish traditions.

Despite embracing much of the surrounding culture, most Jews of the time accepted that certain aspects of their neighbors' lifestyle could not be taken on without compromising their religion. For example, some dietary habits would violate *kashrut,* and most Jews regarded this as unacceptable. Even such "assimilated" Jews as Philo were totally opposed to abandoning those areas of Judaism regarded as essential, including dietary laws, circumcision, the Sabbath, and holy days. Indeed, we know of very few Jews who are alleged to have abandoned their Judaism (such as Julius Tiberius Alexander). Thus, the extreme form of assimilation seems to have been rare.

associations *see* COLLEGIA

assumption (Heb.: *lakah*; Gr.: *analēmpsis*) the taking of the soul, spirit, or body to God. Although a few later biblical texts (Isa. 26:19; Dan. 12:2) indicate belief in a resurrection, Psalms 49:15 and 73:24 may refer to an assumption to God's presence. Extraordinary assumption is attributed to Enoch (Gen. 5:24), Elijah, in the body (2 Kings 2), and Moses (Assumption of Moses). Jubilees 23:31 contrasts the spirit's joy in God's presence and one's bones resting in the earth, and Wisdom of Solomon 2–5 presumes that the immortal souls of the righteous are taken to God's presence at death. Resurrection of the body is the predominant notion in the New Testament, and Acts 1 describes Jesus' visible bodily ascent to heaven. A few texts suggest a nonbodily assumption to God or paradise (Luke 16:19–31, 23:43; Phil. 1:21–23). The farewell discourses in the Gospel of John assert that Jesus' death is at the same time his exaltation to God (John 14–17). *See also* AFTERLIFE.

astral immortality Daniel 12:3 states that the reward of the righteous person is to be transported to heaven as a star or starlike being at death. It was a widespread belief in Judaism in the postexilic

period that the stars were angels (e.g., in 1 Enoch), suggesting that the righteous became angels.

astrology belief in influence of stars and planets on human life and prognostication based on stars and planets; widely affirmed by sages of Judaism, but denied as a force in Israel's history or in individual Jews' lives. The word for a guiding star is "mazal" (lit.: planet), and the blessing "mazal tob" means "under a propitious star."

astronomy the study of the movements of the sun, moon, stars, and planets. Although the Bible mentions that God created the sun, moon, and stars on the fourth day and assigned them calendrical tasks (Gen. 1:14–18), it devotes little space to further details about them and their functions. An exception is Psalms 104:19, which says that the moon designates the seasons and the sun knows when to set (see also Isa. 30:26, 47:13; Amos 5:8). The third-century-B.C.E. Greek writer Theophrastus reports that the Jews were known for observing the stars. As it happens, the earliest Jewish text that deals explicitly and in detail with astronomical topics is the Astronomical Book of Enoch (1 Enoch 72–82), which was written in the Aramaic language, also in the third century B.C.E. It shows that observation of or speculation on the heavenly bodies served primarily a calendrical purpose. The booklet is not scientific in the modern sense of the term; rather, it is a heavily theological presentation in which an angel reveals information about the sun, moon, and stars to Enoch and tells him that angels guide the various heavenly bodies. Moreover, it contains a warning about the days of the sinners, when the year will be shortened and other such disasters will occur. Enoch, the recipient of these revelations, had lived to the suggestive age of 365 years, according to Genesis 5:21–24, and as an anonymous second-century-B.C.E. writer (called Pseudo-Eupolemus) says, he was considered the discoverer of astrology. In the Astronomical Book, the angel Uriel discloses to Enoch that a solar year has 364 days and a lunar one has 354 days. The solar year consists of twelve thirty-day months, with four extra days. A major concern in the section about the moon is the amount of the lunar surface that is light or dark on the different days of the twenty-nine- or thirty-day months. The astronomical theories in 1 Enoch 72–82 were probably influenced by Babylonian astronomy and astrology. One indication of this is that in both, the fraction of the day that is light or dark at the two solstices and two equinoxes is identical. Several of the Dead Sea Scrolls deal with similar topics: they describe a solar year of 364 days and use the same fractions (fourteenths) to indicate the increase or decrease of the lighted portion of the moon throughout a month.

The data of astronomy could be used for calendrical ends, such as close observation of when, after the lunar surface became completely dark, the first crescent of the moon became visible, thus marking the beginning of a month and fixing the date of festivals that might occur in it. It was also possible, however, to appeal to the data for astrological purposes—to predict on the basis of celestial patterns. The Bible contains warnings against the divinatory procedures that were practiced widely in the ancient Near East (see Deut. 18). The Wise Men who visited the infant Jesus in Bethlehem were apparently astrologers; they had followed a special star, which they had interpreted as announcing the birth of a king.

ataraxia (Gr., calmness or indifference) a technical philosophical term among Epicureans, used with reference to their view of an untroubled mental attitude as one of the forms of pleasure. The Skeptics also sought this state of mind by denying certainty of knowledge.

atheism literally, the belief that there is no God. It was unusual in antiquity to find a true atheist, since almost all acknowledged the existence of gods, even those following Epicureanism, who thought that the gods were not concerned with humans. However, those who differed from conventional beliefs might be accused of atheism, as Socrates was. Because Jews refused to honor other gods or to participate in sacrifices and ceremonies in their honor, they are represented as impious (*asebeia/asebēs*) or atheists (*atheotēs*) by some writers, such as Apion and Apollonius Molon.

atheotēs *see* ATHEISM

athletes, athletic imagery During the Hellenistic period the imagery derived from athletic competitions became common in Jewish sources.

In the Hellenization movement of the early second century B.C.E. the establishment of a gymnasium, where even priests would exercise, offended traditionalists (1 Macc. 1:14; 2 Macc. 4:12–17). Despite rejection of Greek athletics in the Maccabean revolt, support of athletic contests resumed under later rulers. Herod endowed the Olympic games (Josephus, *War* 1.426–28) and athletic contests took place in the Greek cities in and around the Land of Israel: Caesarea, Scythopolis, and Caesarea Philippi.

Hellenized Jews utilized athletic imagery in two major contexts. Most common was the notion that life is a contest of virtue, in which the moral athlete

engaged in training (*askesis*) prepares for the struggle against vice. This image, familiar in Greek moralists, appears in Jewish texts (Testament of Job 4:6 and 27:3–4; Wisdom of Solomon 4:2; Josephus, *Antiquities* 3.15) and with particular force in Philo of Alexandria (*On Agriculture* 110–23; *On Rewards and Punishments* 4–6; *On the Migration of Abraham* 133). Based on Genesis 32:24, Jacob becomes the model of the athlete of virtue (*Allegory of the Laws* 3.190; *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain* 17). Those who would imitate him must exercise the soul (*On the Virtues* 18). Successful competitors in life's contest will win a final crown (*Allegory of the Laws* 2.108).

Another application of athletic imagery appears in martyrologies. An influential example of the genre, 4 Maccabees, a reflection on the story of the Maccabean martyrs (cf. 2 Macc. 7), argues that reason informed by piety overcomes all obstacles. The story of the martyred mother and her seven sons is portrayed as a contest in which they win the prize of incorruption (4 Macc. 17:12). They war against a tyrannical adversary with the world as an audience (17:14). In their victory they receive the champion's crown (17:15). Christian texts continue both metaphorical applications, life as a contest (1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 4:7) and the contest of martyrdom (Heb. 12:1–3).

Athronges (or Athrongaeus) a shepherd who was remarkable for his great size and strength. During the social disorder that followed Herod the Great's death (4 B.C.E.), Athronges and his four brothers led bands of brigands, presumably in Judea, in raids against Romans, Herodians, and their countrypeople. According to Josephus, Athronges claimed to be king, wore a crown, and rendered judgment. After several years two of the brothers were killed and others were captured or surrendered.

Atilianus, Publius Calpurnius governor of Palestine, 139 C.E. There is some evidence that his name should read Atticus Rufus instead of Atilianus. He was consul in 135. We know nothing else about his career, and it is not certain that this was his first postconsul post.

atonement (Heb.: *kippur/kippurim*) atoning for sin and reconciliation with God, effected through animal offerings while the Temple stood (to 70 C.E.) and through prayer, repentance, and acts of selflessness, afterward; or through suffering and exile; and always through death. Repentance must be accompanied by reconciliation with one who has been injured.

atonement for the land a purpose that the Qumran community set for itself in its foundation document (1QS8–9). The idea of atoning for the land may be based on the difficult final words of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:43). The founders of the Qumran community judged that the majority in Israel were sinful and unfaithful to the biblical covenant and laws and that the priests had polluted the Temple. Thus they founded a community that was to be just and upright, seeking truth and atoning for sin "by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction" (1QS8:3). The community was to be a house of perfection and truth in order to establish the covenant. In addition, it would be expepted to atone for the land (1QS8:10), to expiate the guilt of transgression and the infidelity of sin and obtain favor for the land without sacrifices (1QS9:4). While the idea of defilement of the land is not absent, the context indicates that the Qumran community wished primarily to renew society and its institutions. Similarly, 1 Enoch 10 envisions the destruction of the wicked, the renewal of the earth, and the rule of the just, but this cleansing comes about as a result of God's intervention through the Flood. *See also* ATONEMENT; EXPIATION.

attendant of synagogue (Gr.: *hyperetes*) a functionary who assisted the synagogue's president (Gr.: *archisynagogos*) in carrying out various liturgical duties. Josephus uses the term *hyperetes,* which simply means "assistant" or "servant," for Levites who assist priests in the sanctuary. In the explicit context of synagogue worship, the Greek term occurs only once, in Luke 4:20, where Jesus, after reading aloud from the scroll of Isaiah in a synagogue service at Nazareth, hands the book back to the *hyperetes*. The office of *hyperetes* is sometimes associated with the Hebrew *ḥazan* and may also be related to the later Christian office of deacon.

Atticus, Tiberius Claudius Herodes legate of Judea (c. 99/100–102/103 C.E.). Eusebius reports Hegesippus's claims that Simeon, son of Cleopas, second bishop of the Jerusalem church and Jesus' cousin, was executed by the governor Atticus under Trajan's reign. This reference could well be to this official. He was the father of a second-century sophist of the same name.

Atticus Rufus *see* ATILIANUS, PUBLIUS CALPURNIUS

Attius Suburanus Aemilianus *see* AEMILIANUS, SEXTUS ATTIUS SUBURANUS

Audynaios name of a Macedonian month; used by a number of Jewish writers, such as Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Kislev (November/December) and sometimes to the month Tebet (December/January).

Augoustesioi name applied to the Jewish community in Rome by Josephus. He does not explain the meaning of the term, but the community was apparently named after Augustus Caesar. Perhaps the community itself took the name to honor the emperor, or even petitioned him for it, since he seems to have respected Jewish rights.

Augustine, Aurelius (354–430 C.E.) Christian church father. He was born in Thagaste in the Roman African province of Numidia, the son of a devout Christian mother. Classically educated locally and in Carthage, he rose to a prominent rhetorical appointment in Milan. Through Neoplatonism and Bishop Ambrose, he made a commitment to Christianity. Shortly after returning to Africa, he became presbyter and then bishop of Hippo Regius, on the coast of Numidia, where he served until his death. His controversial writings are directed against the Manichaean sect, to which he had belonged for a decade; against Donatism, a separatist form of Christianity; against the Pelagian view of human potential; and, in *On the City of God,* against Roman paganism. His scriptural commentaries include extensive treatments of the initial chapters of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospel of John, and those sections of Paul's letter to the Romans dealing with the status of Israel. *The Confessions* provides a spiritual autobiography through the first half of his life. *On the Trinity* made his major contribution to the development of the Christian interpretation of the scriptures and the doctrine of God. His doctrinal innovations included the theory of inherited guilt and of predestination without regard for human merits.

Augustus Caesar (63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) grand-nephew of Julius Caesar and first Roman emperor. Named Gaius Octavius at birth, he was adopted into Caesar's household as a young man. He was of a serious disposition, was not particularly robust, and showed an interest in literature and philosophy. Under Caesar's tutelage he became acquainted with the ways of Roman politics. In his will Caesar named him his heir. On hearing of his patron's assassination in 44 B.C.E., Octavius returned to Rome, won the respect of the legions and the Senate, and joined Mark Antony and Lepidus in a triumvirate to avenge Caesar's murder. He changed his name to Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. After the Battle of Philippi he won the support of the western provinces and Italy with his conservatism and respect for the ways of ancient Rome, which he shared with his wife Livia. While Octavian was already being celebrated by the poets Virgil and Horace, Antony's fascination with Cleopatra had lost him favor in Rome and Italy. In 32 B.C.E. Octavian did not renew the pact with him and, receiving the support of the legions, declared war on Cleopatra, which led to the defeat of Actium in 31 and the subsequent death of Antony. Octavian was virtually sole ruler of Rome. He adopted the title *princeps,* first citizen, and was hailed as the bringer of peace after the bitter conflicts of the previous civil wars. He respected the institutions of the state and allowed the Senate to confer on him the title Augustus, with its quasi-religious associations, in 27 B.C.E. Later he was designated High Priest (Pontifex Maximus) and Father of the Fatherland (Pater Patriae). His achievements included bringing peace to Rome, the reorganization of the administration of the city and the provinces, and the restoration of Roman moral standards by enacting legislation supporting the family. He thus laid the foundation for imperial rule for centuries. His friend and adviser, Marcus Agrippa, was seen as his likely heir after he had married Augustus's daughter Julia, but his untimely death, as well as that of their two sons, resulted in Tiberius being adopted as coregent and heir. When Augustus died in 14 C.E. the Senate decreed that he should be accepted among the gods, a fitting tribute for one who had been seen as *divi filius* (son of God) since 42 B.C.E. with the deification of Julius Caesar, his patron.

Aurelius, Marcus *see* MARCUS AURELIUS

Aureliaurum coronarium crown tax. Gold crowns were offered to the rulers and conquerors in the ancient Near East and in the Hellenistic world. From the early second century B.C.E., similar gifts were presented to Roman generals, who eventually required that they be given to them. Under the Roman Empire, the emperor alone received the crowns, which were required so frequently that they emerged as a new form of taxation. The term also refers to a tax that the patriarch's messengers collected for his benefit and that replaced the half-sheqel temple tax, so that the references in the Talmuds to the tax are unclear.

Avidius Cassius, Gaius (d. 175 C.E.) Roman official. In 165–166 he captured Seleucia and Ctesiphon in Parthia. In 168 he became governor of Syria and supreme commander over the eastern provinces, including Egypt. In 175 he had himself declared emperor. However, the Jews did not support Avidius's claim to power. Avidius was assassinated before civil war broke out. In response to these events, Marcus Aurelius visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in late 175–176.

Avot *see* ABOT

aylonit *see* BARREN WOMAN

Azael (Uziel) according to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis 6:4, one of the fallen angels who came to earth with Shamḥazai. Azael may be linked with Azazel of 1 Enoch who, as the leader of the fallen angels, corrupted humanity by teaching the arts of making weapons and jewelry as well as teaching women how to use cosmetics. He was punished by Raphael.

Azariah, Prayer of a traditional prayer of confession ascribed to Azariah (Abednego) and inserted into the Greek version of Daniel 3 between verses 23 and 24. Based on Israelite covenantal theology, it acknowledges the righteousness of God's judgments on Israel and appeals for restoration that responds to the people's repentance. Its closest parallels are Baruch 1:15–3:8 and Daniel 9:4–19. *See also* SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.

Azaryah Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E., often cited in conjunction with Aḥa, Yudan, and Judah b. Simon. He is mentioned primarily in midrashic settings.

Azazel place or person to which the scapegoat is dispatched (Lev. 16:8–10). The term comes to be identified with Azael, who is one of the two chieftains of the rebellious watchers (angels) in 1 Enoch 6–16. Azazel appears as a name for the chief demon in the Apocalypse of Abraham. *See also* ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF.

Azotus Mesogaeus the Greek name of the inland city of Ashdod, also known as Azotus Hippenus by one ancient author, or Ashdod of the Cavalrymen. The latter name implies that cavalry veterans were settled there, perhaps at the behest of Herod the Great. The city was called Azotus Mesogaeus to distinguish it from its main harbor city of Azotus Paralius. The city territory of Azotus Mesogaeus extended north about five kilometers to the River of Azotus south of Jamnia. The south boundary was with Ashkelon, and its eastern boundary extended perhaps 16 kilometers to the east. In the fourth century, Eusebius called Azotus "a famous townlet in Palestine" (*Onomasticon* 20:18). In the Byzantine era, the harbor city of Azotus Paralius was larger. Some 3 kilometers north of Azotus Paralius stood the small, secondary harbor of Cariathmaus. *See also* ASHDOD.

Ba *see* ABBA B. ZABDAI

baal habayit (Heb.) householder; *see also* GENDER ROLES, IN RABBINIC JUDAISM

Baal Shamem Phoenician divine name meaning "lord of heaven." It seems to be a title given to the chief deity in various Syro-Phoenician cults but was also used (in its Aramaic form) of the Jewish God in Ezra. It has been proposed that this name lies behind the Hebrew Abomination of Desolation in the Book of Daniel. *See also* ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

Baba Batra (Heb., the last gate) Mishnah tractate on civil law; *see also* BABA KAMMA

Baba b. Buta teacher at the time of Herod, perhaps related to the "sons of Baba," who, during the siege of Jerusalem (37 B.C.E.), resisted its surrender and later were executed by Herod the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.7, 10). B. Baba Batra 3b states that Herod put out Baba b. Buta's eyes, but that he was the only teacher whom Herod spared from death.

Baba Kamma (Heb., the first gate) Mishnah tractate on civil law. The three Babas—Baba Kamma, the first gate; Baba Metzia, the middle gate; and Baba Batra, the last gate—comprise thirty Mishnah chapters devoted to torts and damages. Baba Kamma addresses torts, specifically, damages done by chattels (1:1–6:6) and damages done by persons (7:1–10:10). The chapters on damages done by chattels (that is, damages caused by one's property, animate or inanimate) distinguish damages done in the public domain from those done in private property, set forth the ransom and the death penalty for the ox, and cover damages done by a pit, by a crop-destroying beast, and by fire. The chapters on damages done by persons encompass penalties for theft (e.g., of an ox or a sheep, in line with Exod. 33:1–4), penalties for assault and personal injury, penalties for damages to property, and restoring stolen goods. Baba Metzia proceeds to the disposition of disputed property (1:1–3:12), covering conflicting claims to lost objects and returning an object to the original owner, rules concerning bailment (3:1–12), and illicit commercial transactions (4:1–5:11), such as overcharging, false advertising, and usury, which is strictly forbidden. After fifteen chapters on torts and damages, the exposition shifts to normal relationships, such as hiring of works, mutual obligations of worker and employer, and rentals and bailments in which no tort is involved (6:1–8:3). Rules on real estate run from Baba Metzia 8:4–10:6 through Baba Batra 1:1–5:5. The subject includes landlord-tenant relationships and landlord relations with tenant farmers and sharecroppers; prompt payment of workers; rules governing joint holders of a common property; infringement upon the property rights of others; establishing title to a field through usucaptions (squatter's rights); and transferring real estate and movables through sale of real estate. Baba Batra then turns to licit commercial transactions (5:6–7:4), covering conditions for the irrevocable transfer of goods, the point at which a sale is final, and unstated stipulations in commercial transactions. Finally, Baba Batra addresses inheritances,

wills, and other commercial and legal documents (8:1–10:8), dealing with rules of inheritance, preparation and confirmation of commercial documents, such as writs of debt, and the like. The plan of the whole thus covers torts, damages, labor, real estate, and commercial transactions, with the opening part dealing with the restoration of the status quo in cases of torts and damages and the second part dealing with normal, or licit, transactions. Both Talmuds devote important and lengthy expositions to these three tractates.

Baba Metzia (Heb., the middle gate) Mishnah tractate on civil law; *see also* BABA KAMMA

Baba Rabbah Samaritan high priest (332–372 C.E.). He maintained a standing army to protect Samaritan territory. He divided the country into twelve administrative districts, each administered by a priest and a layperson, and created a legislative body of priests and laypersons to teach Torah and decide legal matters throughout the country. He reopened many schools and synagogues closed by the Romans and directed the collection and preservation of old legal and religious manuscripts. The Byzantine emperor invited him to Constantinople to sign a peace treaty in 372; however, he was imprisoned and died a captive.

Babata a woman whose personal records were found among the Bar Kokhba manuscripts. A bag containing her personal archive of documents in Greek, Aramaic, and Nabatean was found in one of the caves of Nahal Hever. These form a record of her legal endeavors and give a window into the life of ordinary Jews at that time.

Babel, Tower of the building intended to reach the heavens (Gen. 11:1–9). In the Book of Biblical Antiquities 6–7, Abraham opposes the idolatrous construction project and is thrown into a fiery furnace (cf. Dan. 3), the *ur* (Heb., fire) from which God rescues him, having chosen him for his faithfulness. A related interpretation of Genesis 11 appears in 3 Baruch 2–3.

Babli the Talmud of Babylonia, produced in the Persian satrapy of Babylonia as a commentary to the second, third, fourth, and fifth divisions of the Mishnah. Most of the work of writing the compositions and compiling the composites was done between 500 and 600 C.E. The Babli generally inquires into the scriptural sources of rules in the Mishnah and the authorities behind unattributed laws of the Mishnah; it harmonizes passages of the Mishnah that appear to conflict. It also contains extensive commentaries to extended passages of scripture, essays on theoretical problems, and inquiries into modes and principles of scriptural exegesis that yield details of law, not necessarily in the context of Mishnah exegesis. While drawing on a variety of sources, including scripture, the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and materials given final form as authoritative statements of the law in the names of Tannaitic figures, the framers of the document reworked the materials they used into a cogent, orderly, and well-crafted piece of writing.

The purpose of the Talmud of Babylonia is to clarify and amplify selected passages of the Mishnah. It may be said that the Mishnah is about life, and the Talmud is about the Mishnah; that is, while the Mishnah records rules governing the conduct of the holy life of Israel, the Talmud concerns itself with the details of the Mishnah. The one is descriptive and freestanding; the other, analytical and contingent. Were there no Mishnah, there would be no Talmud. But the Talmud of Babylonia—which is what people mean when they speak of "the Talmud"—in fact vastly transcends the Mishnah and forms an eloquent statement of its own. Exactly how a vast and dense writing turns out to say some few things (and to say them with such power as to impose its judgment upon an entire prior writing and on the intellect of an entire religious world to come) requires attention—for in the Judaism of the dual Torah, the faithful meet God in the Torah, and the Talmud of Babylonia forms the centerpiece of the Torah. Together with its associated Midrash compilations, the Babli's compilers and the writers of its compositions found the way to form the mind and define the intellect of the faithful. They did this not through statements of doctrine or law, but through the public display of "right reasoning," the exposition of argument; if you can show people how to think, then, in the context of a revealed Torah, you can also guide them to what to think: right thoughts, right deeds, right attitudes.

The Babli is a uniform document from beginning to end. Different from and much more than a haphazard compilation of traditions, this Talmud shows itself upon examination to be a cogent and purposive writing in which, through a single determinate set of rhetoric devices, a single program of inquiry is brought to bear on many and diverse passages of two inherited documents, the Mishnah and scripture. The voice is one and single because it is a voice that everywhere expresses the same limited set of sounds; these notes are arranged in one and the same way throughout. The Babli's one voice, sounding through all tractates, is the voice of exegetes of the Mishnah. The document is organized around the Mishnah, and that ordering is not

merely formal, but conveys substantive meaning. At every point, if the framers have chosen a passage of Mishnah exegesis, that passage will stand at the head of all further discussion. Every turning point in every sustained composition and even in a large composite of compositions brings the editors back to the Mishnah, always read in its own order and invariably arranged in its own sequence.

It follows that well-crafted and orderly rules govern the character of the sustained discourse that the writing in the Babli sets forth. All framers of composites and editors of sequences of composites found guidance in the same limited repertoire of rules of analytical rhetoric: some few questions or procedures, directed always toward one and the same prior writing. Moreover, a fixed order of discourse dictated that a composition of one sort, A, always come prior to a composite of another type, B. A simple logic instructed framers of composites, who sometimes also were authors of compositions, and who sometimes drew upon available compositions in the making of their cogent composites. Thus we must see the Babli as entirely of a piece, cogent and coherent, made up of well-composed, large-scale constructions.

We are able to classify all composites in three principal categories: (1) exegesis and amplification of the law of the Mishnah; (2) exegesis and exposition of verses of or topics in scripture; (3) freestanding composites devoted to topics other than those defined by the Mishnah or scripture. These classifications were not forced or subtle; the grounds for making them were consistent; appeal throughout was to gross and merely formal characteristics, not to subjective judgments of what unstipulated consideration might underlie or define the intention of the framer of a passage. With that classification in place, it is a matter of simple fact that much more than four-fifths of all composites of the Babli address the Mishnah and systematically expound that document. These composites are subject to subclassification in two ways: Mishnah exegesis and speculation and abstract theorizing about the implications of the Mishnah's statements. The exegetical composites, further, can be classified in a few simple taxa, for example as composites organized around (1) clarification of the statements of the Mishnah, (2) identification of the authority behind an anonymous statement in the Mishnah, (3) scriptural foundation for the Mishnah's rules, or (4) citation and often systematic exposition of the Tosefta's amplification of the Mishnah. That means that most of the Babli is a systematic exposition of the Mishnah. The abstract that you read will conform to this description in the proportion and order of its comments on the Mishnah. The other fifth (or still less) of a given tractate will comprise composites that take shape either around scripture or around themes or topics of a generally theological or moral character. Distinguishing the latter from the former, of course, is merely formal; very often a scriptural topic will be set forth in a theological or moral framework, and very seldom does a composite on a topic omit all reference to the amplification of a verse or topic of scripture. The proportion of a given tractate devoted to exegesis and amplification of authorities other than the Mishnah is generally not more than 10 percent.

The Babli speaks about the Mishnah in essentially a single voice, about fundamentally few things. Its mode of speech, as much as of thought, is uniform throughout. Diverse topics produce slight differentiation in modes of analysis. The same sorts of questions phrased in the same rhetoric—a moving, or dialectical, argument, composed of questions and answers—turn out to pertain equally well to every subject and problem. The Talmud's discourse forms a closed system, in which people say the same thing about everything. The fact that the Talmud speaks in a single voice supplies striking evidence that the Talmud does speak in particular for the age in which its units of discourse took shape, and that that work was done toward the end of the long period of Mishnah reception that began at the end of the second century and came to an end at the conclusion of the sixth century.

Five hermeneutical rules yielding theological facts govern throughout the Talmud of Babylonia:

(1) *Defining the Torah and the context for meaning.* The Torah consists of freestanding statements, sentences that are sometimes formed into paragraphs, but more often not; and we are to read these sentences both on their own—for what they say—and also in the context created by the entirety of the Torah, oral and written. Therefore the task is to set discrete sentences side by side and show their compatibility; documents mean nothing, the Torah being one. The entirety of the Torah defines the context of meaning. All sentences of the Torah, equally, jointly, and severally, form the facts out of which meaning is to be constructed.

(2) *Specifying the rules of making sense of the Torah.* Several premises govern in our reading of the sentences of the Torah, and these dictate the rules of reading. The first is that the Torah is perfect and flawless. The second is that the wording

of the Torah yields meaning. The third is that the Torah contains, and can contain, nothing contradictory, incoherent, or otherwise contrary to common sense. The fourth is that the Torah can contain no statement that is redundant, banal, silly, or stupid. The fifth is that our sages of blessed memory when they state teachings of the Torah stand for these same traits of language and intellect: sound purpose, sound reasoning, and sound result, in neat sentences. The task of the reader (in secular language) or the master of the Torah (in theological language—in context the two are one and the same), then, is to identify the problems of the Torah, whether written or oral, and to solve those problems. Knowing what will raise a difficulty, we also know how to resolve it.

(3) *Identifying dialectics as the correct medium of Torah discourse.* Since our principal affirmation is that the Torah is perfect and the primary challenge to that affirmation derives from the named classifications of imperfection, the proper mode of analytical speech is argument. This is because if we seek flaws, we come in a combative spirit: proof and conflict, not truth and consequence. Only by challenging the Torah sentence by sentence, at every plausible point of imperfection, are we going to demonstrate the governing fact of perfection. We discover right thinking by finding the flaws in wrong thinking, the logical emerging from the failings of illogic.

(4) *The harmony of what is subject to dispute; the unity and integrity of truth; finding what is rational and coherent.* The final principle of hermeneutics is to uncover the rationality of dispute. Once commitment is to sustained conflict of intellect, it must follow that our goal can only be the demonstration of three propositions, everywhere meant to govern: first, that disputes give evidence of rationality, meaning that each party has a valid, established principle in mind; second, that disputes are subject to resolution; and third, that truth wins out. The first proposition is most important. If we can demonstrate that reasonable sages can differ about equally valid propositions, for instance, which principle governs in a particular case, then schism affords evidence not of imperfection but of profound coherence. The principles are affirmed, their application subjected to conflict. So, too, if disputes worked out in extended, moving arguments, covering much ground, can be brought to resolution, as is frequently the case in either a declared decision or an agreement to disagree, then the perfection of the Torah once more comes to detailed articulation.

(5) *Knowing God through the theology expressed in hermeneutics.* In a protracted quest for the unity of the truth, what is always required through detailed demonstration is that beneath the laws is law; a few wholly coherent principles are inherent in the many and diverse rules and their cases. In that sustained quest, which defines the premise and the goal of all talmudic discourse, Israel meets God; in mind, in intellect, that meeting takes place.

Babylon one of the most magnificent cities of the ancient world and capital of the empire that sent the Jews into exile in the sixth century B.C.E. The impact of the Babylonian exile on the worldview of later Jews was so dramatic that early Jewish literature alludes often to the historical memory of the event; see, for example, Baruch 1:9–12; 1 Esdras 1:40–56; Additions to Esther 2:6, 11:14; Sibylline Oracles 3:265–287. Following the Deuteronomistic pattern, the exile is usually interpreted as punishment for Israel's sins (Bar. 2:21–24, 4:6–20; Ep. Jer. 6:1–3; cf. Acts 7:43); the restoration is seen as a sign of God's forgiveness (Bar. 4:21–5:9; 1 Esd. 3:1–5:6).

Several important pieces of early Jewish literature are set in Babylon during the exile. Probably the most familiar is the cycle of stories in Daniel 1–6; others are the books of Baruch, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Song of the Three Young Men, and 4 Ezra. The Letter of Jeremiah presents itself as having been written to Jews about to be exiled to Babylon, whereas 2 Baruch (77:12–19) mentions (but does not preserve) a letter of Baruch to Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The Book of Judith depicts the Jews as successfully resisting the advances of Babylonian forces in central Israel.

Several sources connect the Babylonians with idolatry (Ep. Jer. [esp. 6:4]; Bel and Dragon; cf. Jub. 11–12). Others preserve woes, oracles, or prophecies against Babylon of a type familiar from the Hebrew Bible (2 Bar. 39:3, 67:7; Sib. Or. 3:300–313; 5:434–446; 11:201–209; cf. Tobit 14:4; Sus. 1:5). The Jewish Sibylline Oracles attest the idea that one of the sibyls, or prophetesses, is from Babylon (3:809–810; cf. the Christian prologue to the collected Sibylline Oracles).

In certain early Jewish writings the name "Babylon" is used symbolically to designate Rome (Sib. Or. 5:143, 159; 4 Ezra 3:1–2, 28, 31; often in rabbinic literature). This identification, which became current after 70 C.E., arose primarily from the fact that both of these world empires had destroyed Jewish temples in Jerusalem.

Babylon appears infrequently in early Christian sources. Acts 7:43 was mentioned above. In the

genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1:1–17, the Babylonian exile is one of the two central events between Abraham and the Messiah. Three other sources—1 Peter 5:13; Revelation 14:8, 16:19, 17:5–6, 18:2, 10, 21–22; and 6 Ezra 15:43, 46, 60, 16:1—use Babylon as a symbolic name for Rome. In the later Apocalypse of Daniel, "Babylon" becomes a cipher for the city of Byzantium (7:2, 5, 11).

Babylonia remained an important Jewish settlement long after the exile, supplanting the land of Israel as the intellectual center of Judaism after the second century C.E. and producing around 600 C.E. what is today considered the authoritative version of the Talmud.

Babylon, Jews in (450 B.C.E.–135 C.E.) Babylon in a narrow sense refers to the area of central Mesopotamia around the ancient cities of Babylon, Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and contemporary Baghdad. In 597 and 586 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians exiled the Judean leadership to this area, along canals such as the Chebar and Tel-Aviv (Ezek. 1:1, 3:15). In a wider sense to be used here, Babylon in Jewish literature refers to all of Mesopotamia, including the north around Nisibis, where northern exiles had been settled by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C.E. and all the areas where Jews spread in Mesopotamia. Evidence concerning Babylonian Jews during the Persian and Parthian periods is sparse and scattered. Jews were settled in many places, including Nisibis, Adiabene, Armenia in the north, Seleucia, Babylon, and Nehardea in the south, and Charax Spasinu at the mouth of the gulf. For the most part we have only isolated stories and anecdotes about them.

The most highly placed Jew of the mid-fifth century, Nehemiah, the cupbearer to the Persian king Artaxerxes I, was given authority to restore and govern Jerusalem. His memoirs are contained in the biblical Book of Nehemiah. In the late fifth century in Nisibis, the Murashu family engaged in complex loans, contracts, and commercial ventures. Their archives contain thousands of names, some of which contain the Jewish theophoric element *Ya-*, and so are probably Jewish. According to the Murashi tablets, these Jews came from many towns around Nisibis, were engaged in a variety of occupations and, in many cases, had given their children Babylonian names. In the mid-fourth century, Artaxerxes III Ochus transported Jewish captives from Egypt to Hyrcania, at the southern end of the Caspian Sea. When Alexander the Great conquered Mesopotamia, he continued the privileges the Persians had granted the Jews. His successor, Seleucus I, consolidated his rule in Mesopotamia by founding the city of Seleucia north of Babylon. He moved a large Semitic population there, including a substantial number of Jews. Jews served in the Greek armies and helped drive off a Galatian invasion in 220 B.C.E. (2 Macc. 8:20). A decade later, Antiochus III sent two thousand Jewish families to Asia Minor as settlers in order to dampen unrest there. Mesopotamian Jews remained loyal to the Seleucid government and did not rise up to help the Hasmoneans in their war against Antiochus IV in 167–164 B.C.E.

During the second century B.C.E., the Parthians near the Caspian Sea gradually gained control of Mesopotamia by taking advantage of Seleucid weakness. By 120 B.C.E., the Parthian king, Mithridates I, had conquered Babylon. The Parthians left Greek and local laws and customs in place, including those of the Jews. Thus, the transition from Seleucid to Parthian rule was smooth for Babylonian Jews. Parthian conflicts with the Seleucids served the interests of Jews in Judea as well, since during this time, the Hasmoneans established their independence from the weakened and distracted Seleucid Empire.

The Parthians had a direct impact on Jews in Palestine in the first century B.C.E. The Parthians had come into conflict with the Romans, who were spreading their rule throughout the Near East. In 40 B.C.E., the Parthians capped a series of campaigns against Rome by conquering Syria and Palestine. They captured Hyrcanus II, the son of Alexander Jannaeus, who had been ruling as high priest, supported by Herod the Great and his brother Phasael, and installed Antigonus, Hyrcanus's brother, who had been removed from office by the Romans over twenty years earlier. In 38 B.C.E., however, the Parthians were driven out, and Herod the Great, who had by then been appointed king by the Roman Senate, took over the government of the country. Communication and migration among Babylonian and Palestinian Jews was not stopped by conflict between Rome and Parthia. Herod appointed a Babylonian Jewish priest as high priest in Jerusalem, probably to avoid giving a political base to a local rivals and to improve relations with the Babylonian community. He brought Hyrcanus II back from exile in Parthia, though he soon assassinated him. He also recruited a Parthian Jewish cavalry commander, Zamaris (Zimri), and five hundred horsemen to settle at Bathyra in Trachonitis (east of the Sea of Galilee) as a defensive force at the edges of his kingdom.

Rabbinic literature claims that Hillel and other sages came from Babylon and that one sage, Judah ben Bathyra, lived in Nisibis.

We know almost nothing about the ordinary life of Jews in Babylon. A few stories have been preserved by the historian Josephus. In the first century C.E., Jewish brothers Anileus and Asineus ran away from their employer in Nehardea and gathered flocks and a strong force of the poor in an outlying area of Babylonia. They built a citadel, protected the inhabitants of the area and collected taxes from them. After they had defeated a Parthian armed force, the king, Artabanus III, recruited them as governors. They ruled part of Mesopotamia for about fifteen years (21–36 or 36–51 C.E.). Another story speaks of Jews being persecuted in Babylon and fleeing to Seleucia and then to the royal city of Ctesiphon, only to be persecuted there. Finally, they fled to Nehardea and Nisibis, fortified cities where Jews collected the taxes for Jerusalem. Though Nehardea and Nisibis later became centers of rabbinic study, we do not know how the Jewish community was organized in the first century or whether they had a ethnarch (an official appointed by the government to rule the Jewish communities). When Vologases (51–80 C.E.) reorganized the Parthian kingdom about 70 C.E., he must have made some provision to recognize and rule the numerous Jews in his kingdom.

Another series of stories concerns the conversion of the ruling house of Adiabene in Northern Mesopotamia to Judaism and their devotion to Jerusalem and the Temple. Izates, the favorite son and heir of King Monobazus of Adiabene and Helene, was sent to Charax Spasinu in far southern Mesopotamia to avoid the hostile envy of his other brothers. There he was taught to worship God in the Jewish tradition by a merchant, Ananias (Hananiah). His mother meanwhile had been instructed in Judaism at home. When Izates returned to inherit the kingdom, he was circumcised following a dispute between two Jewish teachers over whether this was a prudent course of action for a king. Later, the rest of his family converted to Judaism as well. The cycle of stories about Izates' reign show him as an important vassal of the king of Parthia and one who survives various plots and battles. These stories, like those in Daniel 1–6, teach that the practice of Judaism is consistent with life in the diaspora, even for the most powerful, because God protects those who are faithful. They also teach a proper attitude toward Judea and Jerusalem. Helene was generous and contributed to the material welfare of Judeans. She and Izates were buried near Jerusalem. Though the historical reliability of the stories is difficult to assess, their social setting shows the significant and varied presence of Jews in Mesopotamia. That Izates could become a Jew and survive as ruler implies that Jews were a significant social force in northern Mesopotamia with whom he could form alliances.

Jews in Mesopotamia helped resist the Roman invasion of Parthia in 115–117 C.E. The Roman Emperor, Trajan, initially conquered most of Mesopotamia and organized it into provinces. In 116, however, a Parthian counteroffensive led to a general uprising against the Romans among the indigenous population, including Jews. Probably the Jews of Mesopotamia, along with other ethnic groups, hoped to throw off Roman rule with the help of the Parthians, under whom they had more intracommunal freedom. Since this revolt threatened a sensitive border region of the Roman Empire, Trajan ordered his general, Lucius Quietus, later governor of Israel, to put down the revolt. In the course of the campaign, thousands were massacred. At the same time, Jews in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus, responding to Trajan's absence in Parthia, had risen against the Roman government and attacked their fellow countrymen. In the end, Trajan's successor Hadrian (r. 117–138) abandoned the Parthian conquests as too costly to defend and Babylonian Jewish communities escaped Roman rule. *See also* TRAJAN, WAR OF.

Babylonia province of the Persian Empire, corresponding to the central part of present-day Iraq, where Jews in the time of the fall of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. were settled and remained through biblical times. The Talmud of Babylonia was produced in this area, where large Jewish communities flourished under Iranian (Zoroastrian) rule until the rise of Islam in the seventh century. *See also* BABYLON; BABYLON, JEWS IN.

Babylonian Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, BABYLONIAN

Babylonian Talmud *see* BABLI

Babylonian Targum *see* ONKELOS, TARGUM

Ba b. Zabdai *see* ABBA B. ZABDAI

Bacchides Seleucid general who supported Demetrius I in 162–150 B.C.E. He led a strong Syrian force to Judea, which installed Alcimus as high priest and reestablished Seleucid rule in late 162 and early 161 B.C.E. After Judas Maccabeus defeated a Syrian force under Nicanor, Bacchides returned in 161 B.C.E. and defeated Judas's forces, killing him in battle in 160 B.C.E.

Bacchus *see* DIONYSUS WORSHIP, JUDAISM ASSOCIATED WITH

Badan a location in Samaria, known for its pomegranates (e.g., M. Orlah 3:7)

Baghdad capital of the Abasid dynasty and home of the largest Jewish community in the Abasid Empire; seat of the exilarchate. By the ninth century C.E., Baghdad was home to the academies of Sura and Pumbedita and to many prominent gaonic scholars and poets, including the important academy heads Isaac b. Israel and Eleazar b. Jacob haBabli.

Bagoas **1.** Persian general under Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358 B.C.E.) who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 11.297–301), defiled the Temple and imposed tribute on the Jews; sometimes identified with the Bagohi (= Bagoas), governor of Judah, to whom the Jews of Elephantine wrote for support in rebuilding their Temple

2. the eunuch of Holofernes, who discovered the decapitated body (Jdt. 12:11, 14:14–18)

Bahram I Sassanid ruler (r. 273–276 C.E.). He suppressed the Manichaeans, the Christians, and probably the Jews. He may have supported Zenobia of Palmyra in the building of his empire. When Zenobia was defeated in 273, the Roman emperor's triumph included Persian envoys bearing rich gifts. Bahram supported Katir's attempt to create the Sassanid Mazdayasnian state church, perhaps because Katir had supported Bahram's rise to power. Therefore, it is likely that under Bahram the Persian Jewish community suffered at Katir's hands. While Katir's inscription mentions the persecution and expulsion of foreign religions, including the Jews, Jewish sources do not mention these problems. Only one passage in the Talmud, which mentions the removal of a lamp by a certain Magus, probably on a Zoroastrian festival, hints at troubles during Bahram's reign.

Bahram II Sassanid ruler (r. 276–292 C.E.). His reign was disastrous, for he was unable to maintain the frontiers established by Shapur. He seems to have been goaded into fighting mostly defensive campaigns. He fought a Scythic people in Seistan and in Afghanistan. The Roman emperor Carus defeated him and took Seleuci-Ctesiphon. When the war ended in 284, Rome held Mesopotamia. In 286, the Roman emperor Diocletian undertook an aggressive policy against the weak Bahram. In 288, the Sassanid ruler relinquished all claims to Mesopotamia and acknowledged Trdat II as king of Armenia and client of Rome. The loss of Armenia meant that the Sassanid Empire's enemies had an easy invasion route into the heart of the western territories of present-day Iran. Katir continued to hold power under Bahram II, and it is likely that the persecution of the Jews continued during his reign.

Bahram V Gor Sassanid ruler (r. 420–438 C.E.); called "the wild ass." Apparently he was raised and educated among the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia. Bahram persecuted the Christians, and many fled to Roman territory. A war with Rome followed, but in 422, he concluded a peace with the Romans, allowing the Christians to remain in the Roman territories and ending the persecution of Christians in the Sassanid Empire. Bahram defeated an Hephtahlite invasion in 427 at Merv. He probably continued the favorable policies of his father, Yazdagird I, toward the Jews. He supposedly knew Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic.

Bahram VI Chobin Sassanid ruler (r. 590–591 C.E.). As Hormizd II's general, Bahram defeated the Turks and the Huns, but failed to take the province of Lazica. After a public insult by Hormizd, he openly revolted. In 590, Hormizd was deposed, but Bahram refused to recognize his successor, Khusro II, whom he eventually defeated. Khusro fled to Circesium, seeking Byzantine support. Bahram took Ctesiphon, discovering that Armenia and Mesopotamia favored Khusro. In 591, Khusro took Seleucia, received the surrender of Ctesiphon, and was proclaimed emperor. Bahram fled to the Turks. During the war, the Jews supported Bahram against Khusro because the latter had closed Jewish schools. Furthermore, Khusro favored the Christians and received support from Byzantium. Khusro's severe persecution of Jews was probably related to their support of Bahram, whom they considered a benevolent protector and to whose army they may have provided subsidies.

bailee a custodian of the property or affairs of another, usually of a minor or mentally defective adult. The Hebrew term *apotropos* derives from the Greek, meaning "father of minors." Women generally were excluded from appointment as a bailee, although their designation by a father during his lifetime was deemed valid (T. Baba Batra 8:17).

Rabbinic law permits the bailee to take all actions necessary to provide for his ward. However, he is responsible for maintaining the ward's estate, for example, by not selling landed property or freeing slaves (T. Baba Batra 8:14). The bailee is subject to supervision by the court (B. Gittin 52a), although the extent to which he needed to provide an accounting of his activities was subject to dispute (T. Baba Batra 8:13, 15). Even though the bailee has no right to the property (or usufruct of the property) under his care, the bailment is created through an act of *meshikhah* (Heb., pulling)

of the subject property, the same procedure used for the acquisition of property (*kinyan*).

Balaam non-Israelite seer who was summoned by Balak, king of Moab, to curse Israel, but was forced by YHWH to utter oracles of blessing (Num. 22–24). Balaam receives mainly negative notices in Jewish literature (Philo, *Life Mos.* 1.263–304, *On Migr. Abr.* 113–17; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.6.3–6: 107–30; LAB 18) and the New Testament (2 Pet. 2:15–16; Jude 11; Rev. 2:14). However, his star oracle (Num. 24:17) is featured in 4Q Testimonia 9–13, was the source for Simon Bar Kosiba's nickname Bar Kokhba (Aram., son of the star), and may be alluded to in Matthew 2:1–12. Anomalous is 1 Enoch 1:2–3, 93:1–3, where Enoch the pre-Israelite seer speaks in the idiom of Balaam's oracles (Num. 24:15–17).

balance, judgment a device by which judgment is decided in the divine court. The Testament of Abraham 12–13 (A) depicts an elaborate heavenly judgment scene in which the angel Dokiel weighs human souls and counterbalances sins and righteous deeds. The scene and the detail have been influenced by illustrations in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, where souls are weighed in a scale balanced by the feather of *maat* (truth). Daniel 5:27, Job 31:6, and 1 Enoch 41:1 allude to the motif, and the image stands behind a number of rabbinic sayings about reward and punishment after death.

Balas *see* ALEXANDER BALAS

balsam a perfume derived from a tropical spice referred to as *aparsemon* in rabbinic sources; used also in medicinal applications. The oil of the balsam orchards in the Dead Sea region had significant commercial value.

Banaah Palestinian rabbi active in the early third century C.E.; a contemporary of Bar Kappara. His teachings are transmitted primarily by Yoḥanan b. Nappaḥa. He is known primarily for his exegetical interpretations. Later rabbinic tradition preserves many legends about his saintliness.

banaim a term found at M. Mikvaot 9:6, referring to construction workers (from the Hebrew root *bnh*) or, possibly, to bathhouse attendants. In light of the Mishnah's question of the conditions under which mud on these individuals' clothing prevents their purification from ritual uncleanness, scholars have asserted that the reference is to an Essene sect. There is no evidence, however, that the term refers to a sect or is in any way associated with the Essenes in particular. The claimed association is purely conjectural.

bandits (Heb.: *listim*) people involved in prepolitical social protest and disruption that occurs in most traditional agrarian societies. Upper-class writers of antiquity often use the term "bandits" as a pejorative epithet in reference to guerrilla fighters and other rebels, such as the Zealots in Jerusalem in 67–70 C.E. Social disruption such as intermittent warfare, economic hardship, and lax political control or sharp political repression can bring endemic banditry to epidemic proportions, as happened in Palestine before Herod the Great and again as social order disintegrated in the mid-first century C.E. (*War* 2.14.1–2, no. 271–278). Hezekiah in Galilee and Eleazar ben Dinai are among the more famous of the bandit leaders (*War* 1.10.5, no. 204; 2.13.2, no. 253). Biblical stories of the young David, son of Jesse, suggest that he got his start as a bandit chieftain.

banquet, eschatological (or messianic banquet) image used to portray the joys of the end-time, especially in apocalyptic literature and the New Testament. In the ancient Near East the banquet symbolizes joy, often as a celebration of victory; for example, in the Babylonian story of creation, the divine warrior Marduk hosts a great feast to celebrate his victory over the chaos monster Tiamat (Enuma elish 6.69–94). Stories of religious and victory feasts are common in the Hebrew Bible (Exod. 12:43–47, 1 Sam. 9:12–13, 1 Chron. 12:38–40). In Isaiah 54:1–55:2, a prediction of return from exile in Babylon, the imagery of divine marriage (God will take back his rejected wife Israel) is combined with the promise of abundant food. In postexilic prophecy and Jewish apocalyptic texts, the banquet comes to symbolize the blessings expected in the end-time: the restoration of Jerusalem, pilgrimage of the Gentiles, victory over human and suprahuman enemies (including death), resurrection of the dead, final judgment, absence of need, unending joy (Isa. 25:6–8, 1 Enoch 60:7–10, 2 Bar. 29–30). According to 2 Baruch 29 the banquet food will include bountiful fruit, manna, and the two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, who were made on the first day of creation. In some apocalyptic texts the eschatological feast is presided over by the messiah (1 Enoch 62:12–14, 2 Bar. 29). Sectarian texts included among the Dead Sea Scrolls look forward to the time when the ordered ranks of the community will sit at table with the royal messiah and the priestly messiah (1QSa 2:11–22); the pure meals of the community in the present time are an anticipation of this great feast (cf. 1QS 6:3–5).

In the New Testament, sayings attributed to Jesus compare the "kingdom of God" (God's eschatological reign) to a wedding banquet (Matt. 22:1–12)

and foretell the gathering together of Gentiles with the patriarchs of Israel at the eschatological feast: "I tell you, many will come from east and west and will eat with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 8:11). At the Last Supper, Jesus tells his disciples: "I have eagerly desired to eat this passover meal with you before I suffer; for I tell you, I will not eat it again until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke 22:15–16, cf. 22:30, 1 Cor. 11:26). In Revelation 19:6–21, the eschatological banquet is depicted as the wedding feast of Jesus, the Lamb, which will celebrate his victory over all the evil kings of the earth.

Banyas *see* CAESAREA-PHILIPPI

baptism ritual act of religious initiation in which the initiate is immersed in water. The earliest certain example of such initiatory immersion appears to be that associated with John the Baptist. Working in the "wilderness of Judea," John cut the figure of an eschatological prophet who called people to repentance in the face of the imminent divine judgment (Matt. 3:1–12; Mark 1:2–8; Luke 3:1–17; John 1:19–28). The precise function(s) and symbolism of John's baptism are difficult to ascertain, since the New Testament accounts may have been influenced by Christian concerns and viewpoints. Nonetheless, the words ascribed to John in Matthew 3:8–10 and Luke 3:8–9 suggest that he believed that both his baptism and the repentance associated with it were essential to one's identity as an Israelite. Whether his baptism in the Jordan near the wilderness symbolized a new Exodus and new crossing of the Sea or of the Jordan is uncertain. That it symbolized a purification seems likely.

The precise relationship between John's baptism and the purificatory rites alluded to in the Qumran Community Rule (1QS 5:13) is unclear. This passage provides a striking parallel to gospel material about John because it describes a radical conversion associated with one's entry into the "Covenant of God" (1QS 5:7–15), and it emphasizes the need to dissociate oneself from the mass of wicked humanity and to live as God demands. John's call to "bear fruits that are appropriate to repentance" is paralleled by the Qumranic requirement to obey the Torah. It is unclear what the precise relationship is between this complex of ideas and the testimony of Josephus that the Essenes bathed daily before their meals (*War* 2.8.5 sec. 129).

Like John's baptism, the Christian baptism attested in the New Testament is a one-time act that accompanies one's entrance into the religious community. For the apostle Paul, it symbolized and effected participation in the life-giving effects of Jesus' death and resurrection and was closely associated with the imperative to live a righteous life (Rom. 6). Other texts, such as John 3:1–6, Titus 3:5, and 1 Peter 1:22–2:2, associate baptism with rebirth imagery. A connection between baptism and the Holy Spirit runs through the New Testament texts about John's baptism and Christian baptism.

The possible relationship between Qumranic practice, John's baptism, Christian baptism, and Jewish proselyte baptism is disputed. At the very least, proselyte baptism is a one-time initiatory rite by which a non-Israelite "is deemed to be an Israelite in all respects" (B. Yebam. 47b). *See also* BAPTISMAL SECTS; PROSELYTIZATION.

baptismal sects generic term applied to various Jewish and other groups before 70 C.E. who practiced baptism in one form or another. The reasons may have differed considerably from group to group. Thus, one group may have done it mainly as an initiation rite, while others may have practiced it regularly for purification purposes. A number of them seem to have lived in or around the Jordan Valley, where running water was freely available. One of the prime examples seems to have been John the Baptist, who called on all Jews to be baptised as a sign of repentence. This was not clearly an initiation, but more probably purificatory. The Mandaeans claimed John the Baptist as their ancestor, though it is debated whether their origin actually goes back to John. Another baptismal group seems to lie behind the Fourth Sibylline Oracle. The best-known group, however, is the Essenes, who, according to the sources, practiced daily baptism. It is debated whether they are to be identified with the Qumran community or whether the cisterns at Qumran were ritual baths or simply water sources for normal domestic use.

bar *see* BEN

Barabbas (Aram., son of the father; or, in a name, son of Abba) In the gospel stories of Jesus' death, Barabbas is a prisoner jailed for insurrection and for murder (Mark 15:6–14; Matt. 27:15–23; Luke 23:17–23) or a bandit (John 18:40; cf. Mark 14:48) whom the people of Jerusalem chose for release at Passover rather than Jesus of Nazareth. Barabbas fits the profile of social bandits who proliferated in Israel because of dissatisfaction with Roman rule. No other evidence exists for Barabbas or the custom of releasing a prisoner.

baraita a teaching formulated as a Tannaitic rule but not included in the Mishnah, hence "external" to the Mishnah but authoritative

Baraita deSifrei *see* SIFREI ZUTTA

Baris Fortress Jerusalem fortress of Nehemiah's era built near the (then) northwest corner of the Temple Mount. It is mentioned in the Letter of Aristeas in vivid language, so evidently its size and grandeur at the eve of the Hasmonean era impressed the author of that letter. Josephus says, however, that the Baris Fortress was built by the Hasmoneans (*Ant.* 15.11.4, p. 403). In a later passage Josephus says that John Hyrcanus, the high priest, lived at the Baris for a while, so some scholars conclude that the place was also a palace. Herod demolished the Hasmonean Baris and rebuilt it as his own fortress, the Antonia. The only vestige remaining of Herod's building is a water canal cut out of the rock at the northwest corner of the present-day Temple Mount.

Bar Jonah (Aram., son of Jonah) patronymic of Simon, the disciple whom Jesus nicknames "Peter," the "rock" on whom the church is built (Matt. 16:17–18).

Bar Kappara common abbreviation for Eleazar b. Eleazar HaKappar, a Palestinian rabbi active at the beginning of the third century C.E., at the nexus of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods. A student of Judah the Patriarch, Bar Kappara established the academy at Caesaria, where, along with others, he taught Hoshaya and Joshua b. Levi.

Bar Katra family Jerusalem family of the Second Temple era known from the Talmud and from an archaeological find in Jerusalem. On a stone weight found in the Burnt House in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem there appears an Aramaic inscription, "[of] Bar Katros" or "[of] Bar Qatros." The find electrified the excavators, as the name House of Katros is known as one of the aristocratic, high priestly families who aided Rome in their rule of Judea. In the Babylonian Talmud a saying ascribed to Abba Saul b. Batnit in the name of Abba Joseph b. Ḥanin relates the corruption of the house of Katros (Qatros): ". . . woe is me because of the house of Qatros, woe is me because of their libel. . . ." (B. Pesaḥim 57A, IV.7B). The house in question evidently belonged to members of this family in a part of Jerusalem inhabited by aristocrats. Since the house included a workshop of some sort, the excavators concluded that the family manufactured something used in the Temple, perhaps spices, incense, or the like. The large stone vessels found in the house may have been used for ritually pure water for the manufacture of the product.

Bar Kokhba *see* BAR KOSIBA, SIMON

Bar Kokhba Revolt *see* BAR KOSIBA WAR

Bar Kosiba, Simon leader of the Judean Jews who declared their independence from the Roman Empire and fought the Roman forces from 132 to 135 C.E. In Greek and early Christian literature his name is recorded as Bar Kokhba, literally, "son of a star," a messianic nickname based on Numbers 24:17. In rabbinic literature he is called Bar or Ben Kosiba, literally, "son of a lie." This pejorative epithet reflects the rabbinic rejection of Bar Kosiba as the messiah. In documents found in the Judean desert this leader's real name appears in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek as Simon Bar (or Ben) Kosiba (spelled variously as *kwsbh, kwsʿbh,* or *ksbh*). The vowels are given in the Greek transliteration. Nothing is known about Bar Kosiba's origin or life before the revolt.

The place names from documents found in caves in the desert indicate that Bar Kosiba's forces were scattered at various sites adjacent to and in the Judean Desert south of Jerusalem. A number of fortified caves containing living and storage areas have been found in the desert. The coins from this period identify Simon and Eleazar as the leaders of the revolt against Rome. They assign to Simon the title *nasi* (prince, leader) and to Eleazar the title "the priest." The Bar Kosiba coins are dated according to the four years of the Freedom or Redemption of Israel or Jerusalem. They are mostly older coins that have been overstruck. According to the documents from the Judean Desert, Bar Kosiba supervised district officials, ordered the provision and moving of supplies, made preparations for the observance of festivals, rebuked leaders for not fighting, and saw to the collecting of taxes. This information suggests that Bar Kosiba was the leader of a guerrilla-like insurrection against the Romans.

In the Palestinian rabbinic literature, Bar Kosiba is an ambiguous figure who is both admired and condemned. According to the Palestinian Talmud, Rabbi Akiba proclaimed him messiah on the basis of the star from Jacob in Numbers 24:17, but other sages rejected this identification. The historical accuracy of this singular tradition is hard to evaluate. Other Palestinian stories about Bar Kosiba in the Talmud and Midrash Lamentations are clearly legendary and built on the pattern of the biblical hero (*gibbor*). In these legendary stories, Bar Kosiba has suprahuman strength, bravery, and appeal. His soldiers number in the hundreds of thousands and share his bravery. His battles with the Romans take on apocalyptic proportions. At the same time, Palestinian rabbinic literature articulates serious reservations about Bar Kosiba. He is pictured as overconfident in his own powers, arrogant in rejecting divine help, and misled in killing

Eleazar of Modiin. These defects bring about his defeat. The sages subtly imply that they, and not a messianic hero, are the proper leaders of Israel.

The Babylonian Talmud is more negative than Palestinian sources. The Bar Kosiba materials are merged with other stories about war, so that the connection of the Bar Kosiba stories with concrete historical events is lost. Bar Kosiba is consistently treated as a false messiah who misled Israel, and his stature as a hero is undermined. *See also* BAR KOSIBA WAR; ELEAZAR THE PRIEST.

Bar Kosiba War insurrection against Roman rule in Judea in 132–135 C.E., led by Simon Bar Kosiba. Roman, Christian, and rabbinic sources, along with archaeological finds and documents from the Judean desert, provide meager evidence for this conflict and often contradict one another. The rabbinic stories about Bar Kosiba and the war are exaggerated, heroic legends. Attitudes toward the war and its leader range from grudging admiration to critical rejection of Bar Kosiba as a false messiah. The Roman historian Dio Cassius has the most reliable account of the war, but his work needs careful interpretation as well. The later Historia Augusta is generally unreliable. Brief notices by Christian writers, especially Eusebius, contain some information that is hard to evaluate. Archaeological remains, coins of the revolt, some inscriptions, and the documents recently discovered in Judean caves provide reliable but sparse evidence about Bar Kosiba and his period.

The social and political context and causes of the war are much disputed and uncertain. One historical stimulus for popular unrest stands out. When Roman emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138 C.E.) toured the eastern Roman Empire in 129–131 C.E., he decreed the foundation or restoration of many cities, temples, and other civic institutions. Thus in 130, he probably announced the foundation of the city Aelia Capitolina and a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus to be built on the ruins of Jerusalem. (The story that Hadrian gave and then withdrew permission for the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple is almost certainly legendary.) Since he did not fund the restoration, building was probably not begun until after the war. Just the promise of Hadrian's grand scheme of restoration probably aroused opposition and resentment in Judea. A second imperial decree may have aggravated Jewish–Roman relations. At some point during his rule Hadrian strengthened the Roman laws against castration and included circumcision under the ban. This law was directed against a variety of peoples and groups in the East who practiced circumcision, such as Nabatean Arabs and Egyptian priests, not against Jews specifically. If this decree preceded the war, it might have been perceived as a hostile act. The date of this decree, however, is uncertain; it may have followed the war. In general a decades-long undercurrent of political and social unrest, and perhaps apocalyptic expectation, probably provided energy for an armed protest against Roman rule. The assignment of a second Roman legion to the area after 120 and extensive Roman road building in 120–130 suggest that the Romans anticipated trouble.

Traditional stories about the war have stressed its duration, wide scope, and ferocity. Myriads of troops are pictured in apocalyptic battles. In reality, Simon Bar Kosiba commanded a scattered guerrilla-like force based in towns and hidden, fortified caves in the Judean desert south of Jerusalem. Though nothing is known about his origin or personal history before the war, he was probably a local charismatic leader who mobilized built-up resentments and led his followers into the traditional refuge of dissidents, the Judean desert. Caves and lookouts found in the hills above the Dead Sea at Wadi Murabbaat, Nahal Hever, and elsewhere contained documents, coins, clothing, personal items, pottery, and weapons. Complexes of caves with interconnected rooms, ventilation shafts, alcoves for lamps and storage areas have been found in the hills west of Hebron. These finds suggest that small groups, sometimes including women and children, hid from the Romans and lived daily life in the desert. The places found in the Bar Kosiba documents are located in Judea. Later claims that Galilee and the rest of the country were involved in the revolt are ill founded.

Letters indicate that Simon Bar Kosiba appointed and supervised regional officials, maintained order and gathered supplies and taxes. Rebukes of various people for not sending fighters or supplies testify to less than total support for Bar Kosiba's struggle. He seems to have controlled some towns at the edge of the desert but not major population centers. Bar Kosiba minted his own coins by overstriking older ones. The coins depict the facade of the Temple, the lulab and etrog, palm branch, grapes, trumpets, and harp. They are dated by the four years of the war and refer to either the redemption or the liberation of Israel or Jerusalem. Whether Bar Kosiba captured Jerusalem is debatable. The coin inscriptions which refer to Jerusalem mostly say, "For the freedom of Jerusalem," perhaps voicing a hope rather than a reality. The tenth legion of the Roman army gar-

risoned the ruins of Jerusalem, defended by Herod's three towers and some of the western city walls. A siege of the Roman camp would probably have taken more time and forces than Bar Kosiba had available. Even if captured, the devastated site of Jerusalem would have been militarily indefensible and unimportant even though it was of great symbolic importance.

The coins and documents found in the desert caves name two leaders of the revolt: Simon who was called *nasi,* a biblical title meaning tribal chief, popularly accepted leader, or something like prince, and Eleazar, "the priest." Eleazar's title suggests priestly leadership analogous to that of the high priest while the Temple stood. Nothing else is known about him and the sources contain no explicit claim that he was high priest. Suggested identifications of this figure with Eleazar of Modiin or Eleazar ben Azariah are unlikely. Simon's title is a biblical designation for a tribal chief or royal leader. The Palestinian Talmud Taanit (4:8, p. 68d) claims that Rabbi Akiba declared Bar Kosiba to be Bar Kokhba, that is, son of a star. This expression is found in Balaam's blessing of Israel in Numbers 24:17 and was later given messianic meaning. Akiba's view was opposed by Rabbi Johanan ben Torta and by subsequent Talmudic tradition. Despite this testimony, there is no other evidence that Bar Kosiba claimed to be or was looked upon as the messiah. Hypotheses that Akiba was a leader for the revolt and that his earlier travels aimed to gather support for it have no support in the sources.

The surviving evidence does not give a detailed account of the war. When the war broke out, Tineius Rufus was the Roman governor of Judea. Since he and his two legions were initially unable to suppress the hostilities, reinforcements, probably consisting of parts of other legions and auxilliary units, were brought in from surrounding jurisdictions. Rufus fought a large number of small military actions against scattered groups of Jewish fighters over a long period. The hypothesis that the twenty-second legion was wiped out in the war is based on a misunderstanding of the Roman sources. It had probably been disbanded by 123 C.E. At some point Julius Severus, an experienced and successful Hadrianic general, was reassigned from Britain to Palestine. Though he is usually thought to have come early in the war to deal with a crisis Rufus could not handle, a newly discovered inscription suggests that he arrived to take over the governorship only in 135 C.E. when the war was ending. This would be consistent with rabbinic sources that refer to Rufus as the Roman general in the war.

The Roman historian Dio Cassius claims that 580,000 Jews were slain in battle, more died of starvation and disease, and that over a thousand villages and outposts were destroyed. Rabbinic sources put 200,000 Jewish defenders in the final battle for Betar along with hundreds of children from the five hundred schools of Betar. These numbers are highly exaggerated and the stories are legendary. Lamentations Rabbah 2:2 collects Bar Kosiba stories with a number of others, all of which contain very large, unrealistic numbers. Decriptions of rivers of blood and numerous corpses are drawn from apocalyptic imagery. These stories attempt to give the conflict heroic proportions.

Though Dio may be correct that the Romans suffered many losses, they did so little by little. Bar Kosiba's followers were dispersed and, as Roman writings testify, difficult to find and dislodge. A Roman camp on the ledge above a cave under attack and the forty skeletons found in the so-called Cave of Horrors, all near the Dead Sea, suggest that siege and starvation of small groups rather than great battles characterized the three-and-a-half years of the war. Bar Kosiba and his followers were finally flushed out of the desert and killed in a siege of the hilltop town of Betar (Khirbet el-Yahud), six or seven miles southwest of Jerusalem, in 135. The outline of the walls and towers of the town can still be seen, though the site has not been excavated.

After the war the Hadrianic city, Aelia Capitolina, was built on the ruins of Jerusalem and Jews were forbidden to live there. Rabbinic literature reports that the Jewish practices of circumcision, Sabbath observance, and teaching of Torah were forbidden until the reign of Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius (138–161). The name Judea was eliminated in order to suppress the Jews' connection with the land. The Roman province was named Syria Palestina. Palestine was derived from the Greek Palaistina, which was in turn derived from the Hebrew Pleshet, meaning Philistia or Land of the Philistines. Archeological surveys and digs show that Judea was not totally devastated or depopulated of Jews, contrary to reports in some Roman and rabbinic literature. The rabbis, however, who emerged as community leaders in the third through fifth centuries, had their center in Galilee. After the Bar Kosiba War, the Jewish people as a whole did not again rise up in political revolt against the Roman Empire.

Rabbinic literature speaks admiringly of the martyrdoms of Rabbi Akiba and other sages during the Bar Kosiba War. In the Palestinian Talmud and Lamentations, however, Rabbah Bar Kosiba and the war are treated ambiguously. Bar Kosiba is called Bar Koziba, the Liar, because he is judged a false messiah. Yet heroic stories paint him and his men as larger than life and similar to biblical heroes. The rabbis grudgingly acknowledge Bar Kosiba but are quick to criticize his arrogance and failure to assert their authority as community leaders. The authors of the Babylonian Talmud, removed from the historical context, mingled the stories about Bar Kosiba with those of other conflicts and with reflections concerning the end of the world. The Babylonian Talmud's attitude toward Bar Kosiba and the war is universally negative. *See also* BAR KOSIBA, SIMON; BETAR, SIEGE OF.

bar mitzvah (Heb., responsible adult) one who is competent to carry out religious duties; later, a ceremony at which a thirteen-year-old boy becomes an adult member of the Jewish community; an adult male Jew who is obligated to carry out the commandments (Heb.: *mitzvah/mitzvot*)

Barnabas, Letter of pseudonymous anti-Jewish treatise written by a Christian in the late first or early second century C.E., either in Alexandria or Syria. It is attributed to the apostle Barnabas (Acts 4:36) and thus is collected with the writings known as the Apostolic Fathers. The text of the Letter of Barnabas is copied in Codex Sinaiticus right after the New Testament books and was treated as canonical by Origen and some other early authors. Barnabas claims that Israel lost the covenant permanently when they worshiped the golden calf (Exod. 32) and that the covenant properly belongs to Christians. He teaches that the biblical laws were never meant to be taken literally and gives them symbolic interpretations. Washings are connected with baptism, circumcision and the Temple with the heart, dietary rules with ethics, and sacrifices with salvation through Jesus' death. Many of the themes of Barnabas were taken up in later Christian polemics against Judaism.

Bar Nappaḥa *see* YOḤANAN B. NAPPAḤA

Bar Pedayah *see* JUDAH B. PEDAIAH

barrenness Occasionally viewed as divine punishment (Gen. 20:18), the inability to conceive may be cured through prayer and divine favor. In such cases, the children are often destined for greatness. Women depicted as initially infertile, but not because of any explicit wrongdoing on their part or by their husbands, include: Sarah; Rebecca; Rachel; Samson's mother; Hannah; the Great Woman of Shunem (2 Kings 4:8–37); and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist (Luke 1). Less frequent are considerations of male infertility (the discussion between Manoah and Eluma in LAB 42; perhaps Gen. 15:2). *See also* FERTILITY.

barren woman (Heb.: *aylonit*) woman incapable of conceiving a child. M. Niddah 5:9 gives as evidence of this status the fact that the woman has reached the age of twenty without producing a minimum of two pubic hairs. Such a woman is not subject to levirate marriage, intended solely to produce a child to carry on her deceased husband's name. The term *aylonit* derives from the Hebrew *ayil* and means "ram-like."

Bar-Sanidora Kilat Nimrod, at the foot of Mount Hermon, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Bar Sauma (c. 415–496 C.E.) bishop in the city of Nisibis in the Sassanid (Neo-Persian) Empire (in present-day eastern Turkey). He was educated at a Nestorian Christian school in nearby Edessa and became bishop of Nisibis when driven out of Edessa in 457. He engaged in extensive and effective missionary activity on behalf of Nestorian Christianity and gained a reputation as a persuasive and brutal advocate. He persuaded the Sassanid king Peroz to banish the opposing Monophysite Christians. His writings were mainly liturgical, but in reports of his missionary journeys he reflects some of the interfaith tensions among Jews, Samaritans, and the relatively few Christians. Although Byzantine leaders had forbidden anti-Semitism, Bar Sauma witnessed some of the continuing clashes. He claimed that Christians, rather than Jews or Samaritans, were persecuted.

Bar Timaeus (Aram.: son of Timaeus) patronymic of the blind man of Jericho healed by Jesus (Mark 10:46)

Baruch scribe in Jerusalem at the time of the Babylonian destruction of the city; friend of Jeremiah. Jeremiah dictated a scroll to him, which King Jehoiakim burned (Jer. 36) and Baruch subsequently rewrote. Scholars attribute at least the beginnings of the historical accounts in Jeremiah to Baruch.

Four later books were ascribed to Baruch, all of which reflect on the loss of Jerusalem and the Temple. The apocryphal Baruch claims to have been read by Baruch to the Babylonian exiles (1:1–14). It includes a penitential prayer, a wisdom poem, and a Zion poem. The other three books actually concern the loss of the Second Temple, but use the fictive setting of the Babylonian destruction. Baruch is the main character in 2

Baruch, where he engages in a dialogue with God about the problems of theodicy raised by the destruction. In 3 Baruch, he is a seer who tours the heavens to receive revelation. In 4 Baruch (Paraleipomena of Jeremiah) he plays a role subordinate to that of Jeremiah. *See also* 1 BARUCH; 2 BARUCH; 3 BARUCH; JEREMIAH, PARALEIPOMENA OF.

1 Baruch (Book of Baruch, Apocryphal Baruch) the first of several literary works attributed to the secretary of Jeremiah. This composite text of mixed genre (narrative, prayer, and exhortative discourse) and style (prose and poetry) was compiled from traditional materials, some of which may have been composed in Hebrew. A date after the persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 164 B.C.E.) may be indicated by the emphasis on repentance and restoration and by similarities to texts from this time which focus on the exile and the capture of the Temple vessels. Baruch came to be included in the Greek Bible, where it stands before the Book of Jeremiah.

The four sections of Baruch are bound together by the theme of exile and return, which is embodied in biblical idiom and imagery. The narrative begins with the people in Babylonian exile and concludes with a strong affirmation that they will return. The narrative introduction (1:1–14) leads to a pair of penitential prayers in which the people in Jerusalem and Babylon respectively confess their sins and ask God to withdraw the divine wrath that sent them into exile (1:15–2:5, 2:6–3:8). The logic of the prayers follows the scheme of Deuteronomy 28–30 and 32, and the influence of Deuteronomic and Jeremianic language is immediately evident. Verbal parallels between the first prayer and Daniel 9:4–19 indicate a close relationship between these two exemplars of a traditional liturgical genre. The prayers lead into a poem about the finding of wisdom, which is identified with the Torah (Bar. 3:9–4:4). Human searches for wisdom have been fruitless (cf. Job 28), but adherence to the "book of God's commandments" will deliver Israel from the death of exile (cf. Ezek. 37). A close connection with Ecclesiasticus 24 is evident, although the present texts lacks Ben Sira's explicit personification of wisdom. The book concludes with a poetic section in the idiom of Second and Third Isaiah (Bar. 4:5–5:9). Mother Zion appeals to her children to take heart because their return to the land is a certain consequence of their repentance, and the author addresses Jerusalem in a set of strophes that closely parallel the poem in Psalms of Solomon 11.

The Book of Baruch is a remarkable example of how, in the second century B.C.E., Deuteronomic and prophetic texts that had already been reshaped and embodied in anonymous traditions, such as prayers and poems, were compiled and recast into texts that spoke to new situations in the pseudonymous voice of an ancient Israelite scribe.

2 Baruch apocalypse written in response to the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E.; also called the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. It is eighty-seven chapters long, and makes extensive use of traditional materials, which it adapts to its own purposes. The main witness to the work is a single Syriac manuscript dating from the sixth or seventh century. The Syriac was translated from a Greek version (two short passages are preserved in P. Oxy. 403). The Greek is probably a translation of a Hebrew original. An Arabic version has been discovered recently, but it is a free translation from another Syriac manuscript and is influenced by Islam. The apocalypse dates from around the turn of the second century B.C.E. and is from Palestine.

Baruch was secretary to the prophet Jeremiah, who flourished just before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. That event became a paradigm through which to interpret the destruction of the Second Temple (as in 4 Ezra; see also Rev., in which Babylon is a cipher for Rome). Remarkably, Baruch is the main character and Jeremiah plays a minor role in 2 Baruch.

The book consists of seven sections. In the first section (chaps. 1–9), God tells Baruch that Jerusalem is to be destroyed because of Israel's sins and instructs Baruch and Jeremiah to leave the city because their deeds and prayers protect it. Baruch, distressed at God's revelation, asks whether the impending destruction means the end of Israel, forgetfulness of God's deeds, the annihilation of the universe, the passing of humanity, and the annulment of God's promises to Israel. God explains that Israel's punishment is temporary. God says that the earthly Jerusalem is but a shadow of the heavenly one. Baruch objects that the Gentiles will boast about their destruction of the city but is told that God will destroy it. Angels destroy the city after the sacred objects are removed, and God departs. The first section ends with the lamentation of Baruch and Jeremiah.

Sections 2 through 6 (comprising chaps. 10–20, 21–34, 35:1–47:1, 47:2–52:7, and 53:1–77:17, respectively) contain prayers of Baruch, visions, dialogues, revelations, and Baruch's addresses to the people, through which he conveys the essence of what he learns from God. The content of the sec-

tions is as follows. Israel has lost everything except God and Torah. Israel's distress is a chastisement for its sins, but the future age will see the righteous elevated to the heavenly realms, and the Gentiles will receive their punishment. Although Israel has lost its leaders, the Torah itself will engender leaders. The concept of free will is defended. The present world is corruptible and full of evils, but the future world is incorruptible. The end is near, but cannot come before its time. History is periodized and consists of alternating good and bad periods. A messianic age, in which Israel's enemies are conquered and judged, will precede the future world. The middle sections end with Baruch's exhortation to obey Torah, an exhortation reminiscent of Moses' speeches in Deuteronomy.

Section 7 (77:18–87:1) is Baruch's letter to the nine and a half tribes exiled by the Assyrians. It repeats much of what is found earlier in the apocalypse. The letter exists in multiple copies apart from the apocalypse, and some have suggested that it was not an original part of 2 Baruch. However, most scholars see it as integral to the work.

2 Baruch addresses Jews living after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. It defends God's righteousness in the face of Jerusalem's destruction, consoles Israel with the thought of a future judgment, and encourages obedience to Torah. It advocates rebuilding Judaism on the basis of the Torah.

3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse of Baruch) a pseudonymous text in which Jeremiah's secretary recounts his journey through the five heavens. Although it claims to be set in the time of the Babylonian exile, 3 Baruch was composed toward the end of the first century C.E., in response to the Roman destruction of Jerusalem. Egypt was very possibly the place of its composition, and it is preserved in Greek, the language of its composition, and in a Slavonic version.

Paralleling the "story line" in both 1 Baruch and 2 Baruch, the text begins with the seer's grief over Israel's defeat by the Babylonians, and it concludes as he gives praise to God. This change in attitude is facilitated by the assurance of God's justice, which is conveyed to the reader in traditional apocalyptic form, as "Baruch" recounts in the first person how an angel guided him to places of eschatological import and explained the workings of God's justice. Of special importance is a long description of the mediatorial activity of the angel Michael, who gathers the virtues of the righteous in a gigantic vessel and brings them to God's throne in the fifth heaven.

Baruch's cosmology differs from that in 1 Enoch and agrees with 2 Enoch in that it locates the places of punishment and reward in the various levels of the five heavens rather than at the outer edges of the earth's disk. Similarly, his eschatology is not oriented to a future cosmic resolution of present evils, but envisions individuals receiving their reward or punishment immediately after death.

Although the author's authority is asserted in the claim of revelation inherent in the apocalyptic genre, the text also deals with the problem of divine justice by reference to scripture, specifically Deuteronomy 32:21, 30. In 1:2, Baruch asks God, "Why have you not requited us with another punishment, but rather delivered us to nations such as these?" The answer in 16:2–4—in a virtual quotation of Deuteronomy 32:21—is that the destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of the people are punishment for their sins.

At many points 3 Baruch reflects concerns and traditions that also appear in contemporary Jewish texts such as 2 Baruch, 2 Esdras, and the Book of Biblical Antiquities. On the other hand, at some point in its transmission, the apocalypse acquired a clear Christian interpolation at 4:15. The cursed vine that caused Adam's sin will be turned to blessing when its fruit becomes "the blood of God . . . Jesus Christ Emmanuel."

4 Baruch *see* JEREMIAH, PARALEIPOMENA OF

Bassus, Gaius Julius Quadratus legate of Judaea (102/3–104/5 C.E.). An inscription from his native Pergamum indicates that he held a post in Crete and Cyrenaica before he was governor of Judaea. He fought in the Second Dacian War and was legate of Galatia-Cappadocia, Syria, in 114–116, and then in Dacia.

Bassus, Marcus Aemilius procurator of Judea. His exact dates are unknown, but a date in the middle of Hadrian's reign as emperor (117–139 C.E.) seems likely. Bassus was procurator in Bithynia and in Egypt before he was assigned to Judaea. The name "Judaea" implies that he served before 135 C.E.

Bassus, Sextus Lucilius legate of Palestine (71–72/73 C.E.). During the revolt against Rome, Bassus captured the Jewish strongholds of Herodian and Machaeros. To conquer the latter, Bassus's men filled in a large ravine to gain access to its lower slope. He eventually captured those who fled Machaeros in "the forest of Jardes," as yet unidentified.

bastard *see* MAMZER

bath unit of fluid measure in ancient Israel, from the Hebrew word *bat* (the resemblance to the English word "bath" is sheer coincidence). As with

most weights and measures of the time, it was not standardized; however, archaeological findings indicate that it would have been roughly 5½ gallons, or about 20 liters.

bat kol (Heb.) in rabbinic literature, a heavenly or divine voice that conveys God's judgment or will to individuals or groups; literally, "daughter of a voice," usually in the sense of a small voice or sound. The term frequently is translated as "echo"; Exodus Rabbah 39, however, states that, unlike a person's voice, the voice that proceeds from God has no *bat kol,* suggesting that this rendering is not accurate.

In scripture and the rabbinical literature, heavenly speech occurs frequently and often is designated simply by the term *kol* (voice). Daniel 4:28 is paradigmatic, referring to a voice that "fell from heaven." This and similar explicit references to a voice from heaven apparently stand behind the historically later, concise usage of *bat kol,* which always refers to a voice the heavenly origin of which is assumed but not explicitly stated.

The *bat kol* derives from an invisible source and is characterized by its remarkable tonal quality. It sometimes is portrayed as powerful—a *bat kol* reportedly rang throughout the Israelite camp to proclaim Moses' death (B. Sotah 13b)—but generally is perceived as a quiet sound. After praying along the road in a ruin, the Tannaitic authority Yose reportedly was confronted by Elijah, who asked what sound Yose had heard. Yose reports that he heard a *bat kol* that "murmured like a dove" (B. Berakhot 3a). Similarly, Elisha b. Abuyah heard a chirping voice behind the Temple (Eccles. Rabbah 7:8).

In rabbinic history, the heavenly voice served an important political function, proclaiming, for instance, that the law follows the views of the House of Hillel (Y. Yebamot 6:6) and reporting that, among their entire generations, Hillel and his student Samuel the Small were worthy to receive the Holy Spirit (T. Sotah 13:3–4). In these passages, the *bat kol* indicates God's concurrence with the emerging rabbinic power structure.

At the same time, the rabbis explicitly deny God's right to use the *bat kol* or other methods to intervene in earthly deliberations and legislative activities. When God attempts to intercede in a dispute between Eliezer and Joshua, first by disrupting the natural order and then by stating through a *bat kol* that the law follows Eliezer (Baba Metzia 59a–b), Joshua responds that such decisions are in the hands of the rabbis alone, a position that God is reported to accept. Accordingly, despite the understanding that God could speak in human terms, the rabbis assigned to themselves complete control over determination of proper Israelite practice and behavior.

batlan (Heb., idle person) The term may connote a loafer, but it is most often used as an honorific title for one employed only in the service of the community and the synagogue.

Batra a probable synagogue site and ancient village in the Golan Heights, 4 kilometers east of Bethsaida-Julias. A modern village stands here on the foundations of an ancient village located on a steep slope with the synagogue at the top of the site, virtually on a cliff. The synagogue was about 10 by 12.9 meters in size and faced roughly southwest. Many of the architectural fragments of the synagogue were in reuse in the houses of the modern village. For example, there were fragments of cornices, a Doric capital, an Ionic capital, as well as fragments of a lintel stone depicting a wreath in the center with a Hercules knot (square knot) at its base. The ends of the knot evolve into vines with rosettes and leaves. An additional capital depicts an amphora in low relief with a vine branch emerging from it. This capital also depicts acanthus leaves and a bird. It is possible that the building dates to the third century C.E.

Bavli *see* BABLI

B.C. abbreviation for "Before Christ," used in the Christian calendar to designate the years before the nominal year of Jesus Christ's birth; *see also* B.C.E.

B.C.E. abbreviation for "Before the Common Era." This alternative terminology is often used instead of "B.C." in non-Christian contexts.

beard and shaving The rabbis considered one's beard a symbol of manhood. Leviticus prohibits removing the side locks and shaving the beard. Rabbinic authorities prohibited close shaving with a straight edge under all circumstances and any shaving during the periods of mourning after the death of a close relative, between Passover and Shebuot, or during the three weeks preceding the Ninth of Ab.

beatitude literary form that declares a person to be blessed or fortunate. Attested forty-three times in the Hebrew Bible, mainly in the wisdom literature, beatitudes begin with a stereotyped formula, "Blessed is the man (*or* those, *or* you) who . . . ," that is followed by a description of the conduct, quality, or situation that is cause for the beatitude: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered" (Ps. 32:1). Second Temple Jewish literature and the New Testament reflect a tendency to declare persons blessed or fortunate

because their quality, actions, or situation will effect something good in the future: "Then blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise, and learn to do the commandments of the Most High . . . , for they will be saved" (1 Enoch 99:10). Often these beatitudes have an eschatological tone; those who are pious and righteous now will be blessed when God acts in the near future. Some of these beatitudes paradoxically declare those who are presently deprived to be fortunate because their situation will be reversed: "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God; Blessed are you who hunger now, for you shall be satisfied" (Luke 6:20, 21). Matthew's version of some of Jesus' beatitudes spiritualizes the more original version in Luke: "Blessed are the poor *in spirit,* for theirs is the kingdom of God; Blessed are those who hunger and thirst *for righteousness,* for they shall be satisfied (Matt. 5:3, 6). *See also* ESCHATOLOGY; WOES.

Bebai **1.** Palestinian amora of the third century C.E. He studied under Yoḥanan, Resh Lakish, and others, and was a close associate of Ammi and Assi. He spoke of his own poverty.

2. Babylonian amora of the fourth century C.E. He studied under Naḥman. Joseph placed him in charge of religious affairs in his city (B. Kiddushin 76b).

Bebai b. Abayye **1.** Babylonian amora of the fourth century C.E. He studied under his father, head of the academy at Pumbedita, and Joseph. He was a successful farmer (B. Baba Metzia 109a). B. Ḥagigah 4b–5a relates that he was visited frequently by the angel of death, who disclosed to him the secrets of the other world.

2. Palestinian amora of the mid-fourth century C.E.; a contemporary of Naḥman b. Isaac, Pappai, and Ḥuna b. Joshua. As a descendant of the house of Eli, Bebai b. Abayye was assumed to be short-lived (B. Rosh Hashanah 18a). Pappai taunted him about this, claiming that, like his health, Bebai's teachings were frail (B. Erubin 25b).

Be-Dura *see* DORA

Beelzebul "the prince of the demons," according to Matthew 12:24–27, Mark 3:22–26, and Luke 11:15–19. The derivation is disputed. The manuscript variant, Greek *beelzebub,* suggests an identification with *baal zebub* (Heb., lord of flies), the deity of the Philistine city of Ekron (2 Kings 1:2, 3, 6, 16). More likely, Beelzebul reflects the Semitic *zbl* (lord/exalted one; or [exalted] abode, i.e., heaven). The latter option may reflect an identification of the chief of the evil spirits with Baal Shamayim, whose worship was installed in the Temple by Antiochus IV. Such a meaning is suggested in Matthew 10:25, where "master of the house" (Gr.: *oikodespotēs*) seems to be a translation of Beelzebul. The references to "house" in Mark 3:22–27, Matthew 12:22–45, and Luke 11:15–26 could indicate a wordplay on this meaning.

Beer Sheba known as Barsaba in the Roman period; lies east of the modern city in the northern Negeb. In the early seventh century B.C.E., there were attempts to rebuild the destroyed biblical city, but it lay unoccupied until about 400 B.C.E. when a Persian period fortress appeared at the site. Forty-five ostraca, that is, potsherds with texts written on them in ink, were found in pits around the fortress. The ostraca were apparently records of wheat and barley storage. They contain dates that correspond to the years from 359 to 338 B.C.E. The names on the ostraca are Jewish, Edomite, and Arab. The pits are likely for grain storage and attest to the general fertility of the region. The Persian fortress went out of use in the fourth century B.C.E. and was succeeded by a Hellenistic fortress and a temple. The temple is rectangular, about 11.5 by 24.9 meters in extent. It is comprised of a large, unroofed courtyard with one large room across the width of the building at its east end and with three small rooms at the southwest corner of the courtyard. A stone block about 2.1 meters square stands near the center of the courtyard and evidently forms an altar. The excavator interprets the whole as a sanctuary originally used for the worship of several minor deities (such as the Egyptian Thoth, the Nabatean Delphinos, the Greek Demeter and Persephone, and others). Seven small incense altars were found from this period. During the religious reforms of King John Hyrcanus I of Israel (135–104 B.C.E.) the sanctuary was converted to the worship of Yahweh. During this time no figurines were to be found, as they were buried in pits beneath the floor. In this renovation the central altar was erected. By the 60s B.C.E. the temple was abandoned. Shortly afterward, in the Roman period, Barsaba was the site of a Roman fort that was in use until the third century C.E. The excavators found no remains of the Byzantine period.

begging not acknowledged in most of the Tanakh on the assumption that its welfare system made such poverty unlikely. Rabbinic sources encourage itinerants to seek aid from a centralized village fund or kitchen rather than door-to-door. Poor women were the first to receive assistance to avoid the humiliation of seeking aid in the street.

Behemoth (from Heb.: *behemah,* beast) mythological land monster, often paired with the sea

monster Leviathan. Behemoth and Leviathan originated in ancient Near Eastern myths, where creation resulted from the conquest of monsters of chaos. In Job 40:15–24 the might of Behemoth, which God created, is used to emphasize God's greatness. Leviathan is used similarly in Job 41. 2 Baruch 29:4 and 4 Ezra 6:49–51 attest to a tradition that the two beasts were created on the fifth day when water creatures were made (Gen. 1:20–23) and that they will be eaten at the eschatological banquet. 1 Enoch 60:7–10 adds that Leviathan is female and Behemoth is male. Revelation 13 uses the two monsters, without naming them, to represent cosmic evil forces supporting the Roman Empire.

beit am (Heb.) house of the people; early word for synagogue

beit din *see* COURT

beit haMikdash (Heb.) house of the sanctuary; *see also* SANCTUARY

Beit Hillel *see* HILLEL AND SHAMMAI, HOUSES OF

beit kenesset (Heb.) house of assembly; sometimes, synagogue; *see also* SYNAGOGUE

beit midrash *see* SCHOOL

Beit Shammai *see* HILLEL AND SHAMMAI, HOUSES OF

bekor *see* FIRSTBORN

Bekorot Mishnah tractate devoted to rules on the firstborn. The firstborn son of a man is to be redeemed for five shekels (Num. 18:16); the firstborn of a clean beast, for example, of a flock or herd, is to be given to the priest; and the firstborn of an unclean beast, for example, of an ass (Exod. 13:13), is to be redeemed in exchange for a lamb or destroyed. The firstborn of an ass is discussed in chapter 1; the firstborn of clean cattle is discussed in chapters 2 through 7; and the firstborn of a man is discussed in chapter 8.

Issues raised are secondary to the scriptural laws on the same subject, for example, the status of an unborn offspring of the ass of a Gentile that was purchased by an Israelite, a cow that bore an offspring resembling an ass, and other matters that are subject to doubt. Since a firstling beast may be slaughtered when it is blemished, the process of examining the firstling, the blemishes taken into account, and the like, are set forth. The firstborn son of a man may or may not receive the inheritance of the firstborn. The rules on tithing cattle are set forth in chapter 9, stipulating that the tithe is given both in the Holy Land and abroad and prescribing the extent of the herd that is tithed and how the tithing is carried out. The Talmud of Babylonia (Bavli) provides a commentary to this tractate.

Bel and the Dragon an entertaining tale about Daniel's battle with idolatry in Babylon, which is one of several expansions in the Greek version of the Book of Daniel that form part of the Apocrypha. The original language of the story is uncertain. As to its date, it appears to be typologically later than the tales in Daniel 1–6, whose style and general theme it imitates. Pointing in this direction are the complexity of its plot, the identification of Daniel's opponents as Babylonians rather than the courtiers typical in such stories, the additional legendary features in the episode about the lion's den, and the explicit conversion of the monarch ("the king has become a Jew," v. 28). The story may have been composed to supplement the tales about the kings Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius, by describing the conversion of Cyrus, the last of Daniel's overlords (cf. Dan. 6:28, 10:1). Bel and the Dragon is inserted in manuscripts of the Greek Bible at the end of the Book of Daniel and is counted as chapter 13.

The story comprises two related episodes about Daniel. In the first he exposes the fraud of the priests of Bel, who eat the food they say the god consumes. In the second Daniel feeds a sacred dragon (or snake) cakes made of pitch, fat, and hair, which cause the beast to explode. The two stories are interwoven into a single plot that reaches its climax with Cyrus's conversion from idolatry and the destruction of Daniel's Babylonian enemies. Different from the other Daniel stories, Bel and the Dragon focuses exclusively on the antagonism between the living God (with his protagonist Daniel) and the idols and their Babylonian advocates, the priests, the king at first, and the people in general.

The story as a whole, with its reference to the destruction of Bel and Cyrus's acclamation of the God of Israel as the only God, appears to be a narrativizing interpretation of Isaiah 45–46. There YHWH addresses Cyrus his anointed, who does not know him but will come to know him (45:1, 3). The polemic against idols in Isaiah 46 begins with the words, "Bel has fallen" (v. 1, LXX). The story's mocking, satirical tone is typical of biblical and early Jewish critiques of idolatry (Isa. 44:9–20; Letter of Jeremiah; Apoc. Abr. 1–8), and the author's humorous contrast between the idolaters' stupidity and Daniel's wisdom parallels the theological juxtaposition of Torah as wisdom and idolatry as folly.

Belial (Gr.: Beliar) common name for the chief of the evil spirits. The word *beliyaal* in the Hebrew Bible has usually been derived from *beli* (without)

and *yaal* (worth). The rabbis applied it to those who cast off the yoke of the Torah (*beli yol,* without the yoke, B. Sanh. 111b). Most likely, however, it comes from *bl* (swallow) and reflects the notion of Death (the god Mot) or Sheol as the Swallower (Isa. 25:8; cf. Psalm 18:4–5) and the parallelism of death, Belial, and Sheol.

This mythic background reemerges in the Graeco-Roman period; the old god, Death, becomes the chief evil spirit, who leads people to destruction. The name occurs primarily in the Qumran literature (1QS, 1QH, 1QM, CD), the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Ascension of Isaiah, and occasionally Jubilees, where Mastema predominates. Belial stands in opposition to God or God's chief angel, rules over a horde of spirits, and specializes in prompting humans to sin.

Beliar *see* BELIAL

bemah *see* BIMAH

ben (Heb.) son of; equivalent to the Aramaic *bar*

Ben Azzai *see* SIMEON B. AZZAI

Ben Bag Bag rabbinic authority of the first century C.E. He is known for the dictum (referring to the Torah): "Turn it and turn it, for everything is in it, and reflect upon it and grow gray and worn over it, and do not leave it, for you have no better lot than this" (M. Abot 5:22). Some identify him with Yoḥanan b. Bag Bag, mentioned at T. Ketubot 5:1.

Ben Bukri Tannaitic authority of the period of Yavneh (1st c. C.E.). He is referred to at M. Shekalim 1:4 as in dispute with Yoḥanan b. Zakkai over whether or not a priest validly may pay the annual shekel due to the sanctuary.

Ben Drosa individual known in talmudic times for consuming partially cooked food (B. Shabbat 20a; Y. Shabbat 1:5, 4a); also referred to as Ben Drosai. Food cooked sufficiently for Ben Drosa to eat became the standard for what was deemed fully cooked under talmudic law. Such food, if left in the oven after the beginning of the Sabbath, was not prohibited as having been cooked on the holy day. Comparably, if such food was cooked additionally by Gentiles, it did not become prohibited under the law that forbids Israelite consumption of foods prepared by Gentiles.

Ben Ezra Synagogue *see* CAIRO GENIZA

Ben Ḥakinai *see* ḤANANIAH B. ḤAKINAI

Ben Ḥakola *see* ISAAC B. ELEAZAR

Ben Hanila *see* TANḤUM B. HANILAI

Ben He He rabbinic authority of the first century C.E., known for the dictum: "In accord with the effort is the reward" (M. Abot 5:23). B. Ḥagigah 9b suggests that he was a student of Hillel. Later authorities claimed he was a convert, whose name marked him as the son of Abraham and Sarah, to each of whose names the Hebrew letter "he" was added (Gen. 17:5, 15).

Benjamin b. Levi Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; a younger contemporary of Ammi and Isaac. He is most often associated with biblical interpretation.

Ben Koziba *see* BAR KOSIBA, SIMON

Ben Nanas *see* SIMEON B. NANAS

Ben Patzuri Tannaitic authority of the late first and early second centuries C.E.

Ben Sirah, Book of *see* SIRACH, WISDOM OF

Ben Torta *see* YOḤANAN B. TORTA

Ben Yasyan *see* YOSE B. YASYAN

Ben Zakkai, Yohanan *see* YOHANAN B. ZAKKAI

Ben Zoma *see* SIMEON B. ZOMA

beRab place of learning; household where a school was conducted by a major authority. The same word may stand for "son of Rab," or "son of a master," but it ordinarily refers to a household academy.

berakhah (Heb.) benediction, blessing, or praise

Berakhot (Heb., blessings) Mishnah tractate setting forth the liturgy governing everyday life at home. The tractate encompasses reciting the Shema (chaps. 1–3); reciting the Prayer Amidah (chaps. 4–5); the various blessings recited before eating different kinds of food, and the grace after meals and its protocol (chaps. 6–8); and blessings recited on occasions other than eating, as well as personal prayers (chap. 9). Both the Talmud of the Land of Israel and the Talmud of Babylonia provide commentaries to this tractate.

Berekiah Palestinian amoraic authority of the fourth century C.E., sometimes referred to as Berekiah haKohen. A student of Ḥelbo, he is known primarily for exegetical comments found in midrashic compilations and in the Talmud of the Land of Israel.

Berenice Israelite queen (r. 41–44 C.E.), daughter of Agrippa I. She married her uncle, Herod of Chalchis, and after his death in 48 became the consort of her brother, Agrippa II (r. c. 50–92/96), as rumors of incest circulated. She and Agrippa II tried to prevent the Jewish war against Rome (66–70) and supported Rome throughout. During the war, she started a love affair with Titus and continued it in Rome in 75. When Titus became emperor in 79, he sent her back to Palestine.

Bereshit *see* GENESIS

berit milah (Heb.) covenant of circumcision; *see also* CIRCUMCISION; COVENANT

Berossus Babylonian priest who flourished in the early third century B.C.E. He wrote a work entitled

Babyloniaca (Babylonian matters). It was a summary of Babylonian tradition, history, and mythology. Where it can be compared with cuneiform sources, it has been shown to be very accurate (though sometimes it gives only one tradition when there was more than one). Berossus wrote in Greek, evidently with "apologetic historiography" in mind; that is, he was trying to present the Babylonians in a good light to the Greeks, who had only recently conquered the ancient Near East under Alexander, but also to counter inaccurate Greek accounts, such as that of Ctesias. His work is known mainly in fragments from quotations in Josephus and Eusebius. He mentioned the Jews a couple of times. For example, he provided valuable information relating to the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in the West in the years before the taking of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king in 597 B.C.E. However, in some cases, Josephus seems to read his own interpretation into Berossus; for example, Josephus says that that Berossus confirms the flood story, though Berossus gave the Babylonian version, not the Hebrew one.

bet *for words beginning with* BET, *see also under* BEIT

Betar city in southern Palestine, seat of the Sanhedrin, and a base of Bar Kokhba's operations during the Revolt against Rome. In the summer of 135 C.E., Bar Kokhba's army was forced to withdraw from Jerusalem and to take refuge in Betar. For several months, it was under Roman siege. According to Jewish tradition, the siege ended on the Ninth of Ab, when the Romans gained access to and conquered the city through the use of a rampart. T. Yebamot 14:8 refers to sixty men who "went down to the camp of the besiegers at Betar," possibly a reference to the Jewish defense of the city at this time. Elsewhere the talmudic literature refers to individuals who were killed in the fighting at Betar, whom Hadrian would not allow to be buried. Lurid descriptions in rabbinic literature of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of defenders contradict the small size of the site. *See also* BAR KOSIBA WAR.

beth *for words beginning with* BETH, *see also under* BEIT

Beth Alpha Synagogue ancient synagogue near the east end of the Beth Shean valley and west of Mount Gilboa. The synagogue was found by accident in 1928 and excavated in 1929. The building proved to be 29.4 by 19 meters. The entire edifice was built of black basalt blocks carefully cut and dressed. A large atrium with a porch at one end and paved in white mosaics led through three entrances into the worship area. This prayer hall was divided by columns into a nave and two side aisles on the basilica in plan. At the entrance to the nave an inscription in Aramaic names the donors and gives the date of the construction during the reign of the emperor Justinian (early sixth century C.E.). A second dedicatory inscription in Greek mentions the two artisans, Marinos and Haninah, who made the mosaic. On either side of the inscriptions stand a buffalo and a lion in the mosaic. The next panel represents the binding of Isaac with two servants and a pack animal to the left, the ram with horns hung in the bush in the center, and Abraham, knife in hand, prepared to place the bound Isaac on the flaming altar to the right. At the center top, a hand emerges from a cloud and says in Hebrew, "Do not extend [your hand]!" The ram, Abraham, and Isaac are labeled in Hebrew. The second panel is of a zodiac with a representation of the sun god Helios driving his four-horse chariot (a quadriga) directly toward the viewer. The zodiac has each sign labeled in Hebrew. The circle of the zodiac is inscribed in a square. Each corner of the square has a season of the year represented as a woman with wings, which the excavator interpreted as a variation on a cherub. Each season is labeled in Hebrew. The final panel before the apse at the focus of interest shows a synagogue ark flanked by two menorahs, each with shofar, etrog, lulab, and incense shovel. Two lions with mouths open stand on either side of the ark. In the mosaic, a curtain has been drawn back on both sides to reveal the scene. The entire style is simple, with figures rendered frontally and with no shadows. Presumably a Torah shrine stood in the apse of the synagogue. The colored mosaics in the west side aisle represent geometric figures and carpets.

Beth Guvrin ancient synagogue site and town about 37 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem in the Judean Shephelah. Alternate names for the town are Beth Jibrin in Arabic or Beth Govrin in Hebrew. Its name is preserved as Betogabris in the earliest Greek texts, but the emperor Septimus Severus renamed the city Eleutheropolis (city of freedmen) around 200 C.E.

A Corinthian capital of the synagogue has been found. This capital depicts a seven-branched menorah with tripod base. A small pillar, perhaps from a window or even from a Torah shrine, was decorated with a double, braided grapevine growing out of an amphora. The vine outlines three medallions or scrolls with grapes and grape leaves within. A very small marble column is probably

part of a chancel screen. Two almost identical Aramaic inscriptions carved within circles on columns honor a donor: "Be remembered for good Kyrios bar Shai, peace upon him, bar Auxentios, who donated this column in honor of the synagogue. Peace." That is, the donor's full name is Kyrios bar Shai bar Auxentios. He has a Greek name, his father has a Hebrew name, and his grandfather has a Greek name. On the marble colonette the fragmentary Aramaic inscription reads: "Be remembered for good Severus bar Jonathan bar. . . ." The excavators postulate that the inscriptions date from the fourth to the sixth centuries C.E.

Excavations have also disclosed an impressive amphitheater, used as an area for Roman period games, and a Roman inn. The Roman inn contains a magnificently carved facade with naked winged children, called erotes, in hunting postures. The inn appears to have been built in the fourth century C.E. In the same period, a Roman villa was built about 200 meters north of Eleutheropolis; a second villa has been found on the next hill southeast of the city. Extensive cemetery remains of the Roman and Byzantine periods have been located to the south and east.

Beth Haram town in Transjordan, north of the Dead Sea, in the area of the tribe of Gad (Num. 32:36; Josh. 13:27); in scripture alternately called Beth Haran. Y. Shebiit 9:2 (38d) associates it with Beth Ha-Ramta, which Herod Antipas had fortified and renamed Livias, in honor of the Roman empress. After Augustus's death in 14 C.E., he named the town Julias, after the name the deceased emperor's wife had taken according to the terms of Augustus's will. Up to the Byzantine period, Beth Haram was the administrative headquarters of its region.

Beth Ha-Ramta *see* BETH HARAM

Beth Haran *see* BETH HARAM

Beth Horon two cities, referred to at Joshua 16:5 (Upper Beth Horon) and Joshua 16:3 and 18:13 (Lower Beth Horon); located at the western end of the Ephraimite Mountains, on the road from Gibeon to the coastal plain. Syrian attempts to attack the Land of Israel through Beth Horon were repulsed by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. 3:13ff; 2 Macc. 15:35f.). Several talmudic scholars are said to have come from Beth Horon.

Beth Horon, Battle of battle in which Judas Maccabeus defeated a Seleucid force under the command of Seron, which had been sent to suppress his rebellion at Beth Horon, 12 miles northwest of Jerusalem. The road between Lydda and the coast went through a narrow, steep ascent at the villages of Lower Beth Horon and Upper Beth Horon. Thus, Judas's small force was able to rout the larger Syrian force by using guerrilla tactics (1 Macc. 3:13–24).

Beth Kerem in the First Temple and Second Temple periods, a village near Jerusalem; in Jeremiah 6:1, referred to as a fortress on the road to Tekoa, where beacons were lit in times of danger. M. Middot 3:4 reports that the stones for the building of the Temple altar came from the valley of Beth Kerem. The Dead Sea writings comparably refer to a valley of Beth Kerem, including, in the Copper Scroll, the mention of this valley in a list of places where treasure is hidden.

Beth Laban the present-day Beth Rima and Lubban, about 20 miles northwest of Jerusalem, referred to at M. Menaḥot 8:6 as one of the locations in which wine used in Temple rites was produced. The name is also given as Beth Luban.

Bethlehem (North) village of Lower Galilee in the territory of Sepphoris during the Second Temple period. This may be biblical Bethlehem of the tribal territory of Zebulun in Joshua 19:15. After the destruction of the Second Temple it is listed as the seat of the priestly course of Malchiah. In the Jerusalem Talmud it was called Bethlehem Soraiya or Tyrian Bethlehem (Y. Megillah 70a), which suggests that it once belonged to Acco-Ptolemais rather than Sepphoris. The modern village of Beit Lahm now occupies the site in Lower Galilee. The ancient village remains have not yet been excavated.

Bethlehem (South) city in the territory of Judah about 10 kilometers south of Jerusalem; the city of David (1 Sam. 17:12) and the birthplace of Jesus (Matt. 2:1–12; Luke 2:1–7). Although Bethlehem was mentioned in the Egyptian Amarna letters of the fourteenth century B.C.E., it was as the birthplace of David that it emerged from relative obscurity (1 Sam. 16). When David was involved in a campaign against the Philistines, who had placed a garrison in the town, he pined for a drink from the well of Bethlehem (2 Sam. 23:5). Despite the fact that it was a walled city, David did not make it his capital, choosing instead Jerusalem because he wished to break with all tribal affiliations. Subsequently, the town was a border fortress of the southern kingdom (2 Chron. 11:6). Its continued prominence in the literature was based on the promise to David that the Messiah would be from his house. It thus became associated with the birthplace of the Messiah.

According to Ezra 2:21, only a small contingent of people returned to Bethlehem from Babylon. At

Herod the Great's building of the fortress of Herodium, Bethlehem grew in importance, since it overlooked both the roads to Herodium and to Masada. Herod built the aqueduct of Jerusalem from Bethlehem, which stands on a hill higher than the Temple Mount.

According to both Matthew and Luke, Jesus was born in Bethlehem, though only the latter evangelist mentions the census of Quirinius as the reason for his parents being there at the time of the birth. The place is not mentioned again in the New Testament.

Bethlehem plays little role in Jewish or Christian history in the Roman period, and c. 200 C.E., Christian authors note that no Jews lived in Bethlehem in that day. About 246 C.E., Origen, the Christian writer, mentions those who show the cave where Jesus was born, probably to Christian pilgrims. In the fourth century the emperor Constantine built an imperial church in Bethlehem, namely, the Church of the Nativity, begun in 326 C.E. He may also have stabilized the tradition of the location of David's tomb, which is lost today.

From the fourth century, Christian pilgrimage to Bethlehem was so much a fact of economic life that a large contingent of Christian monks and clergy lived in the vicinity to care for travelers. The Church of the Nativity, according to archaeological reconstruction, was organized in three or four architectural units. One approached the nave through a forecourt with a porch on four sides. The nave featured double rows of columns on either side and opened directly onto the octagon on the east, which was built directly above the cave. The octagon was decorated in fine mosaics with birds, geometric figures, and grapes. At the end of the fourth century, St. Jerome (Hieronymus) settled in Bethlehem with a company of matrons and founded two monasteries. Since Jerome learned Hebrew from the rabbis, evidently Jews again lived in the vicinity. The Church of the Nativity was destroyed in the Samaritan Revolt of 529 C.E. and was rebuilt by the emperor Justinian. A cloverleaf triple apse was built in place of the octagon and can be seen today. Justinian's architect enlarged the church but used columns and other elements from Constantine's church. Today's entrance is from the south transept, but otherwise one views mainly the church of Justinian.

Beth Netopha *see* NETOPHA

Beth Nimra town in the territory of Gad, on land taken from the Amorite king Sihon (Num. 32:36; Josh. 13:27). In rabbinic sources, Beth Nimra is designated as a valley in the Galilee, an important consideration in the application of the law of the Sabbatical year (T. Shebiit 7:11).

Beth Phage walled village on the Mount of Olives, in Second Temple times deemed to mark the eastern limit of Jerusalem (see M. Menahot 11:2). Beth Phage is the city in which Jesus found the ass on which he rode into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–2; Mark 11:1–2).

Beth Ramah town in the Galilee, referred to by Abot deRabbi Natan B, chapter 27 (version A: Ramat Bene-Anat), where Yohanan's student Joshua investigated a hasid who is said not to have known the rules regarding the uncleanness of stoves and ovens. The site may be the same as Rum Beth Anat, referred to at T. Mikvaot 6:3.

Bethsaida-Julias city built by Herod Philip on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, near the entrance of the Jordan River into the lake. Bethsaida (Aram., house of fishermen) was already a Jewish village before Herod Philip's building activities. Herod built the city in grand style, granted it the status of a city, and called it Julias in honor of Augustus's daughter, though after Julias's disgrace the honor referred to Augustus's wife, Livia. Although Herod Philip built his capital north of Bethsaida at Paneas (Caesarea-Philippi), he decreed that he was to be buried at Bethsaida. In the New Testament Bethsaida is the home of three of Jesus' disciples: Philip, Andrew, and Peter (John 1:44, 12:21). Later Bethsaida was transferred to the kingdom of Agrippa I. Bethsaida seems to have had an anchorage on the lake. The later rabbinic literature confuses the name of Sidon (Besidon) with Bethsaida, which makes research difficult regarding the role the city played in later Jewish history. Today the tell, called simply *et-tell* in Arabic, is usually identified with Julias, while the villages on the shore would be regarded as parts of the original settlements. More recent geological analysis implies that the lake shore has changed considerably in the past two millennia, probably because of seismic activity. In antiquity it is likely that the lake extended inland to et-Tell (Julias), which makes its identification as Bethsaida-Julias more credible. Recent archaeological exploration has unearthed the biblical city at the tell, but little remains of Herod Philip's constructions. More of Herod Philip's city may lie beneath the alluvium formed by the Jordan over the past two millennia.

Beth Shean city of the Persian period to the Arab Conquest, identical with the biblical city (1 Sam. 31:10) and located at the east end of the Jezreel Plain near the Jordan Valley. After the destruction of the biblical city at the hands of Tiglath Pileser

III, only scant occupation was to be found on the ancient city mound, including finds of Persian period figurines. However, the city gained new life in the Hellenistic period, when it surrendered to Antiochus III (the Great) upon his invasion of Palestine in 218 B.C.E. Beth Shean already controlled an extensive territory, for it was observed then that the city could support Antiochus's entire army. The city had already become known as Scythopolis or city of the Scythians, though no satisfactory reason for this name has been discovered. The city was also known as Nysa or Nysa Scythopolis, probably originally named for a Seleucid princess. Nysa is also the name of the mythological nymph who is reported to have raised the Greek god Dionysus. This is the most common name found on the coins of Beth Shean, which indicates that the city adopted veneration of Nysa (and Dionysus) as its official worship. Evidently, the city was virtually wholly gentile in this period (2 Macc. 12:29–31). The city figured in the confrontation of Judas Maccabeus with Seleucid Greek forces after the rededication of the Temple (I Macc. 5:52). Excavations of Hellenistic Scythopolis or Nysa have revealed houses with handles of wine jars imported from Rhodes and Cnidos, 65 kilometers northwest of Rhodes. Scythopolis therefore participated in trade in the eastern Mediterranean network. Hellenistic Scythopolis passed into the power of the Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus about 106 B.C.E. In 63 B.C.E., however, the Roman general Pompey separated Scythopolis from Jewish rule. The earliest coins of the city seem to mention Gabinius, the Roman governor. Beth Shean-Scythopolis joined the Decapolis, or league of (ordinarily) ten Hellenistic cities, all of which except Scythopolis were located across the Jordan. Soon Beth Shean-Scythopolis became the leading city of the Decapolis.

Beth Shean-Scythopolis became a prominent and busy metropolis that dominated the north–south road in the Jordan Valley and its crossing with the west–east road from the coastal, Hellenistic cities. This road led inland to markets such as the Decapolis and Damascus. A large Jewish population developed in the city, for by the time of the First Revolt 13,000 Jews were killed at Beth Shean. By the third century C.E., the city territory of Beth Shean-Scythopolis included about 30 Roman miles of the Jordan Valley to the east of the city. The city territory extended nearly 30 miles westward into the Beth Shean valley.

The excavations at Beth Shean have uncovered an extensive Roman and Byzantine city finally destroyed in the earthquake of 749 C.E. The theater of Beth Shean has been excavated for some time and is usually dated to the second century C.E. Its stage is 54.6 meters long. A colonnaded street, called the Palladius Street after a governor whose name appears in a Greek inscription in the sidewalk, ran northeast from the theater to a central temple and its plaza. Shops stood on either side of the colonnade, and a large bath complex of the sixth century C.E. occupied nearly 6,000 square meters on the north side of the street. A semicircular structure recently identified as a brothel also stood on the north side of the street. The street may have been built in the fourth century and refurbished in the sixth century. It seems likely that it followed the course of an earlier street.

The Roman temple contained an inscription in Greek mentioning the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (161–180 C.E.) which reads in part, "the people of Nysa also [called] the people of Scythopolis . . . one of Coele Syria's Greek cities(. . ." East of the Roman temple stood a second century C.E. Nymphaeum or public fountain watered by an aqueduct. At the Roman temple, a second Roman and Byzantine, colonnaded street intersected the Palladius Street and led southeast past the Nymphaeum and past a Roman-period monument, both of which stood on the south side of this second street. A third street led northeast away from the monument. A public basilica or a roofed Roman structure with rows of columns on the interior stood southwest of the monument. It dates to the first century C.E. and contained, probably not in its original place, a hexagonal altar of Dionysus. The altar contains a Greek dedicatory inscription with a date that corresponds to 12 C.E. Elsewhere an altar dedicated to the Egyptian-Greek god Serapus was found. Both these altars were donated by a certain Seleucos, son of Ariston.

A large amphitheater stood some 270 meters south of the theater. A large street paved with black basalt blocks connected the two. The amphitheater, used for games and gladiatorial contests, measures 102 by 67 meters on the outside with an arena that measures 83 by 48 meters. The excavators believe that it was first erected in the second century C.E. A Byzantine street and residential quarter stood on the north side of the amphitheater. That is, it appears that the amphitheater was first built in an area where no houses stood, but eventually, certainly by the fifth century C.E., a residential quarter developed beside this public building. One of the lamps found in this quarter bore a relief of a menorah. A cloth bag was also

found that contained a hoard of bronze coins of the mid-sixth century C.E. From the Roman period it is clear that Beth Shean-Scythopolis supported a vigorous population of Greek-speaking Jews, Christians, and pagans. The structures dedicated to Greek gods were only destroyed from the fourth century onward with the Christianization of the empire.

Beth Shean Synagogue synagogue site east of the city gate of the Roman/Byzantine city of Beth Shean, which lies in the Beth Shean valley, east of the Jezreel plain. The building, called the House of Kyrios Leontis (Lord Leontis) after a Greek inscription in one of its floors, was only partially excavated. The building proved to be several rooms built around a central courtyard paved with mosaics, but the courtyard was not square with the external walls of the building. On the north side were three rooms; a mosaic floor in the western room depicts scenes from the Odyssey. In the center was a Greek dedicatory inscription that mentions a certain Jonathan and his brother Kyrios Leontis, who donated the mosaic. A five-branched menorah accompanies the inscription. In the lower half of the mosaic there is a Nile scene, complete with a depiction of a nilometer, a device to measure the flooding of the Nile. There is also a depiction of a city marked "Alexandria" in Greek. On the south side of the courtyard and opposite the House of Kyrios Leontis stood a single door, which opened into an interior space (7 m × 7 m) that proved to be worship space for a synagogue. Low benches were built against the walls of the prayer space; the walls had been plastered and painted red. Entrance and egress was through the north door and a second door on the east.

The floor of the prayer space was paved with a mosaic, the border of which is a wide vine-trellis pattern with repeated birds, baskets, etrogs, and other motifs. The center of the mosaic depicts a seven-branched menorah with an etrog to the left and an incense censer hanging from three chains to the right. Originally, there was probably also a shofar to the right, now destroyed. The menorah is unusual in that it is fairly elaborate: its stem and branches form buds. The branches end in a horizontal strip upon which sit seven cups. Within the seven cups there stand seven green glass lamps bearing single flames. The word "shalom" is written in Hebrew letters above the menorah. A square panel surrounds the menorah. This panel is divided by a meandering vine emerging from an amphora into nine medallions; the central medallion contains the menorah. The other medallions originally contained two facing bulls, two facing goats, and two facing pheasants pecking grapes. In the central top medallion stood a facing peacock. The surrounding border between the central square panel and the outside vine trellis contains an amphora at each corner from which a vine sprouts. In and among the vine tendrils one sees two lion cubs, while a fox chases a hare on the north side and a dog chases a deer on the opposite side. On the east one sees a bear, a stag, and an elephant. On the west side a long Aramaic inscription honors "all the members of the holy congregation who endeavored to repair the holy place." A shorter Aramaic inscription beneath a vase flanked by two guinea hens reads, "Be remembered for good the artisan who made this work." To the east of the outer border of the mosaic is a fragment of a Greek inscription between two facing pheasants. The inscription was added after the mosaic was in place, perhaps replacing an earlier dedication. It reads, "The gift of those whom the Lord knows the names. He shall guard them in times. . . ." The date of the mosaic floor is given as sixth century C.E., though it may have been built slightly earlier. The building went out of use as a synagogue at the end of the Byzantine period, or early seventh century C.E. It is possible that the whole complex is an inn, used for hospitality to travelers, with an appropriate prayer space.

Beth Shearim ancient Jewish town site in western Galilee, famous for its synagogue and Jewish catacombs of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Josephus mentions Beth Shearim under the name Besara and describes it as a village in southern Galilee on the border with Acco-Ptolemais. According to rabbinic literature, famous rabbis lived and were often buried at Beth Shearim, such as Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri of the second century C.E., but above all Judah the Patriarch (the Prince) of the third century C.E. Rabbi Judah moved to Sepphoris for his health, but after his death was brought to Beth Shearim for burial. Excavations at Beth Shearim reveal a village or town that begins in the Herodian period. This town expanded considerably from about 200 C.E. and includes a fine public basilica and the beginnings of the necropolis. The period of the synagogue is from about 250 C.E. until its destruction during the Gallus Revolt in 351 C.E. This building measured about 15 by 35 meters in extent, with interior columnation dividing the space into a nave and two side aisles.

Marble slabs were fixed to the walls on the interior with inscriptions honoring donors in Greek. In one of the small rooms annexed to the northwest

side of the synagogue, there appeared two Greek inscriptions, one of which mentions a Rabbi Samuel who prepared the dead, and the second of which mentions Jacob of Caesarea, head of the synagogue of Pamphylia (then in Hebrew Shalom). Near the raised platform or *bimah* at the far end of the synagogue was found a marble slab that mentions a Rabbi Thietetos. The necropolis contains a series of catacombs or interconnecting, underground chambers for burial. It is clear that Jews from many communities outside the land of Israel were reburied here, including Jews from Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Antioch, Palmyra, and Nahardea in Mesopotamia. Tomb architecture varied with the period. Many have courtyards or exterior corridors leading to stone doors that swing on hinges and open into burial halls. Several have spendid rock-cut facades with elaborate portals. The graves within are sometimes pit graves, sometimes arcosolia or arches above rock-cut sarcophagi, or free-standing sarcophagi. Some burials were in stone or lead coffins, but most were in special slots (*kokhim*, or loculi) cut into the walls. Catacomb 1, which was quite elaborate, included 400 burial places in sixteen halls.

Beth Shearim is famous as a huge repository of Jewish funeral art. In many catacombs one might see in relief on the walls such motifs as a horse and rider, menorahs in relief or incised into the stone, a Torah ark, or a man carrying a menorah on his head. The art on the sarcophagi repeated some of these motifs and used others as well: the Torah ark, Leda and the swan, two lions on either side of a bull's head, an eagle with outstretched wings, and two lions on either side of an object. Numerous fragments of marble sculpture in the round were found, ordinarily understood to be from sarcophagi. Other finds included lamps, a few glass vessels, coins, and some jewelry. Almost all the catacombs had been broken into and looted.

Beth Zur, Battles of battles between Judas Maccabeus and Seleucid forces. Beth Zur, at the top of a mountain ridge 15 miles south of Jerusalem, guarded the southern approach to Jerusalem. Lysias, the Seleucid general, encamped there in 165 B.C.E. before his defeat by Judas Maccabeus and their subsequent truce. Judas then fortified Beth Zur. In 165 B.C.E. Lysias and Antiochus V besieged Beth Zur and then defeated Judas Maccabeus in battle at Beth Zechariah, a few miles north on the road to Jerusalem. This resulted eventually in a truce and a Syrian garrison in Beth Zur (1 Macc. 6:28–50).

betrothal legal relationship between two partners who will later consummate their union with a wedding (see Jos. Asen. 21). Betrothals could be contracted between the suitor and the woman's parents (Tob., Jos. Asen.) or between two fathers. Tobit records the first mention of a *ketubah*, or marriage contract (7:13). According to Josephus (*War* 2.18.3), Essene men test their wives for three years prior to marriage, but the Dead Sea Scrolls do not mention this practice. According to Matthew 1:18 (see also Luke 2:5), Mary became pregnant while betrothed to Joseph but before they had had intercourse. *See also* ERUSIN; KIDDUSHIN.

Betulia setting of the Book of Judith (4:6), in what may be Samaria. The name is otherwise unattested, is similar to the Hebrew for "virgin" (*betulah*), and enhances Judith's identification with her ancestor Simeon, who had protected his (virgin) sister from foreign defilement (Gen. 34); thus the site may be fictional like the rest of Judith's narrative.

betzah *see* EGG'S BULK; LOG

Betzah Mishnah tractate, also called Yom Tob (festival), on preparing food on a festival day. Scripture permits preparing food on a festival day, though not on the Sabbath (Exod. 12:16). Food for use on the festival must be designated for that purpose, in fact or at least potentially, prior to the festival day; the preparation must be done in some manner different from the way in which food is prepared on secular days. A distinction is drawn between actually preparing food and acts of labor not directly pertaining to the actual preparation but relevant thereto. Both Talmuds provide commentaries to this tractate.

Biblical Antiquities, Book of a rewriting of the biblical story from Adam to Saul's death. It is sixty-five chapters long. There are twenty-one extant manuscripts, eighteen complete and three fragmentary, dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries C.E. All manuscripts are in Latin, but it is likely that the original work was in Hebrew and was translated into Greek and later into Latin. The work was written in Palestine, probably around the middle of the first century C.E. The English title is a translation of the Latin Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (LAB), a title first found in a manuscript from the sixteenth century. The work was transmitted among Latin translations of the works of Philo of Alexandria, but it is not by Philo.

The genre of the Biblical Antiquities is rewritten Bible. It rewrites the Bible very freely. It omits large portions of the biblical text, adds much material, and alters biblical stories liberally. The additions consist of names, hymns, visions, speeches,

narratives, and so on. The author shows a pronounced interest in major characters, especially leaders. God's direct role in Israel's history is emphasized.

Although the Biblical Antiquities contains apocalyptic elements, such as descriptions of the end of time, judgment, visions, and angels, it is not an apocalypse, nor do the apocalyptic elements determine the tone of the whole. Creation and eschaton provide a frame that stresses God's control of history and the moral structure of the universe. The most prominent theme is the indestructibility of God's covenant with Israel. Israel is frequently unfaithful and is punished, but God never cancels the divine relationship with Israel. The Deuteronomistic pattern of sin, punishment, and salvation occurs repeatedly throughout the book. A related theme is that every sin is punished, and that the punishment fits the crime. The Biblical Antiquities is strongly against intermarriage with Gentiles. Idolatry is of special concern, and the role of women is remarkably important.

The Biblical Antiquities is an important example of the retelling of the Bible that probably took place in first-century Palestinian synagogues. Since it cannot be traced to a specific Jewish group and since attempts to assign it a polemical purpose have been unsuccessful, it represents a mainstream, scribal adaptation of the Bible to first-century conditions. It affords the earliest attestation for many traditions known from later documents, and supplies details and traditions not found in other texts.

Biblical Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, BIBLICAL

biblical interpretation *see* SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION

biblical scenes scenes in Jewish art taken from the Hebrew Bible. In general, the representations of biblical figures and events conform to the conventions of art in the times and places where they were produced, with few exceptions. Most biblical scenes appear in wall frescoes and in mosaics. One of the most famous is in a late synagogue mosaic floor at Beth Alpha in the east end of the Jezreel Plain near Beth Shean. The first panel at the entrance to the worship space depicts the binding of Isaac (the *akedah*) in a simple, even primitive style. We see two pack animals to the left with two servants waiting patiently. Abraham is standing to the right, knife in hand, in front of a blazing altar to the right. Isaac is about to be laid on the altar, but a hand reaches out from a cloud at top center with the injunction in Hebrew "Do not extend [your hand]!" To the left of the hand of the angel a ram waits, its horns tangled in the bush. A Hebrew inscription reads, "Behold the ram." The artists have thoughtfully labeled the two main characters in Hebrew. Other biblical scenes known in synagogue floors include King David playing the harp in a floor from Gaza and David as a boy with Goliath's arms stacked beside him in the mosaic floor from Marous, likely ancient Meroth. A parade of animals from the synagogue at Gerasa is usually interpreted as a scene from Noah's ark. The mosaic floor at Naaran may depict Daniel in the lion's den. On the other hand, the biblical scenes painted in fresco on the walls of the third-century synagogue at Dura-Europos in ancient Syria are breathtaking. In these fifty-eight scenes, one can see Abraham (also in the *akedah*), Moses, Aaron, Jacob, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, and Ezekiel. All are dressed in the fashion of the mid-third century C.E.

Bikurim Mishnah tractate devoted to the laws governing the presentation of firstfruits in the Temple in Jerusalem, in line with Deuteronomy 26:1–11 and Leviticus 23:9–21, and the appropriate declaration on that occasion. At issue are the classes of persons who present firstfruits and make that declaration, those who present the firstfruits but make no declaration, and those exempt from presenting firstfruits. The tractate further compares the rules that govern firstfruits, heave-offering, second tithe, and similar matters. Chapter 3 describes the disposition of firstfruits from when they are designated as such until they reach the hands of the priest in the Jerusalem Temple. The Talmud of the Land of Israel provides a commentary to this tractate.

bimah (Heb.) platform from which worship is led in synagogue

binding of Isaac *see* AKEDAH

birds excluding eagles, a minor motif in Jewish art. Birds figure in mosaic floors, especially in inhabited scrolls, which are multiple circles formed of vines. In these contexts, birds are sometimes so accurately portrayed the species can be identified. Birds also appear in some surprising contexts, as for example on either side of the Torah shrine, or *aedicula,* in the mosaic floor at Beth Alpha. The "bird in a cage" motif is used, borrowed from Graeco-Roman art. Birds are the primary decorative element in certain Byzantine mosaic panels, as for example in the floor of the En-Gedi synagogue. The peacock may receive special place, but this is likely due to the magnificence of its plumage rather than any symbolic value. Birds often appear in relief in stone plaques or as part of Nile scenes in more or less bucolic representations in houses. "Birds pecking grapes" also appears as a minor motif in certain synagogue floors.

Birkat Abelim (Heb., blessing of mourners) mourners' blessing. It was known in Tannaitic times, but it is no longer extant.

Birkat Abodah (Heb., blessing of worship) the seventeenth benediction of the daily Amidah and the first of the final section known as "Thanksgiving." The blessing praises God for accepting worship. After 70 C.E. it included a prayer for the restoration of the sacrificial cult. Liberal Jews generally omit the petition for restoration.

Birkat Abot (Heb., blessing of the fathers) the first benediction of the Amidah. It asks God to deal graciously with those who offer prayer, not because they deserve it, but because of the merit they inherit from the patriarchs. *See also* ZEKHUT ABOT.

Birkat Binah (Heb., blessing of discernment) the fourth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the first of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer requests wisdom from God.

Birkat David (Heb., blessing of David) the fifteenth paragraph of the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. The benediction asks for the restoration of the house of David and messianic salvation and alludes to the phrasing of Jeremiah 33:15: "I will cause a righteous branch to spring up for David; and he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land." The Talmud of the Land of Israel supposes that this paragraph in the liturgy was part of the preceding one, which makes reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem (cf. Tos. Ber. 3:25). Some scholars see in it an anti-Christian polemic. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat Erusin (Heb., blessing of betrothal) blessing that marks *erusin,* the first of the two stages constituting rabbinic marriage. It is recited at the bride's home prior to the interlude separating betrothal from marriage proper (i.e., the second stage that occurs later, at which time the bride takes up residence with the groom). The prayer affirms the couple's intention to live apart until the second stage of marriage takes place.

Birkat Geburot (Heb., blessing of god's might) the second benediction of the Amidah, praising God for divine saving power, and stipulating specifically the resurrection of the dead and rain (the means by which the world of nature is revived and a symbol for human resurrection).

Birkat Geulah (Heb., blessing of redemption) the seventh paragraph of the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. The benediction concludes with the prayer "Blessed art thou, Lord, who redeems Israel," which was understood as a reference to future salvation. The label Birkat Geulah may also refer to the liturgy that follows the Shema and precedes the prayer of eighteen blessings, which makes reference to the past redemption from Egypt. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat haAretz (Heb., blessing of the land) the second paragraph in the standard rabbinic blessings of the meal, ascribed by tradition to Joshua at the conquest of the Land of Israel (Ber. 48b). The prayer invokes major mythic and symbolic themes of Israel (the Exodus, circumcision, the Torah and its laws) and cites Deuteronomy 8:10, "And you shall eat and you shall be satisfied and you shall bless the Lord your God," as the scriptural basis for the meal blessings. *See also* BIRKAT HAMAZON.

Birkat haHodesh (Heb., blessing of the month) This benediction is recited in the synagogue on the Sabbath after the reading of the Torah to announce and pray for good fortune in the new month that begins during the following week.

Birkat haMazon (Heb., blessing for food) grace after meals, recited after eating a meal that has included bread; made up of four principal blessings. The first blessing praises God for nourishing all creatures ("blessed . . . who nourishes all things"); the second gives thanks for the Land of Israel, redemption from Egypt, the covenant of circumcision, and the revelation of the Torah; the third asks mercy on Israel, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the restoration of Davidic rule; and the fourth gives thanks for God's goodness.

The principal liturgy is as follows: "Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, King of the Universe, who nourishes all the world by his goodness, in grace, in mercy, and in compassion: He gives bread to all flesh, for his mercy is everlasting. And because of his great goodness we have never lacked, and so may we never lack, sustenance—for the sake of his great Name. For He nourishes and feeds everyone, is good to all, and provides food for each one of the creatures He created. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who feeds everyone. We thank Thee, Lord our God, for having given our fathers as a heritage a pleasant, a good and spacious land; for having taken us out of the land of Egypt, for having redeemed us from the house of bondage; for thy covenant, which Thou hast set as a seal in our flesh, for thy Torah which Thou has taught us, for thy statutes which Thou hast made known to us, for the life of grace and mercy Thou hast graciously bestowed upon us, and for the nourishment with which Thou dost nourish us and feed us always, every day, in every season, and every hour. For all these things, Lord our God, we thank and praise Thee; may thy praises continually be in the mouth of every living thing, as it is written,

And thou shalt eat and be satisfied, and bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, for the land and its food. O Lord our God, have pity on thy people Israel, on thy city Jerusalem, on Zion the place of thy glory, on the royal house of David thy Messiah, and on the great and holy house which is called by thy Name. Our God, our Father, feed us and speed us, nourish us and make us flourish, unstintingly, O Lord our God, speedily free us from all distress. And let us not, O Lord our God, find ourselves in need of gifts from flesh and blood, or of a loan from anyone save from thy full, generous, abundant, wide-open hand; so we may never be humiliated, or put to shame. O rebuild Jerusalem, the holy city, speedily in our day. Blessed art Thou, Lord, who in mercy will rebuild Jerusalem. Amen. Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, King of the Universe, Thou God, who art our Father, our powerful king, our creator and redeemer, who made us, our holy one, the holy one of Jacob, our shepherd, shepherd of Israel, the good king, who visits his goodness upon all; for every single day He has brought good, He does bring good, He will bring good upon us; He has rewarded us, does regard, and will always reward us, with grace, mercy and compassion, amplitude, deliverance and prosperity, blessing and salvation, comfort, and a living, sustenance, pity and peace, and all good—let us not want any manner of good whatever."

Birkat haMinim (Heb., blessing for the heretics) the twelfth paragraph of the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. Also called the "Blessing for the Sadducees" and the "Curse of the Slanderers," it asks for the destruction of the enemies, traitors, and apostates. The Talmud attributes it to Samuel the Younger (c. 100 C.E.) on behalf of Gamaliel II and his court at Yavneh. The wording was modified to mollify medieval religious authorities who thought it was an anti-Christian polemic. It should be viewed as an imprecation against dissenters within Judaism. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat haMishpat (Heb., blessing of justice) the eleventh paragraph in the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. It is also known as Birkat haDin, the "blessing of judgment." The concluding formula, "Blessed are you, Lord, the King who loves righteousness and justice," is changed to "the just King" between New Year and the Day of Atonement to reflect the solemnity of the season. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat haNehenim (Heb., blessing for benefits) recited before partaking of food, drink, fragrances, and pleasant vistas. The standard rabbinic formulary usually praises God for creating the material from which one is to benefit. The recitation does not bestow any blessing upon the substance or change its status in any way.

Birkat haShanim (Heb., blessing of the years) the ninth paragraph of the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. The benediction asks for material prosperity and during the winter, the words "grant us dew and rain for a blessing" are added. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat haShir (Heb., blessing of the song) also known as Nishmat. It is commonly recited at the Passover Seder for the fourth cup of wine and in the morning service for sabbaths and festivals. More a poem than a formal blessing, it thanks God for sustenance and salvation.

Birkat Ḥatanim (Heb., blessing of the bridegrooms) the seven blessings recited at a rabbinic marriage ceremony and at the meals of the first week of celebrations thereafter, provided there are new guests at each meal as specified by the Talmud (B. Ketub. 7b–8a). They make reference to creation, the joy of Zion and Jerusalem in the messianic age, and to the joy of a bridegroom and bride. The substance of the texts of the blessings after (1) the blessing for the wine is as follows: (2) "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who created all things for his glory"; (3) "Blessed art thou . . . who creates humans"; (4) "Blessed art thou . . . who created humans in his image, according to his likeness, and established from them an everlasting paradigm. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who creates humans"; (5) "The barren one will surely be glad and rejoice when her children are gathered into her with happiness. Blessed art thou . . . who brings joy to Zion through her children"; (6) "The loving companions will surely rejoice just as your creatures rejoiced in Eden of old. Blessed art thou . . . who makes the groom and bride rejoice"; (7) "Blessed art thou . . . who created joy and gladness, groom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love, brotherhood, peace, and companionship. Soon, O Lord our God, may there be heard in the towns of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the groom and bride, the jubilant voice of grooms from their marriage canopies and of youths from their feasts of song. Blessed art thou . . . who makes the groom rejoice with the bride."

Birkat haTob Vehametib (Heb., blessing of the good one who does good) the fourth section in the standard rabbinic blessing of the meal. The Talmud considers this the latest addition to that liturgy,

added as an affirmation of faith after the Jews buried the martyrs who died in the Bar Kokhba rebellion (Ber. 48b). *See also* BIRKAT HAMAZON.

Birkat haTorah (Heb., blessing of the Torah) blessing recited before and after reading verses of the Torah: "who has chosen us from all nations and has given us your Torah" or "who has given us the true Torah and planted in our midst eternal life."

Birkat haTzadikim (Heb., blessing of the righteous) the thirteenth paragraph of the standardized rabbinic daily prayer of originally eighteen blessings. The benediction asks for mercy for the pious, the elders, the scribes, and the true proselytes. Scholars consider it to have originated in the time of the Maccabees; based on their interpretation of "the remnants of their scribes" included in the blessing. *See also* AMIDAH.

Birkat haZan (Heb., blessing of the provider) the first paragraph in the standard rabbinic blessing of the meal. The benediction expresses gratitude for providing food for all creatures. The Talmud suggests that Moses formulated this blessing when the manna came down for Israel (Ber. 48b). *See also* BIRKAT HAMAZON.

Birkat haZeman (Heb., blessing of the season) a blessing (known less technically as Shehehiyanu) said at numerous occasions throughout the year such as the onset of holidays and the first harvest. The prayer thanks God "for giving us life, for sustaining us, and for bringing us to this season."

Birkat hoDayah (Heb., blessing of thanksgiving) the eighteenth benediction of the daily Amidah, and the second of the final section known as "Thanksgiving." The prayer offers gratitude to God.

Birkat Kibbutz Geluyot (Heb., blessing of the exiles' return) the tenth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the seventh of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer requests the messianic return of all Jews from wherever they may dwell to the Land of Israel.

Birkat Kohanim *see* PRIESTLY BENEDICTION

Birkat Refuah (Heb., blessing of healing) the eighth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the fifth of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer requests the healing of the sick.

Birkat Selihah (Heb., blessing of forgiveness) the sixth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the third of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer requests God's forgiveness.

Birkat Shalom (Heb., blessing of peace) a late term used to refer to the final blessing of the Amidah. It is a prayer for peace that includes the Priestly Benediction.

Birkat Shomea Tefilah (Heb., blessing of [the one] who hears prayer) the sixteenth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the last of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer praises God for hearing prayer and implicitly asks that the petitions just offered as part of the Amidah be accepted.

Birkat Teshubah (Heb., blessing of repentance) the fifth benediction of the daily Amidah (and the second of the intermediary petitionary blessings). The prayer praises God for renewing the covenantal relationship with those who abandon their sinful ways and return to God in repentance.

Birkat Yerushalaim (Heb., blessing for Jerusalem) the third section in the standard rabbinic blessing of the meal. The benediction appeals for mercy on Israel, Jerusalem, the house of David, and for sustenance. *See also* BIRKAT HAMAZON.

birth, miraculous a birth resulting from a conception directly initiated by God. Three major figures in the Hebrew Bible are conceived after God "opened the womb" of a barren woman: Isaac, Samson, and Samuel. Each person advances God's purposes. Isaac fulfills God's promises that Abraham will engender the covenant people (Gen. 12:1–3, 15:1–6, 17:1–21). Samson will "begin to deliver" (Heb.: *yasha,* save) Israel (Judg. 13). Samuel was judge and prophet (1 Sam. 1:1–2:11). Less explicit is the case of Immanuel (Isa. 7:10–17); however, the announcement formula in 7:14 recalls Judges 13:3, and the child's function as a sign suggests divine intervention with the unnamed young woman (*almah*). Two prophetic call texts also fit this category; the servant of YHWH (Isa. 49:1) and Jeremiah (Jer. 1:5) trace their commissioning to the womb.

The story of the seven brothers and their mother in 2 Maccabees 7 interprets the old traditions. Although the mother's comment about the mystery of their conception could be a commonplace about God's creative power (vv. 22–23, 27), the number seven is reminiscent of Hannah's song (1 Sam. 2:5), and the story's allusions to Deutero-Isaianic servant theology recall Isaiah 49:1, especially given the sons' role as God's spokesmen (Isa. 50:4–8). Thus the story hints at God's intervention in the conception of the young men whose deaths initiate the return of God's favor to Israel (2 Macc. 7:37–38, 8:5). In the story of Noah's birth (1 Enoch 106–107; 1QapGen 2), Lamech misunderstands the child's radiant appearance at birth as evidence that he had been conceived through intercourse with a watcher. In fact, it signals his role in preserving humanity from the flood's destruction. Lamech's

misperception is set against the background of 1 Enoch 6–11, where the watchers mate with women and produce malevolent giants. This tradition, which reflects Greek notions and may be a parody on the Hellenistic kings' claims of divine parentage, offers an etiology for destruction and violence and thus inverts the notion that God initiates the conception of savior figures.

Stories about Jesus' conception in Matthew 1 and Luke 1 draw heavily on biblical and Second Temple Jewish traditions. Matthew 1 is beholden to Judges 13, employs the Noah story's motif of the husband's suspicion, and quotes Isaiah 7:14, following the Septuagint translation of *almah* as *parthenos,* "virgin." Luke 1–2, with its focus on Mary, draws motifs and language from 1 Samuel 1–2. Although the stories share the biblical notion that God intervenes in the conception of savior figures, the virginal conception differs qualitatively from its prototypes since contemporary physiology required male seed to effect conception in the barren field of the womb.

Paul affirms the importance of his mission by alluding to Isaiah 49 and Jeremiah 1 and attributing his call to God's choice before his birth (Gal. 1:15). His reference to himself as an "abortion" plays on this image by seeing his persecution of the church as a rejection of his prenatal divine call (1 Cor. 15:7–9).

birth, monstrous the birth of deformed animals or human beings, of creatures of mixed species, or of one species by another. Religious texts ranging from ancient Mesopotamia to the classical Mediterranean world attest the belief that such births are omens of bad things to come, and a whole science developed to interpret their meaning. The descriptions of the beasts in Daniel 7:4–8 and the eagle in 2 Esdras 11 reflect such a tradition. 2 Esdras 5:8 lists the human birth of monsters as one of a plethora of signs that reflect the confusion of creation as the world nears the end time.

biur ḥametz (Heb.) the burning of leaven on the morning preceding the Passover seder. Since Israelites leaving Egypt had no time to wait for bread to rise, the Bible (Exod. 13:3) bans leavened food throughout Passover. After all such foodstuffs are removed, the last crumbs are sought out at night, usually with a feather as scoop and a candle for light, and burned ceremoniously the next morning.

B.J. *see* WAR OF THE JEWS

blameless translation of Greek *amemptos* used by Paul in Philippians 3:6 to describe his pre-Christian life as a pious Pharisee: "As to righteousness according to the law [I was] blameless." The same term describes the parents of John the Baptist in Luke 1:6: "Both of them were righteous before God, being blameless in their observance of the commandments." Paul's claim in Philippians 3:6, which seems at odds with his assertion elsewhere that it is impossible for anyone to keep the law (Gal. 3:10–11), is to be understood on the basis of the use of *amemptos* and of such Hebrew terms as *tam, tamim* (blameless), and *tzadik* (righteous) in the Tanakh (Old Testament) and other Jewish texts: these terms designate not perfect fulfillment of the law but sincere devotion to God and his law (Job 1:1; Wisd. of Sol. 10:5, of Abraham; Wisd. of Sol. 18:21, of Aaron). Psalm 119 begins with the statement: "Happy are those whose way is blameless (Heb.: *tamim*), who walk in the law of the Lord" (v. 1). "Blameless" designates one who seeks God with his "whole heart" (v. 2), whose delight is in the decrees of the Lord (v. 111). The Psalm makes clear that the "blameless" can neither understand (v. 125) nor observe the Torah (v. 133) without divine help. In the Psalms of Solomon 2–4, the "righteous one" (Gr.: *dikaios*) or "the innocent one" (*akakos*) is the man who lives by the judgment and the mercy of God; in contrast to the "sinner," he does not heap up "sin upon sin" (3:5–10) but seeks constantly to observe the commandments. When he stumbles, he repents and atones for his sins (3:5–8). In the Sectarian texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the adjective *tam* describes those who enter the monastic community; they are to "walk perfectly" in the ways of God, a task for which they require the assistance of the gracious mercy of God (1QS 2:1–3).

blaspheme (Gr.: *blasphēmia,* corresponding to a number of Hebrew and Aramaic words) to act or, more specifically, to speak contemptuously against God. Leviticus 24:10–23 describes the stoning of a man who "blasphemed the name of YHWH" (Heb.: *yaqav* equated with *killel,* to curse). The story of the Rabshakeh, who denied YHWH's power to deliver Jerusalem (2 Kings 19:8–28, *gadaf,* v. 22) is recalled in 2 Maccabees 15, where Nicanor's threat against the Temple and his claim that his sovereignty rivals God's is referred to as "blasphemy" (*blasphēmia,* vv. 22–24). In 1 Maccabees 2:6 and 2 Maccabees 8:4 "blasphemy (against the name," 2 Macc. 8:4) denotes the Hellenizing activities in Israel, including the defiling of the Temple and the killing of the martyrs. In Daniel 3:29, Nebuchadnezzar threatens with death anyone who speaks blasphemy (*yemar shalvaḥ*) against the God who delivered Daniel (cf. 3:15, where he had challenged that God's power).

Two New Testament construals of blasphemy are significant. In the trial of Jesus, the high priest condemns Jesus for blasphemy (Mark 14:64) and tears his garments (cf. 2 Kgs. 18:37). The culpable act would not have been Jesus' claim to be the Messiah, but his acceptance of the title "Son of the Blessed" (v. 61) interpreted as a claim to divine status. Conversely, because the church understood Jesus as God's agent, the people who mocked him at his crucifixion are said to blaspheme him (Matt. 27:39; Mark 15:29; Luke 23:39), and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, as the one who is operative in the activity of the early church, is considered an unforgivable sin (Mark 3:29; Luke 12:10).

blessing A blessing is frequently spoken in forms of the Hebrew root *brk,* while the term *asre* denotes an existing state of happiness. Corresponding to *brk* in the Septuagint, intertestamental literature, and the New Testament is the Greek *eulogein* and its derivatives.

Blessing has to do with relationships of power. Despite the Letter to the Hebrews 7:7, an inferior can bless a superior as well as a superior bless an inferior. When one of inferior status blesses someone of higher status, he/she is extolling the benefits conferred, as, for example, when Judith is blessed (Jdt. 14:7, 15:9, 12) for delivering the people. When God is blessed by humans, God is extolled for benefits He has or will bestow. At meals, for example, a blessing is said over the bread and wine to thank God for the food provided, as at the Qumran covenanters' meal (1QSa 2:17–21) and at the meal Jesus provides (Mark 6:41; 14:22). In Jubilees 19:17, Jacob is called a blessing from God in the midst of humans.

As in the biblical traditions, a father blesses his children (Sir. 3:8–9) and a priest pronounces a blessing from the Lord on the people (Sir. 50:20–21). In Jubilees, Rebekah, as well as the patriarchs, blesses her child (25:11–23). At Qumran, the Master (*maskil*) also pronounces blessings on the covenanters, the priests, and the prince of the congregation (1QSb). Jesus blesses his disciples as he departs for heaven in the Gospel of Luke (24:50). The blessings of God are most often found within the covenantal pattern—"If you obey me, I will bless you; if you do not, I will curse you"—as articulated in Deuteronomy 28. Such a covenantal pattern is explicitly found in the initiation ceremony of the Qumran covenanters (1QS 1:16–2:18; cf. 1QM 13). The story of the persecuted righteous one in the Wisdom of Solomon (1:16–3:9) refutes the idea that God does not bless the righteous. The righteous only seem to die, but in reality they attain the blessing of immortality. The barren woman and the eunuch are blessed if they lead righteous lives (Wisd. of Sol. 3:13–14). *See also under* BIRKAT.

Blessing against Enemies *see* BIRKAT HAMINIM

Blessing for Economic Prosperity *see* BIRKAT HASHANIM

Blessing for Redemption *see* BIRKAT GEULAH

Blessing for the Coming of the Messiah *see* BIRKAT DAVID

Blessing for the Restoration of Justice *see* BIRKAT HAMISHPAT

Blessing for the Righteous *see* BIRKAT HATZADIKIM

Blessing of Enjoyment *see* BIRKAT HANEHENIM

Blessing of Food *see* BIRKAT HAZAN

Blessing of Goodness *see* BIRKAT HATOB VEHAMETIB

Blessing of Jerusalem *see* BIRKAT YERUSHALAIM

Blessing of Song *see* BIRKAT HASHIR

Blessing of Thanksgiving *see* BIRKAT HODAYAH

Blessing of the Bridegrooms *see* BIRKAT ḤATANIM

Blessing of the Land *see* BIRKAT HAARETZ

Blessing of the Month *see* BIRKAT HAḤODESH

Blessing of the Torah *see* BIRKAT HATORAH

Blind Man and Lame, Story of parable found in Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 64.70, 5–17, and in B. Sanhedrin 91a–b (with other rabbinic parallels). Two men, one blind and one lame, angry at being excluded from the wedding feast of the king's son, decide to ravage the royal garden in retribution, the lame man sitting on the blind man's shoulders and acting as his eyes. Afterward, each denies involvement by claiming his respective disability. The king, who perceives what happened, places the lame man on the shoulders of the blind one, thus forcing them to admit their common guilt. So will God judge body and soul together at the Resurrection.

blindness the inability to see. The loss of sight is seen in the Bible as the direct result of God's action. Moses is told in Exodus 4:11: "Who makes mortals mute or deaf? Is it not I, the Lord?" Special warning is given against taking advantage of those who are blind (Lev. 19:14; Deut. 27:18). It is a horrible act to blind anyone, whether a powerful figure such as Samson (Judg. 16:21) or a humble slave (Exod. 21:16).

The ability to see, or the lack of it, is also used symbolically to describe how well God's people understand his purpose. Lack of vision among them is compared with blindness (Deut. 28:28–29). God will also punish his disobedient people by closing their eyes so that they walk like the blind (Isa. 29:10); their refusal to seek justice will result in their groping like the blind (Isa. 59:9–10). Yet

God will enable them to regain their insight, to be filled with hope (Isa. 42:18, 43:8), to have their eyes opened (Isa. 35:5), and to enable others to see God's saving purpose in the world. This vision is not only for Israel but also for all the nations (Isa. 42:6–7).

The Dead Sea community believed that the Teacher of Righteousness had been sent by God to free his people from their blindness so that they could see and understand God's purpose for them (CD2). As for the physically blind, the Temple Scroll from Qumran excludes the blind from even entering Jerusalem when it is renewed in the new age (45:13–14). But for Philo of Alexandria in the first century C.E., blindness is a figure of speech for the failure of those concerned with wealth and power to see God and his way for his people. In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus is described as quoting from Isaiah 61 to declare that the coming of Messiah will bring recovery of sight by the blind (Luke 4:18). Jesus' answer to John the Baptist about who he is declares that through him "the blind receive their sight" (Luke 7:22, quoting Isa. 35:5–6). Several stories about Jesus report his restoring sight to the blind (Matt. 9:27–31; Mark 8:22–26; Luke 18:35–43; John 9:1–12). The importance across cultures of this belief in recovery from blindness as a sign of divine favor is evident in the report of Roman historians that the emperor Vespasian (69–79 C.E.) restored sight to a blind man.

blood The life force of all living beings, blood was forbidden for human consumption by Genesis 9:4–5; this legislation is repeated in the Book of Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum) 3:11–12 and Pseudo-Phocylides 31 (probably a Christian addition) and strongly emphasized throughout Jubilees. Blood sacrifices were particularly potent (Lev. 16; Heb. 9–10), blood was employed in purification rituals, and it had an apotropaic function (Exod. 12, 29; Lev. 8). While the Qumran community did not participate in the Temple sacrifices, they did expect blood offerings in the new age (11Q Temple, cols. 11–12).

Mark 14:23–24 identifies the cup of the Last Supper as "blood of the covenant" (also 1 Cor. 11:25); the idea of actually drinking blood, however, would likely have been scandalous to most Jews (John 6:52–65). Following Genesis 9:4, the Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:29) forbids Gentile Christians to consume blood.

Boanerges (Gr.: Boanērges) nickname of James and John, sons of Zebedee, according to Mark 3:17, which interprets it "sons of thunder." The Semitic expression behind the Greek is debated, but the origin of the name is usually related to the incident in Luke 9:54.

Boethus, house of a high priestly house. Most of the post-Hasmonean high priests were appointed from several families. Simon, son of Boethus, an Alexandrian priest, was appointed high priest in 24 B.C.E. by Herod the Great, when Herod married Simon's daughter, Mariamme. Josephus's account of the relationships among the members of this family is confused. Simon's sons or brothers, Joazar, Eleazar, and perhaps Matthias, served near the end of Herod's reign and just after. Simon Cantheras, son of Boethus, was appointed by Agrippa I (r. 41–44 C.E.) in 41 C.E., as was his grandson Elionaeus, son of Cantheras, a few years later.

Boethusians a Jewish sect related philosophically to the Sadducees and in conflict with the Pharisees. According to a late rabbinic story, the sect is named for Boethus, a student of Antigonos of Sohko, who reported his teacher's statement that one should be like a servant who serves his master without thought of receiving wages. Interpreting this to mean that there is no future world nor resurrection, either Boethus himself or, in some versions, his students rejected the Pharisaic concept of divine reward. According to this same story, the Sadducees were created when Zadok, another of Antigonos of Sokho's students, reached the same conclusion (Abot deR. Natan 5).

The Boethusians disagree with Pharisaic authorities on a number of legal issues. These include determination of the day on which the omer is to be offered and whether on the Day of Atonement the high priest should prepare the incense within or outside of the holy of holies. It is unclear how late in rabbinic history the Boethusians existed. B. Shabbat 108a refers to a Boethusian's participation in a dispute with Akiba, but in the passage, the term seems to refer simply to a heretic. While no later references to Boethusians are extant, there is no particular evidence indicating the period of or reason for the demise of the sect.

bomolatry a type of worship, found especially in some Syrian cults of the Graeco-Roman period, in which the deity was represented by a stone or altar (*bomos*) rather than by a carved image. The term is from the Greek word *bōmos* (altar), which may derive from the Northwest Semitic word meaning "high place" (Heb.: *bamah*). The pagan cult imposed at the time of the Maccabean revolt has been alleged to have been a *bomos* cult. The reason is that the early sources mention a pagan altar placed on the altar of God before the Temple, but do not mention any sort of statue of a pagan god

(only some much later sources refer to a statue of Zeus Olympius).

Bonosus commander of the Byzantine garrison in Antioch, early seventh century C.E. At the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, the Persian army moved westward into the Byzantine Empire. The Christian population, for the most part, did not become involved in the invasion. The Jews outside of Palestine, however, were anxious to rid themselves of Byzantine domination as a result of the policies of Justinian and his successors. In September 610, Khusro II approached Antioch with his army. The Jews of the city revolted, and Bonosus put down the revolt and ruthlessly punished the Jews.

Book of Deeds heavenly record of human deeds. Fundamental is the notion that God sees all that humans do and judges them on the basis of these deeds (Gen. 6:5–8). In Hellenistic times, the function of witnessing is delegated to angels (1 Enoch 9), who preserve knowledge of these deeds in the concrete form of books that will serve as evidence at the final judgment. The record is conceived of variously: a ledger containing all the deeds of humanity since creation; individual books for each person; separate books containing good and unrighteous deeds. Examples appear in Daniel 7:10; 1 Enoch 81:2, 89:70, 90:27, 97–104; Testament of Abraham 12–13 (A); and Revelation 20:12. *See also* BOOKS, HEAVENLY.

Book of Life heavenly register of the righteous who will survive the final judgment and obtain eternal life. In Psalm 69:28, the author asks that God the vindicator destroy his enemies, erasing them from the book of the living. Malachi 3:16–18, Isaiah 4:2–6, and Words of the Heavenly Lights 6:14 imagine a register of citizens for the earthly Jerusalem, the latter two connecting it with the return from the dispersion. Daniel 12:1 associates it with the eschatological judicial activity of Michael, Israel's angelic patron. According to 1 Enoch 104:1, it is located in God's throne room. The scenario of the final judgment in Revelation 20:12 mentions the books of human deeds and the book of life. *See also* BOOKS, HEAVENLY.

books, heavenly books or tablets of various sorts believed to exist in heaven. Texts from Mesopotamian antiquity are replete with references to books of wisdom and records of primordial history, as well as to heavenly tablets containing the details of human destiny and recording human deeds and misdeeds. These ideas have left their mark in biblical texts (Isa. 4:2–6; Mal. 3:16–18; Ps. 69:28), in the literature of Jewish apocalypticism and its Christian successors, and in rabbinic literature. In the apocalyptic world view, heavenly tablets or scrolls are important because their contents have special reality and permanent implications. According to Jubilees 1:27–29, an angel of the presence dictated the history of the world up to that time from a set of heavenly tablets. In addition, the Torah as revealed in Jubilees was engraved from eternity on heavenly tablets and dictated to Moses by angels (Jub. 3:31, 15:25). In 1 Enoch 81:1–4 the record of all human deeds exists already in prediluvian times (cf. also 93:2). One Qumran text mentions tablets standing in God's presence that schematize the periods of human history (4Q180). Both conceptions suggest a powerful determinism. Conversely, books of human deeds, with new entries written daily by angelic scribes, emphasize human responsibility and God's knowledge of the good deeds of the righteous and the wicked conduct of sinners, especially their oppression of the righteous. These books of deeds are guarantors of the judgment, where they will serve as evidence for reward or punishment. In general, the conception of heavenly books is integral to the dualistic world view of apocalypticism in which the hidden realm of heaven already contains the mechanisms and personnel that will effect the coming judgment. This world view is expressed in Christian form in Revelation 5–10, where the account of imminent historical events is revealed through the progressive unrolling of the seven-sealed scroll, which is one of many events in heaven that John witnesses as he learns of the imminent judgment and new creation. Paul is more selective, alluding on the one hand to a heavenly book of life (Phil. 4:3), but citing the angelic transmission of the Torah as an indication that it was second hand (Gal. 3:19–20) rather than as a guarantee that it reflected heavenly reality. The literature of rabbinic Judaism, while not apocalyptic in its world view, allows for the existence of heavenly books containing human deeds and the names of the righteous and the wicked (M. Abot 3:10; B. Ros. Has. 16b; B. Arak. 10b). *See also* BOOK OF DEEDS; BOOK OF LIFE.

books, hidden books considered secret, usually because they contain esoteric knowledge. There is a long tradition of "hidden" or "secret" books in antiquity, most claiming to contain esoteric teaching revealed by a supernatural figure.

In ancient Judaism, the tradition of hidden books is most strongly attested in the Graeco-Roman period (300 B.C.E. to 400 C.E.). Many Jewish apocalypses and other works belonging to the so-called

pseudepigrapha claim either to be hidden books themselves or to have knowledge of such books (examples include 1 Enoch 74:2, 82:1–3; Jub. 4:19, 23:32; Dan. 12:4 and 9–10; 2 Enoch 23:1–6, 33:3–12; Life of Adam and Eve 50:1–2; Assumption of Moses 1:16–18; and 4 Ezra 12:36–38, 14:37–48). The apocalyptic genre, which many of these works represent, is an especially apt context for hidden books because apocalypses, by definition, claim to contain secrets revealed to a human seer by a divine agent.

The tradition of hidden books remains strong in early Christianity, especially within the apocalyptic genre, and is also widely attested in Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

books and scrolls Scrolls are rolls of papyrus or leather (parchment) made by gluing together into a single, long sheet up to about fifteen short sheets of papyrus. The whole is then wound around a wooden rod to form a scroll. Papyrus was made from the stem of the papyrus plant, which has a stem that is triangular in cross-section. The stems were first cut into pieces about 30 centimeters long, and then each stem was peeled and sliced lengthwise into strips. One layer of strips was placed on a flat surface so that all the fibers ran in one direction. A second layer was added at right angles to the first and the whole double layer was pressed and dried. The resulting sheet was polished and trimmed before being glued into long sheets for a scroll. Parchment or vellum was made from the skins of young goats, sheep, cattle, or antelopes. The leather was specially prepared by washing, polishing with pumice, and dressing with chalk. Technically speaking, vellum was a high-quality parchment. In the Byzantine period some vellums were died purple and written on with gold or silver inks.

Books were a feature mainly of the Graeco-Roman world from the second century C.E. The ancient book was really the codex, a sheaf of parchment or papyrus sheets sewn together at one edge like the Roman *pinax*. The latter consists of two wooden tablets with wax in their recessed faces held together at their edges with leather thongs. A codex was most often made by folding a stack of papyrus sheets together across the middle and sewing them together at the fold. There was an advantage in using parchment sheets for the codex, as one could write on both sides of a sheet with ease, and under constant use parchment lasted longer than papyrus. On the other hand, it is a bit easier to read papyrus with a highly contrasting ink.

Scribes wrote on either scroll or codex in black ink with a reed pen. Normally the scribe prepared for writing by scoring horizontal lines in double columns on each sheet of the scroll or codex. The Hebrew and Aramaic letters of the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, hang from clearly scored lines, which are often easily seen, even in photographs. Most scrolls are written in a formal book hand rather than in an informal hand. The formal hand used the square letters derived from Aramaic, which supplanted the Old Hebrew forms of the letters by about 200 B.C.E. The informal hand is most often seen on receipts, deeds, and the like. Occasionally, because of the high cost of properly prepared parchment, scribes would reuse an old scroll. In this case, they simply scraped off the ink of the previous text and wrote a new text on the reused parchment. There is no recorded case where this was done with the Hebrew Bible, although such renditions are known for portions of the Greek Bible.

Booths, Feast of *see* TABERNACLE, FESTIVAL OF

borrowing the receipt at one's own request of the property of another, for free use, with the understanding that the property will be returned to its owner. In rabbinic law, the borrower of property is distinguished from the borrower of money (Heb.: *loveh*), since while the former must return exactly that which is borrowed, the latter may repay the lender in kind. Like scripture (Exod. 22:14), the Talmud holds the borrower to the strictest responsibility toward the borrowed goods. At the same time, rabbinic law is clear that since the object was borrowed for use, the borrower is not responsible for loss in value or depreciation resulting from normal operation. This extends even to a case in which the use of a borrowed animal leads to its death (B. Baba Metzia 96b). The responsibility of the borrower begins upon receipt of the object, marked by the same rite of drawing near (Heb.: *meshikha*) that finalizes a sale. A borrower who misuses and thereby damages the property is liable for the difference in value between the broken parts and the object as it was received (B. Baba Metzia 97a). The borrower need not entirely replace the borrowed item.

boulē *see* COUNCIL, CITY

bread an important food staple in ancient Israel, a "staff" supporting life (Lev. 26:26). In biblical Judaism, the word carries both literal and figurative significance since, in the Hebrew Bible, bread is commonly used as an image of nourishment and sustenance—the basic material support to maintain life. The word often occurs in an extended sense to mean "food" in general.

Three important biblical references to bread are (1) as a ritual offering to God, in the form of either a burnt sacrifice or the "Bread of the Presence"; (2) the unleavened bread that was eaten during Passover; and (3) the manna that the Israelites ate in the wilderness, which is often referred to as "bread from heaven" (e.g., Exod. 16:3–32).

In intertestamental Jewish literature, these basic meanings are both continued and extended. Several sources stress the importance of giving bread to the needy (Tob. 4:16–17; Sir. 12:5). Ben Sira states that Wisdom will feed the wise with "the bread of understanding" (Sir. 15:3). A noteworthy description of the Exodus manna appears in the Wisdom of Solomon 16:20–21: "Thou [God] didst supply them from heaven with bread ready to eat . . . and the bread, ministering to the desire of the one who took it, was changed to suit everyone's liking." In rabbinic literature, manna is referred to as bread eaten by ministering angels (B. Yoma 75b).

An important formulaic usage occurs in Joseph and Asenath, which describes a Jew as one who "eats bread of life and drinks a cup of immortality and anoints oneself with ointment of incorruptibility" (8:5 and pass.).

Bread is significant in a number of contexts in early Christian literature. Stories of Jesus' multiplication of the loaves in all four canonical Gospels are probably intended in part to evoke Moses' miracle of the manna. It is noteworthy that descriptions of this miracle and accounts of the synoptic eucharistic meal both list the same sequence of events: Jesus "took" bread, "blessed" and "broke" it, and "gave" it to his companions. These are actions that occurred at the beginning of a traditional Jewish meal. In the synoptic accounts of the eucharistic meal, Jesus identifies the bread as his "body" (Mark 14:22 and parallels).

The most extended early Christian treatment of bread occurs in John 6, where, after multiplying the loaves, Jesus identifies himself as the "bread of life" (6:35) and as "the living bread which came down from heaven," which, "if anyone eats . . . , he will live forever" (6:51).

bread of the presence *see* SHOWBREAD

Breshit Rabbah *see* GENESIS RABBAH

bride *see* MARRIAGE; VIRGIN; WOMEN, POSITION OF

bridegroom A symbol of rejoicing, the bridegroom may be crowned (Song of Sol. 3:11) or garlanded (Isa. 61:10), and accompanied by musicians (1 Macc. 9:37–39) and friends (Matt. 25:1–10). The bridegroom's new status grants him exemption from army service (Deut. 24:5, and see Luke 14:20). As metaphor, the bridegroom is God and the bride is Israel (Hos.; Isa. 54); similarly, Paul describes the Church as a bride of Christ (2 Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5:26–27; Rev. 21:2). Calling Jesus a bridegroom thus suggests his association with heaven, the new relationships his followers engage in, and the joy his presence brings (Matt. 9:15).

brigands *see* BANDITS; LĒSTĒS

brit milah *see* BERIT MILAH

building traditional Jewish and early Christian metaphor for the righteous and faithful community. Isaiah 28 (especially, vv. 14–22), with its critique of the religious and political leadership in Jerusalem, provided an exegetical basis for the image, which sometimes contrasts the righteous and their opponents as the true and the false Israel. Two passages in the Qumran literature combine the metaphor with the image of the community as God's "everlasting planting" (cf. CD 1:7). In the Community Rule 8:1–10, the building metaphor governs the description of the founding and functions of the Qumran community. Line 7 quotes Isaiah 28:16, and the passage expands the metaphor by depicting the community as a temple and priesthood offering atonement for the Land of Israel and meting out God's recompense on the wicked. An explicit contrast between two communities is also evident in Hodayot 6, which mixes several metaphors. The author's new religious home is, at once, a tree that is "an everlasting planting" (lines 14–17) and a fortified city into which the author has fled for shelter from the chaotic waters of death (cf. 1QH 6:25–27 and Isa. 28:16–17). Although the language of Isaiah 28 is not explicit, the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1–10, 91:11–17), which antedates the two Qumran texts, also combines the images of plant (93:2, 5, 10) and building (91:11). The former refers to Abraham (93:5a, also its root, 93:8), Israel (93:5b), and the eschatological community of the chosen (93:10). The building metaphor describes the activity and teaching of the wicked as "the foundations of violence" and "the structure of deceit," whom the righteous, the executors of God's judgment, will "uproot" (91:10–11; cf. 1QS 8:6–7). The metaphor is striking in the absence of any reference to construction of the Second Temple and in contrast to the promise that God will build a glorious eschatological temple (91:13).

The building metaphor, sometimes with allusion to Isaiah 28, appears with some frequency in the New Testament, notably in connection with the figure of the apostle Peter, whose Aramaic and Greek names mean "rock." In Matthew 16:17–19, Jesus

commissions Simon the son of Jonah to be the rock on whom the church will be built, which will withstand the powers of Sheol (cf. Isa. 28:16–18; 1QH 6:22–17), and in 1 Peter 2:4–8, the apostle (alleged to be the author of this text), describes the church as building and priesthood, combining rock language from Isaiah 28:16, Psalm 118:22, and Isaiah 8:14–15. A related use of the image appears in Ephesians 2:19–22, where the church is the household of God, built on the apostolic foundation and functioning as God's temple. The images of building and planting are combined in Paul's discussion of the founding of the church at Corinth (1 Cor. 3), which also refers to Cephas (Peter, v. 22; cf. 1:12). *See also* CORNERSTONE; FOUNDATION; PILLARS IN JERUSALEM; ROCK.

bull a minor motif in Jewish art, usually in funerary art and in synagogue mosaic floors. The bull's head (bucranium), borrowed directly from Graeco-Roman heraldic art, appears in relief on two sarcophagi in the Jewish catacombs of Beth Shearim. Bulls also appear in the middle register of the great painted frescoes of the synagogue at Dura in Iraq. The bull also appears in relief on lintels from the synagogues of Ahmadieh, Kasabieh, Tiberias, and Horvat Ammudim. In mosaic floors there is more variation in the depiction of the bull. For example, a bull and a lion flank the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions at Beth Alpha, though both the bull and the lion are upside down with reference to the inscriptions. The bull appears with the red cow in the Sepphoris mosaic. Bulls are part of the art of the zodiac panels at Beth Alpha, Naaran, and Hammath Tiberias. Considering the frequent use of the bull motif in Graeco-Roman art and its antecedents in the ancient Near East, one might be surprised that the bull does not appear more commonly in Jewish art of the period. On the other hand, it is a strong symbol for divinity in pagan religions, which may explain a reluctance to permit it a greater role in Jewish art.

Bun a shortened form of the names Abin, Abun, and Rabin, appearing exclusively in Palestinian sources; *see also* ABIN

Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde German phrase meaning "civic-temple community." It was coined by modern scholars as a way of describing the type of temple state in which the citizens (as opposed to slaves and free noncitizens) governed. Several examples are known from antiquity. It has also been proposed that Judah after the return from exile was organized in this way under Persian rule: the *golah* (diaspora), or those returning from Babylonia, were citizens, while those Jews who had not gone into captivity (and their descendants) were excluded from the privileges of citizenship and worship.

burial Providing for proper burial of the dead was treated in ancient Israel as a paramount responsibility of the surviving family or other kin. Biblical depictions of the importance of the purchase of a burial site (e.g., the story of the cave purchased by Abraham, Gen. 23) and the Bible's use of the image of unburied corpses to depict the worst possible fate (e.g., Deut. 28:26) suggest the importance attributed to proper treatment of the corpse in general and to burial in particular.

The Bible commonly refers to burial in family tombs. To be buried with one's family or, at least, in one's ancestral homeland was a significant concern of those who had moved away from their kin. In light of this attitude, death often is referred to as being "gathered to one's kin" (Gen. 25:8) or "sleeping with one's fathers" (I Kings 11:23). Since scripture does not depict an afterlife, such references appear to refer literally to entombment in a family burial place.

The Israelites did not practice cremation or embalming (cf. Jacob and Joseph, Gen. 50:2, 26, who were embalmed following Egyptian practice). Coffins were not normally used, the body instead being dressed in shrouds and carried to the burial place on a bier (2 Sam. 3:31; cf. Gen. 50:26, which refers to the customary Egyptian use of a coffin). Since contact with corpses caused ritual impurity, tombs were marked with whitewash, and priests' participation in funerary rites was limited (Lev. 21:1–4; Num. 19:11–22; Ezek. 44:25–27).

Most of our knowledge of Israelite and early Jewish burial practices derives from the Second Temple period and later. In the majority of Palestinian sites that have been excavated, corpses were left in tombs until the flesh decayed, at which time the remaining bones were placed in ossuaries. Individual burial, however, is also evidenced. The cemetery at Qumran, for instance, reveals over a thousand individual burials. Literary evidence for this period indicates that burial practices included washing and anointing the body and wrapping it in a shroud (John 11:44, on Lazarus, mentions linen strips of cloth). Interment is the major ritual present in the Book of Tobit and is of concern in the Testament of Job.

Talmudic law requires that burial occur as soon as possible after death, usually on the same or following day. This requirement is derived from Deuteronomy 21:22–23, which states that the body of one executed by hanging must be buried on the

same day. As signs of respect and honor, prior to burial, the corpse was watched over (*shemirah*) and washed (*tahara*h). This washing was not out of concern for cultic cleanness (a corpse is intrinsically unclean and renders unclean all who touch or are shadowed by it) but was viewed as a continuation of the hygiene that applied when the individual lived. Prior to burial, the body was dressed in shrouds made of plain linen.

In Talmudic times, as in the Bible, burial generally was in a cave, to which the corpse was carried on a bier in a funeral procession (M. Berakhot 3:1). In posttalmudic Jewish practice, burial is in the ground in a wooden casket with no metal, to assure complete disintegration to dust. In light of the requirement that the body return to dust, embalming to prevent decay or improve the corpse's appearance is forbidden. Embalming is permitted only if it is a requirement of the non-Jewish government. Cremation is prohibited as an act of desecration of the corpse. *See also* BURIAL SITES; CATACOMBS, ITALIAN; COFFIN; OSSUARY; SARCOPHAGUS.

burial sites Jewish burials during the Persian period continued the traditions of the Iron Age, with family tombs predominating. In rectangular underground chambers, the dead were laid out on benches cut from the rock. Reburial took place in special chambers cut out below the benches. In the Hellenistic period burial slots or recesses (loculi) were cut into the sides of the tomb chambers, and occasionally the walls of the tomb bore paintings of vine motifs and birds or even hunting scenes. In the Roman period, the family tomb continued with loculus burial the rule, then reburial in ossuaries (see below). Roman tombs often have an unroofed forecourt opening onto several tombs. Beginning in the Hellenistic period, but continuing in the Roman period, great burial monuments are known, for example, the Tomb of Absalom in Jerusalem. In the Byzantine period, tombs generally reverted to the bench type, or sometimes two or three sarcophagi were cut into the bedrock. Individual sarcophagi burials and an occasional coffin are also known from the Roman period onward, as noted in the following survey.

Persian period burials are well represented in ancient Judea or Persian Yehud. For example, at Tell el-Farah (South) the typical tomb was a rock-cut rectangular chamber with a wide door. The dead were laid out on benches to the left and right of the central standing area. Grave goods are well known, most commonly pottery and an occasional tool or weapon.

Hellenistic period cemeteries of impressive size are associated with sites such as Marissa (biblical Maresha). A typical family tomb at Marissa was cut from the soft chalklike limestone of the area. Steps led into a low, flat-roofed antechamber. Straight ahead stood a long, rectangular burial chamber with a flat roof. To the left and right stood rectangular burial chambers with barrel-vault roofs. In each rectangular chamber one stood in a room with thirteen to sixteen burial slots cut into three walls. Each slot had a pitched roof, while the walls of the burial chamber were painted in an animal frieze. After the family placed the body in its loculus, they placed a stone over the door that was sealed with clay. Above the burial recess or loculus someone wrote the name of the deceased in charcoal or clay. The surprise is that several languages appear in the same tomb: Aramaic, Greek, and Nabatean. For example one such inscription reads, "In the second year in the month of Dystros [grave of] Sabo, the daughter of Kosnatanos." Kosnatanos is an Idumean name, the descendants of the ancient Edomites. The Tomb of Absalom (also known as the Pillar of Absalom) in Jerusalem is a series of burial chambers cut into a limestone cliff with a monolith cut from the bedrock about 6 by 6.5 meters in dimension. It was decorated with pilasters of Ionic columns. The superstructure was built of masonry and resembles a conical tower. The total height of the monument, also known as a *nephesh* (the Hebrew word for person or soul), comes to 16.5 meters.

Roman cemeteries are well represented in ancient Palestine around any village, town, or city. A typical cemetery would have many open courtyards or forecourts cut down into the bedrock. A flight of steps led into the interior forecourt where one could approach the blocked entrances to the three or four tombs that were cut into the bedrock. Rolling stones, and sometimes large cut stones, blocked the entrances. The so-called Sanhedriyya tombs in Jerusalem furnish an important example of a wealthy family's tomb (with no necessary connection with the Sanhedrin). In this case, several tombs, evidently cut at the same time, face a common forecourt. The entrances to the tombs were cut to resemble the facades of buildings. The facade is decorated with acanthus leaves, citrons, and pomegranates carved in low relief. The first room is an internal vestibule about 9.9 by 9 meters with low benches around three sides. From the vestibule one entered the square burial chamber by walking down a set of stairs. A series of loculi opened off the main chamber, and four secondary

burial chambers were cut into the south and east walls. The burial chambers were furnished with smaller chambers, evidently for reburial of the bones one year after interment. This is secondary burial, also known from the biblical period. Fragments of ossuaries and sarcophagi were found in the tombs.

The only excavated Jewish catacomb in ancient Palestine is at Beth Shearim in western Galilee, though there may be another at Alma near the border with Lebanon. These catacombs are of the Roman and Byzantine periods and were sometimes furnished with imposing masonry facades with three entrances. In general one entered each catacomb from an open courtyard cut into the hill. Sometimes there are entrances to catacombs on three sides of the courtyard, each supplied with stone, hinged doors, cut to resemble wooden doors. Long halls with side niches provide room for the burials, which may be in sarcophagi, loculi, or arcosolia (flat benches with a rock-cut arch over the burial spot). These catacombs are a rich repository of inscriptions in Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic, and also of Jewish art.

Jewish catacombs are also known in Rome. For example the catacomb of Monteverde has produced many Jewish epitaphs in Greek, Aramaic, and Latin. Some of these epitaphs show, in addition to the epitaph proper, menorahs, grape or ivy vines, but also shofar, etrog, lulab, and incense shovel. One such epitaph in Aramaic reads, "Annia, wife of Bar Calabria."

Sarcophagi and ossuaries are cut stone coffins and reburial containers, respectively. They are best known from the Roman period. Coffins, often of lead, but also of wood, are known from a few Jewish burials. The lead coffins were decorated with generic motifs, copied from the general culture, or featured Jewish motifs well known in other contexts. For example, one lead coffin from Beth Shearim shows a Menorah with shofar, incense shovel, lulab, and etrog at its end. Its cover is decorated with vines, birds, human heads, and small menorahs. *See also* CATACOMBS, ITALIAN.

burnt offering *see* ALTAR; OLAH

Butmiyyah ancient Jewish village and synagogue site in the northern Golan Heights. The evidence for the synagogue's presence is a set of highly decorated black basalt stones in reuse in the modern village. A carved basalt lintel bears a nine- or ten-branched menorah, which displays a circle on either side and several Greek letters. A doorpost elsewhere on the site presents a ten-branched menorah flanked by etrogs. A second lintel bears no distinctive Jewish art, only a design that looks like a four-leaf clover and a second design that looks like a spoked wheel and has parts of a Greek inscription. There may have been a Christian presence in the village, as a third lintel has crosses carved on it. The village was watered by a perennial spring using an aqueduct. The usual date assigned to the architectural fragments is the third or fourth century C.E.

buying and selling transfer of property from one individual to another. In talmudic law, such transfer is dependent upon the establishment of explicit terms of the transfer and evidence that the parties involved agree upon these terms. Prima facie evidence for this agreement is ***kinyan,*** that is, a physical act of acquisition appropriate to the object involved, movable or immovable. In the absence of ***kinyan,*** a party to the agreement may withdraw, even if all other terms of the purchase were fixed.

Following ***kinyan,*** a purchaser or seller may withdraw if in similar circumstances most people would have rejected the agreement, for example, in cases of duress or an error regarding price. Certain sales are intrinsically void, including those involving a person who lacks the capacity to formulate intention (e.g., a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor) or, according to some talmudic sources, in a case in which the object being purchased does not yet exist. Sales may, however, be made subject to specific terms and are not valid until those terms are met. M. Baba Batra 4:8ff. lists conditions that automatically apply to the sale of specific types of property. *See also* ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY.

Byzantine period roughly the mid-fourth to the mid-seventh centuries C.E., representing one of the greatest flowerings of Jewish material, cultural, and intellectual life in the long history of Jews in the Land of Israel. This fact has been obscured until scholarship began to focus on the late centuries of Jewish life and the Islamic takeover of the region from 638–643 C.E. It has also been difficult to gauge the success of Jews in Israel until massive archaeological evidence was published in the last three decades. This material began to offset the literary picture that had been heavily determined by the rule of Christian emperors beginning with Constantine the Great, who took control of the area in 324, and the establishment of Palestine as a Christian Holy Land during the same period. Although Jewish rule over Jews of Palestine was officially ended when the patriarchate was abolished (c. 425), the communities continued to flourish as wealthy, creative, and intellectually vibrant entities up to and well into the first century of Islamic rule. The great

synagogues of Capernaum and Naburiya in the Galilee and Kazrin in the Golan Heights are evidence of this continued activity. Thus, it is no accident that one of the greatest Jewish intellectual achievements of antiquity, the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) Talmud was codified around 400 C.E. by this first generation of Byzantine Jews.

M. Broshi's estimate that the total population of the country was around a million people in this period is probably correct. Great ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity, however, characterize the peoples of the Holy Land. By the end of the period, Greek was the dominant language in the heavily gentile areas of the country, like the Kinneret region, Judea, the southern Golan Heights, and the northern Negeb. It was also the official governmental language of the country, having replaced Latin sometime in the fifth century. Many of the inscriptions by the Jewish populace in these regions appear in Greek, as the donor inscriptions from the fourth-century synagogue at Hammath Tiberias or the fifth-century Homeric scenes and quotation on the mosaic floor of the home of Leontius in Beth Shean (Sythopolis) indicate.

Most families in the more exclusively Jewish areas (such as Upper Galilee, Hebron Hills, and northern Golan) spoke and wrote Late Palestinian Aramaic, the language of the Palestinian Talmud. Hebrew had become the language of scripture and of holy dedicatory synagogue inscriptions.

The Samaritans, clustered in small groups in cities such as Caesarea Maritima and concentrated in Samaria, continued to use their own language. After Greek, the most important gentile Christian language was Syriac, as indicated by the Syriac version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Martyrs of Palestine,* as well as the importance of having a Syriac translator participate in the Christian liturgy. In the southern part of the Negeb and the northeastern corner of the Golan, the pre-Islamic period tribes spoke Arabic. Groups of resident foreigners, mostly from Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Syria, also inhabited the land.

The very small number of cemetery and tomb excavations that have been carried out and published leave scant information about what the various peoples looked like and whom they married. What we do know from the two numerically largest groups, Jews and Christians, from skeletal and literary evidence is that they tended to marry into their own separate groups and to minimize contact between themselves and outsiders.

Such limited evidence as we now have makes excavations being currently carried on at sites like Beth Shean in the Jordan Valley, Caesarea Maritima, and Sepphoris all the more important for information they may yield on the interaction of Jew and Christian. The late fourth-century date of the beautiful limestone synagogue at Capernaum and its continuance throughout this period, just a few meters from the Church of the House of St. Peter, also shows continued Jewish determination to stake out its turf, as Christians began to move into completely or predominantly Jewish areas.

The most dramatic shift in the religious orientation of the country since the tenth century B.C.E. occurred during the Byzantine period as Christian pilgrims flocked to Palestine to visit and settle. The long march to establish Christian reverence for and ownership of the Holy Land by the sixth century C.E. has been recently studied and detailed by R. L. Wilken. The building program carried on in Jerusalem by Christian emperors beginning with Constantine best underscores Christianity's designs on the Holy Land. Such designs reach their apogee with the building project carried out by Justinian (527–565), who extended the main *cardo* (north/south street) of Jerusalem to the south and built a huge church called the Nea in the Jewish Quarter. Best known previously only by the depiction of the *cardo* and the church on the sixth century Madeba mosaic map, N. Avigad's excavations in the Jewish Quarter recently located both sites.

The newly powerful Christian presence in the land also settled the deserts of Judaea and the northern Negeb and Sinai to an extent unknown in previous history. The Christian monks who settled the Judaean Desert originally came themselves as pilgrims and stayed to service the needs of other pilgrims coming to and through the deserts. By the late fifth and early sixth centuries, a whole system of roads and footpaths with access to the fifty-five monasteries were established by the three thousand inhabitants of the Judaean Desert, as Y. Hirshfeld has recently shown.

In the northern Negeb, where almost no Jews resided, the Byzantine Christians brought about a revival of city culture and a blooming of the desert. Superb advancements in the use of dams, channels, and terracing made possible the irrigation of the desert from runoff rainwater. So competent and extensive was the cultivation of the arid land that by the sixth century the boundary of the uncultivated "inner desert" had receded from the north to some ten miles south of Nessana Village (Tel Nessana). The northern Negeb cities were adorned with multiple churches, serving both the pilgrims passing through to Jerusalem and as pilgrimage

spots for the local inhabitants. The first conversions of the Arab tribes to Christianity were carried out by these Christian descendants of the Nabateans.

In spite of more recent indications that the Jewish population declined in numbers in selected regions like Galilee and Golan, the fifth and sixth centuries inaugurated a period of extensive building of basilical (interior columned) synagogues in a variety of styles, including the Galilean style (three-doored building, oriented by the narrow end or facade towards Jerusalem) and the basilical building with an interior or exterior apse on the wall facing Jerusalem (either the long or "broadhouse" wall or the short or narrow wall of the hall).

There are indications, however, that the elaborate synagogues of the Byzantine period functioned for a Jewish populace that had raised its personal piety towards scripture and individual prayer to new heights. The numerous rebuilds of the *bimah* to raise the height of the platform from which scripture was read indicates this, as does the appearance of a separate building for the study of scripture directly adjacent to the synagogue, the *beit midrash* or "house of study." The discovery of such a complex at Meroth in Galilee illustrates this new trend. Similarly, the recent work by Dan Urman demonstrating that the synagogue building within Israel (as opposed to the diaspora nomenclature) is not referred to as a "house of prayer" until the Byzantine period further underscores the new personal piety of the Jews, perhaps in response to the newly pious Christians around them. Conversely, the takeover by Christians of long-practiced Jewish observances, such as ossuary burial, resulted in their abandonment by Jews.

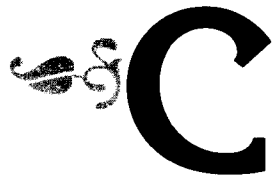
What makes the Byzantine period so very difficult to characterize is the fact that two completely opposite trends are accelerating throughout these centuries. On the one hand, by the late fifth century Israel is an international province with religious links to the entire empire and trade links to Britain, North Africa, and the entire eastern Mediterranean, as witnessed by both the presence of pilgrims and ceramic evidence. On the other hand, as the various groups withdrew into themselves, most peoples in the Holy Land lived, shopped, and traded locally. Hence, most archaeological surveys and excavations carried out these days are careful to set their findings within a regional picture, making regionalism of paramount importance in scholarly discussions.

Sometime around 350 C.E. the country was divided politically into north and south districts, and then, around 400, it was separated into three separate provinces: Palestina prima (the north coastal plain, Judaea, Idumaea, Samaria, Peraea) with its capital at Caesarea Maritima; Palestina secunda (Galilee, the Palestinian Decapolis, the Golan) with its capital at Sythopolis (Beth Shean); and Palestiana tertia (formerly Palestina salutaris) whose capital has not yet been determined. Working archaeologists have known for a long time that the political divisions of the country had very little to do with the divisions of the country as measured by material remains of the peoples. Looked at archaeologically, the three regions of the country have always been divided by material differences into the North, Samaria, and Judaea and the South. These three subdivisions, nonetheless, have given way to new regions and subregions in a series of studies by Eric M. Meyers and James F. Strange on Galilean regionalism, Dan Urman on the Golan, and Kenneth Gutwein on the Negeb.

By the Byzantine period, each region or subregion of the country had its preferred market towns, and each region seems to have had its own pottery factories that produced the kitchen or crude-ware pottery used for daily life and the commercial amphorae in which local products were packaged and shipped.

The end of Jewish and Christian Palestine in the most recent research has come to resemble the picture of the founding of the Jewish nation in the tenth century B.C.E. The incursion of the Arab peoples of the southern and eastern deserts in the late 630s and early 640s C.E. resembles not so much a conquest as a melding with and takeover from the resident peoples of ancient Palestine.

When the Islamic rulers appeared out of the inner desert and entered the cultivated lands, they found groups of people somewhat fragmented into regional enclaves and not particularly fond of each other. They entered into a land where defense had become quite a local and irregular matter since the subsidies sent from Constantinople to pay the frontier army had been terminated in the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justinian. Indications from the Nessana Papyri and from the building boom suggest that lowered taxes at first produced some new wealth among the inhabitants. The long-term result was that the Moslem invaders found a badly divided and badly defended populace. Within the first one hundred years of Islamic rule, the attention, economies, and political accountabilities of all the residents of formerly Byzantine Israel will have been turned away from Jerusalem and the West towards Damascus and the East for the first time in over a millennium.



caduceus *see* COIN SYMBOLS

Caesar cognomen (additional third personal name) common in the gens (clan or group of families) named Julia. Gaius Julius Caesar was the family's most famous member. C. Octavius, the son of Julius Caesar's niece, was adopted by Julius Caesar and took the adoptive name Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Because of the family's prominence at the beginning of the imperial period, later emperors also took that cognomen, and Caesar came to be a title for the Roman emperor. *See also* AUGUSTUS CAESAR; GAIUS CAESAR; JULIUS CAESAR.

Caesarea coastal city of ancient Palestine and its capital, built by Herod the Great and named in honor of Caesar Augustus. Its port, named Sebastos (Greek for Augustus), was built by Herod's engineers of huge blocks of stone and of concrete poured in forms under water. These formed huge breakwaters with an entrance on the north. According to Josephus the port featured a lighthouse and three colossal statues (*War* 1.21.6–7 or 411–414). The port could hold the entire Roman fleet at anchor. A series of Roman vaults on the shore formed magazines for off-loading freighters that plied its port. At least one of these vaults was converted into an underground worship center for the god Mithra, who was popular among Roman soldiers. There is also archaeological evidence for an inner harbor.

Herod built a palace at Caesarea, a theater near the palace, a temple to Augustus, an impressive aqueduct bringing water from Mount Carmel, and other Roman structures. The theater seats about four thousand and has been rebuilt for modern productions. In one of its later renovations, a Latin inscription was found in reuse simply as a stone. The inscription mentions a Tiberium or temple to Tiberius built by Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor (procurator) from 26–36 C.E. His rank is given as prefect, which was not known before this inscription was found. Originally the floor of the theater was plastered, and the plaster was then painted in brilliant colors. The podium of the Temple of Augustus stood fifty Roman feet above the surrounding terrain and was built on enormous Roman vaults. Other pagan temples undoubtedly were erected but have not yet been found. The city coins of Caesarea show other deities, such as Tyche (Fortuna), Artemis, and Serapis. A sixth-century-C.E. inscription mentions a temple to Hadrian.

The aqueducts of Caesarea are a marvel of Roman engineering. The high-level aqueduct brought drinking water, sometimes in a tunnel, sometimes in a pipe on stone arches, from springs more than twelve kilometers to the north. Later a second, low-level aqueduct brought water from the Crocodile River (or Zerqa River) five kilometers to the north. This aqueduct evidently served for irrigation of the many fields around Caesarea. Latin inscriptions affixed to the aqueducts attest to their repairs by Roman auxiliary legions in the second century C.E. and later. The city wall of the Herodian period cannot be identified with certainty, but two round towers and a polygonal tower in a wall on

the north side of the city appear to be part of Herod's gate.

Most of the archaeological evidences of Caesarea date to the Byzantine and later periods. For example, most of the paved streets of Caesarea are Byzantine in date. Also a hippodrome, or horse-racing arena, turned out to be Byzantine when excavated. This structure stood near the Byzantine city wall east of the center of the city. The *spina* down the center of the hippodrome has been identified, as well as some of its red granite stones, including the base of an obelisk. A possible amphitheater, supposedly used for Herod's dedicatory games and later for bloody spectacles held by Titus to dispose of Jewish insurrectionists, has been identified by aerial photography. Excavation shows only that its stones were used by later builders in other structures. A synagogue of the fourth century was excavated next to the shore measuring about 18 by 9 meters. In its vicinity were found many architectural fragments, including one capital with a menorah in relief. A fragment of marble gave the traditional list of localities in Galilee where the twenty-four priestly courses from Jerusalem settled after the destruction of the Second Temple. A Greek inscription of the Byzantine period reads, "Beryllos, the head of the synagogue and administrator, the son of Justus, made the mosaics of the dining room [triclinium] at his own expense." Near the synagogue was found a hoard of 3,700 Byzantine coins, the last of which dated to 356 C.E. A bath of the Byzantine period is also known. From the fourth century C.E. the Christian population of the city increased dramatically, so that Christian churches were eventually built at Caesarea in the fourth century. One such church has been excavated east of the city. A building just south of the crusader city contained a mosaic with a quotation from the New Testament. The excavator has suggested that this was the Christian library or archive of great notoriety mentioned in many ancient sources. Many sarcophagi and funerary inscriptions have been found north, northeast, east, and south of the city. One large tomb with a colonnaded forecourt has been excavated south of the city, suggesting that a large cemetery is yet to be investigated around the city. *See also* CAESAREA SYNAGOGUE.

Caesarea in Cappadocia capital of Cappadocia; prior to becoming a Roman province under Tiberius in 17 C.E., known as Mazaca. In the Talmud it is referred to as Mezigah of Cappadocia, Megizah of Cappadocia, and Mazaca-Caesarea. B. Moed Katan 26a reports that during the war between Shapur I and the Romans, Shapur killed twelve thousand Jews in Mazaca-Caesarea.

Caesarea-Philippi city on the southern slope of Mount Hermon, built at a major spring that serves as a source of the Jordan River. The city is known under the name of Panion or Paneas in Hellenistic sources, an indication of a local sanctuary dedicated to Pan. Augustus Caesar gave the city to Herod the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.2.1). Herod is credited with building a sanctuary to Augustus and with building his palace at Caesarea-Paneas. The city, however, was not a political center until it passed into the hands of his son Herod Philip in 4 B.C.E., the era of its founding used on its coins. The city minted its own coins from the time of Augustus until the early third century C.E. Philip made the city the capital of his tetrarchy and called it Caesarea in honor of Augustus Caesar or Tiberius Caesar. Later, King Agrippa II used the city as his capital but renamed it Neronias in honor of Nero, his patron. Today it is called Caesarea-Philippi to distinguish it from another Caesarea, namely, Caesarea Maritima on the Mediterranean coast. A large cave, evidently the cave of Pan, is associated with rock-cut niches outside the cave to the left. One of the Greek inscriptions mentions Pan and Echo, a mountain nymph. Evidently a spring arose in the cave in antiquity. Its course was covered and altered by Roman engineers, probably of Herod Philip, who had it emerge outside the cave directly from a round lagoon. The coins minted at Caesarea-Philippi feature Pan playing his pipes or, on smaller denominations, his pipes alone. Recent excavations have revealed a huge Roman period building, perhaps a palace. The location of the palace of Herod the Great has been recognized for years because of the remains of walls with stonework unique to his reign. The city may be mentioned in the Talmud under the name Kisariyon.

Caesarea Synagogue fourth- and fifth-century synagogue excavated near the Mediterranean Sea at Caesarea, capital of ancient Palestine. The earliest remains identified by the excavator as a synagogue are those of a nearly square, Herodian-period building only about nine meters each side, built directly on top of foundations of houses from the late Hellenistic period. It is impossible to determine what the building was used for in this period, but it may have been a small gathering room for the Jewish community. In the third century a long, narrow prayer hall was built on top the ruins of the square building and paved with mosaics. It is in poor condition. This building was refurbished in the late

fourth century and paved with a new mosaic. It remained in use until it was destroyed by fire in the sixth century. When founded its mosaic floors contained Greek inscriptions honoring donors: Theodorus the son of Olympus and Beryllos the son of Justus, the head of the synagogue. Other remains with Jewish art or symbols include a fragment of a Hebrew inscription mentioning the list of the priestly courses in Jerusalem and the localities to which they fled in 70 C.E., lamps decorated with menorahs, capitals with menorahs incised or in relief, and fragments of a chancel screen decorated with a menorah. A certain Patricius was honored as counsul on an additional capital. It is known that Patricius was consul at Caesarea in 459.

Caiaphas, Joseph high priest (18–36 C.E.), appointed by the Roman prefect Valerius Gratus. According to the Gospel of John 18:13, Caiaphas was the son-in-law of Annas (Ananus, son of Sethi). When Vitellius, the Roman consular legate of Syria, removed Pilate from office, he also replaced Caiaphas with Jonathan, son of Ananus. According to the Gospel of Matthew (26:3, 57) and the Gospel of John (11:49; 18:13–14, 24, 28), Caiaphas was the high priest instrumental in sending Jesus of Nazareth to the Roman prefect Pilate for execution.

Cain son of Adam and Eve; father of Enoch; the first city-builder. He was ancestor of Jubal, the first musician, and Tubal-cain, worker in bronze and iron (Gen. 4). Cain became angry when God rejected his sacrifice but accepted that of his brother, Abel, so he killed Abel, becoming the first murderer.

Cain is remembered primarily as Abel's murderer and as a negative moral example (Jub. 4; 4 Macc. 18:11; Life of Adam and Eve 23). The Apocalypse of Abraham 24:5 says that the "crafty adversary" made Cain kill Abel; 1 John 3:12 blames it on the "evil one"; and Testament of Benjamin 7:1–4 blames Beliar. Testament of Adam 3:3 says that Cain killed Abel out of passion for their sister. Wisdom of Solomon 10:3 says that when Cain killed the righteous Abel out of anger, he departed from wisdom. Josephus considers Cain the embodiment of greed (*Ant.* 1.2.1–2, secs. 52–66).

Cain's descendants also attract attention. Testament of Adam 3:3 says Cain's daughters caused the Flood. 1 Enoch 22:7 says that Abel's spirit will petition God until Cain's seed is eliminated from the earth. Testament of Benjamin 7:5 and Jude 11 liken all immoral people to Cain.

Cairo Damascus Document *see* DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Cairo Geniza The word *geniza* denotes a repository for Jewish sacred manuscripts (especially those that include the name of God) that were no longer suitable for use but could not be destroyed. In 1896 this particular *geniza* was discovered in Old Cairo in the Ben Ezra Synagogue (a building still standing today) by Solomon Schechter of Cambridge University. The *geniza* contained a store of medieval manuscripts belonging to the Karaites, a Jewish sect that flourished in the Middle Ages and that rejected the rabbinic tradition of the Talmud and confined itself to the study of scriptures alone.

The most famous document discovered in the Cairo Geniza is the Damascus Document, which was first published by Schechter in 1910 under the title Zadokite Fragments. Two partial manuscripts of this work were found: Manuscript A, which dates from the tenth century C.E., and Manuscript B, from the twelfth century C.E. The text is a rule book from a then unknown Jewish sect; when fragments of the same work were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1950s, the identification of the text with the Essenes at Qumran seemed assured. However, because of this overlap between the Geniza material and the scrolls, Solomon Zeitlin identified the scrolls with the Karaites, an identification that overlooks the antiquity of the scrolls and that is rejected by most scholars today. *See also* CAIRO GENIZA, TARGUM FRAGMENTS FROM; DAMASCUS DOCUMENT.

Cairo Geniza, targum fragments from Since approximately the ninth century C.E., the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo, Egypt, placed its old documents in a storeroom called a *geniza*. In the late nineteenth century, the decaying documents were taken to libraries in Europe and the United States. Many of the fragments constitute the remains of targums—translations of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic. Many fragments were originally continuous targums; there are remains of Targum Onkelos, the Targums to the Prophets, and the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch. The *geniza* also contained targum festival collections (with special readings for religious festivals such as Passover, Purim, and Shabuot, fragmentary targums, and Tosefta targums.

calendar systematic arrangement of time into set units, such as days, weeks, months, and years. The different parts of the Hebrew Bible provide evidence for three systems of naming months: by old Canaanite names, such as Abib and Ethanim; by ordinal numbers (first, second, etc.); and by Babylonian names (Nisan, Adar, etc.). At times these systems are used together for greater clarity. Exo-

dus 12:2 says that the year was to begin in the spring, and the dates for the festivals presuppose a vernal inception (see Lev. 23). The dated documents from the Jewish military colony at Elephantine in Egypt (4th–5th cs. B.C.E.) show that these Jews also used the Babylonian or Persian month names; the same appears to be true in the fourth-century B.C.E. Samaritan texts from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh. 1 Enoch 72–82, a third-century B.C.E. text, describes in full a solar calendar of 364 days (beginning in the spring) and a lunar system of 354 days (with alternating 29- and 30-day months). It gives no specific indication of how the two might have been brought into harmony with each other through intercalation of extra days. This same solar calendar of 364 days is strongly defended in the Book of Jubilees, which was written in Hebrew in about 150 B.C.E. The author alludes to people who observe the moon in making calendrical calculations and strongly criticizes them (chap. 6). It is not clear what the standard Jewish calendar might have been at this time, although a lunar calendar, which was harmonized with the solar year by adding a thirteenth month approximately every third year, was widely accepted in the Hellenistic world.

The Book of Daniel (about 165 B.C.E.) hints that Antiochus IV (r. 175–164 B.C.E.), the Seleucid monarch who banned the practice of Judaism, may have introduced calendar changes in Jerusalem (Dan. 7:25). There may have been debates about the proper calendar in the following years, and the disagreement involved may have been one reason why a group left Jerusalem to settle near the Dead Sea, where they wrote and copied their scrolls. These Dead Sea Scrolls supply a rather large amount of calendrical information. They show that the group adhered to the 364-day solar calendar but also had a 354-day lunar scheme, to which 30 days may have been added every third year. The people who wrote the scrolls (they date from about 150 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.) dated their festivals by the solar calendar and therefore celebrated them at a different time than other Jews did. Nevertheless, they did attempt to correlate their solar calendar with their peculiar lunar one. If intercalation of the solar calendar was practiced, it probably involved seven-day units, since the week, with its Sabbath, is a basic principle of the calendar.

The familiar Jewish calendar of twelve lunar months, augmented seven times in nineteen years by a second Adar, is first attested in rabbinic and later sources, although it, or something like it, was undoubtedly practiced at an earlier time. This calendar ensures that the festival of Passover, which falls at the full moon of the lunar month of Nisan (the fifteenth of Nisan), always coincides with the first full moon after the vernal equinox (Mar. 21), and that the festival of Tabernacles (Sukkot), which falls at the full moon of the lunar month of Tishri, always coincides with the first full moon after the autumnal equinox (Sept. 21). By periodically adding a month following Adar (late winter), called Adar Sheni, or the Second Adar, the lunar and solar calendars are synchronized.

Caligula *see* GAIUS

call the act by which God appoints a person to a particular role, status, or task. In the Hebrew Bible, such a commissioning is usually directed toward one whom God has designated as a prophet (Exod. 3, Isa. 6, 49:1–3; Jer. 1; Ezek. 1–2). Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and later literature, the literary form of an epiphany, traditionally used to describe a call, can also shape a story in which the birth of one who will serve God's purposes is announced (Judg. 13:2–20; cf. Luke 1:5–23, 26–38).

The stereotyped literary form employed to recount the story of a prophetic call includes all or most of the following narrative elements, with some variation in the order: circumstances; appearance of the Deity or the audition of God's voice; the prophet's fearful reaction and God's response, "fear not"; commission to serve as a prophet; a protest that one is not fit for the office; divine reassurances such as "I am with you" or, again, "fear not, do not be dismayed"; the prophet's acquiescence to the call. In their present settings, these stories assert the prophet's credentials and thus authenticate the book's message,

Among the nonbiblical literature of Second Temple Judaism, 1 Enoch is remarkable for its use of the prophetic commissioning form. According to chapters 12–16, the ancient patriarch was taken to heaven, where the enthroned Deity commissioned him to announce doom to the fallen watchers. In context, this pseudonymous account authenticates the divinely sent message of judgment that runs through the literary collection (cf. 1:2–3, 93:2). A somewhat different use of the call form appears in Daniel 10–12, where an angel reveals the future, which the sage is to write in a book that is to be sealed until the time of its imminent fulfillment.

The prophetic call form and allusions to it appear in New Testament accounts of apostolic commissioning. The post-Resurrection appearances of Jesus in Matthew 28:16–20, Luke 24:36–53, John 20:19–29, 21:1–19 are commissioning stories. The accounts of Jesus' appearance to Saul of Tarsus in Acts 9:1–9, 22:6–22, 26:4–18 are also call stories,

which have been influenced by Isaiah 49 and Jeremiah 2, as has Paul's own reference to the event (Gal. 1:12–17). The Book of Revelation as a whole imitates Daniel 10–12 as an account of eschatological revelations that the seer is commanded to write in a book (1:11, 22:8–10). *See also* BIRTH, MIRACULOUS; EPIPHANY.

Callistus bishop of Rome (c. 217–c. 222 C.E.). According to Hippolytus, Callistus sought martyrdom by creating a disturbance in a Jewish synagogue, purportedly as a way to cover up a crime. When he embezzled a large amount of money, his employer, a Christian belonging to the imperial household, had him arrested and put to the treadmill. Entreaties by friends, however, secured his release. Pretending to meet his creditors, he went instead to the synagogue on the Sabbath. When he disrupted the service, the Jews roughed him up and dragged him before the Roman prefect Rusticus. Although his former employer tried to secure his release, the prefect sentenced him to a mine in Sardinia for violating laws protecting Jewish worship.

Calpurnius Atilianus *see* ATILIANUS, PUBLIUS CALPURNIUS

Campanus, Sextus Hermetidius governor of Syria-Palaestina, 93 C.E. A wooden diptych from Egypt refers to Domitian's edict granting favors to veterans. In addition, it refers to soldiers of the Tenth Legion serving in Jerusalem while Campanus was legate. We do not know anything else certain about his career.

Canaanite an inhabitant of the Land of Canaan; the biblical designation for the indigenous inhabitants of Israel in the pre-Israelite and Israelite periods (Gen. 12:5–6). In the Gospel of Matthew (15:22), the term is used for a woman from the coastal territory of Tyre and Sidon, northwest of Galilee. (In Mark she is referred to as a Greek, a Syrophoenician by birth.) Josephus uses the term only of biblical times, and it is likely that Matthew is making a biblical allusion.

Cananaean epithet of Jesus' disciple Simon (Mark 3:18; Matt. 10:4). "Cananaean" derives from the Aramaic for "zealot" or "enthusiast" and signifies an individual opposed to the Roman occupation of Palestine (see also Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13).

candlestick, seven-branched *see* MENORAH

cannibalism, Jews accused of This comes from a slander that in 168 B.C.E., when Antiochus IV suppressed Judaism, he found a Greek imprisoned in the temple who claimed he was being fattened up for a cannibalistic feast. This is mentioned by several Graeco-Roman writers, including Apion. The origin of the tale is difficult to pin down. There may be folklore elements that have nothing to do with the Jews, but it has been suggested that it was also official Seleucid propaganda to excuse the Seleucids' attack on Judaism. Whatever its exact origins, the story was evidently widely circulated in first-century B.C.E. Egypt at a time of tremendous rivalry between Greeks and Jews.

canon (Lat., rule or guide) term that came to be applied to the list of books that were considered a part of authoritative scripture. The fixing of the canon of the Hebrew Bible was a long process about which we know little. The Pentateuch was probably the first of the works to be canonized, since it is accepted in all traditions. After that, the Prophets seem to have been agreed on by several traditions some time before the common era, but they were not accepted by everyone (e.g., the Samaritans). The Writings were probably the last to receive assent: their content as found in the present Hebrew Bible is not known before 100 C.E., and it is clear that certain books not in the present list were accepted by some communities; also, some in the present canon were evidently not universally accepted. For example, Esther is not known at Qumran, while 1 Enoch seems to have been accepted not only at Qumran but also by the writer of the New Testament epistle of Jude and the Ethiopic Church. When the canon became fixed in the Jewish community generally is not known, but the idea that it was done at the Council of Jamnia is not supported by evidence; however, Jewish sources after 70 C.E. list no other books as canonical.

The canon of the New Testament also had a long period of growth. Some early lists of books include such writings as the Epistle of Barnabas but leave out others (e.g., 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Book of Revelation). Even by the time of the Christianization of the Roman Empire, the church historian Eusebius still indicates some debate about certain books. By about a century later, however, the present canon appears to have been accepted by all areas of Christendom. Thus, the contents of the Old Testament canon vary among the Christian churches, but the New Testament canon is the same for all.

Capernaum major Jewish town on the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee dating mainly from the late Hellenistic period to the Arab conquest. Capernaum means "village of Nahum," likely after its otherwise unknown owner from some early period in its history. Capernaum is mentioned often in the gospels as the headquarters of Jesus' ministry.

According to Luke 7:2–5 a Roman centurion was the patron of the local synagogue, a situation paralleled often in Syrian sources where centurions patronize local deities and build their sanctuaries. Jesus taught in the local synagogue, and several of his miracles are located at Capernaum (Matt. 8:5; Mark 1:21–28, 2:1–12; Luke 7:1–10). According to Matthew 8:14, Jesus was staying at the house of his chief disciple, Peter (or of Peter and his brother Andrew in Mark 1:29). Peter's mother-in-law also lived there. In his autobiography Josephus tells how he was injured in a fall during his activities as general of Galilee during the Jewish War and was taken to "Capharnaoum" for first aid (*Life* 72). A village of Kefar Tanhoum, Kefar Tanhoumin, or Kefar Tehoumin is known in rabbinic sources (Midrash Shir ha-Shirim 3.18; Y. Terumot 11.7).

Archaeology began at Capernaum in 1905 and has continued intermittently to the present. It appears that people lived at Capernaum in the thirteenth century B.C.E. and even earlier, but occupation began in earnest only during the Persian period. From the late Hellenistic period onward, the town was laid out in regular blocks or *insulae,* which are composed of cluster houses. The houses are organized as rooms around central, unroofed courtyards, sometimes with other, smaller courtyards elsewhere in the dwelling. The houses are built of the local black basalt. One of these houses is identified by recent excavators as the house of Simon Peter. This identification is based upon the transformation of the house into a church early in the fourth century, perhaps at the instigation of Count Joseph of Tiberias. Christian visitors to the house scratched prayers on the walls in Greek and Syriac, quotations from the Hebrew Bible in Hebrew, and something fragmentary in a few Latin words. This church ultimately was destroyed in the fifth century to make room for an elaborate octagonal church. One block away to the north, in the first century C.E., stood a prayer hall or synagogue built of black basalt for the local Jewish population. This was large by ancient standards. During the fourth century, this building was torn down to make way for the elaborately decorated white limestone synagogue so well known in Jewish archaeology and history. This synagogue contains a prayer hall oriented to the south toward Jerusalem and an elaborate courtyard building on the east. This latter building may be a hospice for visitors, though it may also have been used for civic purposes by the townspeople. Some of the most arresting examples of Jewish art are known from the late synagogue at Capernaum. The center of town seems to have moved to the east after the Arab conquest of 640 C.E. Capernaum remained an Arab town until about 1030 C.E., though both the synagogue and the church fell into disrepair. This suggests that the Jewish and Christian populations either left or were in no position to maintain their worship edifices. *See also* CAPERNAUM SYNAGOGUES.

Capernaum synagogues At the ancient village site of Capernaum are remains of a spectacular white limestone synagogue of the fourth century C.E., beneath which may lie a synagogue, built of black basalt, of the first century C.E. The fourth-century synagogue was often misdated in reports before the 1970s as being from the second or even first century C.E. It stood facing south toward Jerusalem on an elevated platform with carefully finished exterior walls and decorated stucco interior walls. The exterior was extensively decorated with some of the most striking Jewish art of the period. A courtyard to the east, surrounded by a roofed portico, was accessed from the synagogue's east aisle. At nearly 25 by 19 meters, this is one of the largest synagogues known. The synagogue's interior space was divided into nave and two side aisles and an aisle in the rear by columns with Corinthian capitals. Three doorways in the facade gave entry to worship space. To the left and right of the central portal stood small platforms upon which likely stood a menorah on one and a Torah shrine on the other. A donor's inscription in Greek on a column in the back honors Herod, the son of Monimos. Another column displays a donor's inscription in Aramaic that honors Halphai bar Zebedee bar Yoḥanan. The floor was paved with large flagstones.

The exterior decoration includes an eagle with outstretched wings above the central entrance. Six genii carried five garlands above the eagle. Date palms stood on the fronts of consoles. Another stone features a brace of eagles, back to back, holding a garland in their beaks. To their right stands a Capricorn in harness. On yet another stone a portable Torah shrine is carved in perspective in relief. It has spoked wheels, columns, and, in front, a double door topped by a shell. One of the site's Corinthian capitals features a seven-branched menorah, a shofar, and an incense shovel. One of the synagogue lintels bears a carving of a double-leaf door with gable that perhaps is a Torah shrine. Other motifs carved in relief include griffins, flowers, an amphora, a five-pointed star, and a six-pointed star. A small stone fragment bears a five-branched menorah topped by a shell in relief. Lions sculpted in the round are

known from Capernaum, but it is not known if they are from the synagogue. Thousands of coins of the fourth century C.E. found in the fill beneath the synagogue floor confirms the synagogue's date of construction. It appears to have been destroyed about 638 C.E.

Beneath the fourth-century C.E. synagogue stood an earlier building of the first century B.C.E. This earlier building also had two aisles and a central nave precisely beneath the aisles and nave of the later synagogue. The nave was paved in the first century C.E. to cover earlier structures. It had used black granite columns to hold up the roof. Its stones were carefully cut and fitted, unlike a private dwelling. The stones beneath the gabled roof had been carved with egg-and-dart molding. This building had not been simply removed to build the upper synagogue, but rather its walls had been pushed inward so that the stubs of its walls stood nearly three feet high and retained the rubble within. Dirt with thousands of bronze coins (perhaps a symbolic offering?) of the fourth century was poured into the interstices of the stones to consolidate the debris and form the elevated platform for the fourth-century synagogue. All these clues conspire to suggest that this had been a first-century prayer hall or synagogue partially retained by the community even as they destroyed it to build the later synagogue.

C. Apion *see* AGAINST APION

capital punishment execution, inflicted for sins or crimes specified in the Torah. Four modes of execution were inflicted by the earthly court (in order of severity): stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangulation.

captives, ransoming of (Heb.: *pidyon shabuim*) religious duty to ransom an Israelite captured by slave traders or kidnappers. The community as a whole was responsible for ransoming captives.

Caracalla (188–217 C.E.) nickname of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor. He was the eldest son of Lucius Septimius Severus. In 199 he was coregent with his father. In 212, he arranged for the murder of his brother Geta and became the sole ruler of the empire. He saw himself as a second Alexander and hoped for vast conquests to the east. In 215 he enlarged the province of Osroene to include Edessa, but failed to take Armenia. He invaded Media in 216, but was assassinated in Carrhae in 217 before he could continue his conquests.

In 212 Caracalla had issued the *Constitutio Antoniniana,* an edict granting citizenship to all communities inside the empire. Although the text states that Caracalla promulgated the edict to enhance the prestige of the Roman gods who had preserved him from some danger, many scholars suggest that he increased the number of Roman citizens in order to collect more revenue from the inheritance tax. The edict placed the Jews on the same level as all other Roman citizens. Jerome notes that Severus and his son Antoninus greatly favored the Jews. One Roman tradition records that Caracalla refused to speak with his father because he held the latter responsible for flogging his friend "for his Jewish religion." The story is one of many designed to draw a sharp contrast between Caracalla, the kind-hearted young boy, and Caracalla, the wicked adult. He visited Palestine in 199 with his father and again in 215 on his way from Asia to Egypt. Like his father, Caracalla permitted Jews to become lawful trustees and guardians. Severus and Caracalla also issued edicts that recognized the rights of Jews to serve on municipal councils. Several scholars believe that the "Antoninus" to whom the rabbinic traditions attribute a friendship with Judah the Patriarch was Caracalla.

carpenter Jesus' occupation, according to Mark 6:3; Matthew 13:55, perhaps to increase Jesus' stature, makes him the son of the carpenter Joseph. The Greek *tekton* may also be translated as woodworker or builder. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas depicts the child Jesus helping Joseph by stretching boards in the carpentry shop.

carrion beasts that have died of natural causes or through means other than proper, ritual slaughter

Carus, Marcus Aurelius Roman emperor (r. 282–283 C.E.), born in Narbo, Gaul. In 282, after Probus was murdered by his troops, Carus announced to the Senate that he was the new emperor. In 282–283 he led an army into Persia. Upon crossing the Euphrates, he defeated Bahram II, captured Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and assumed the title of "Parthicus Maximus." He was mysteriously killed before he could move further east. When the war ended in 284, Rome had possession of Mesopotamia. This invasion by Rome into Persia is echoed in a few passages in the Babylonian Talmud, which mentions that the Romans proclaimed pagan festivals in Jewish towns.

Cassius, Avidius *see* AVIDIUS CASSIUS, GAUIS

Cassius, Dio *see* DIO CASSIUS

castration Already in Neolithic times, pastoralists had learned to castrate male animals to make them more docile and to make sure that only selected animals were able to breed. According to Josephus and rabbinic literature, however, Jews did not practice this common custom. Neither did they make

men into eunuchs, as was the custom in some Near Eastern countries, especially where bodyguards were needed for harems. In the eyes of some Graeco-Romans, however, circumcision was interpreted as castration and had to be specifically excluded from a general ban on the castration of humans in Roman law.

catacombs, Italian deep burial tunnels used for Jewish burials in Rome. From paleographical analysis of their inscriptions, it appears that these catacombs date primarily from the first through the fourth centuries C.E. Catacombs with Roman and Christian burials are also known.

Most catacombs have burial chambers leading off winding subterranean tunnels, while others merely contain niches in the tunnels for the depositing of the dead. In Rome, Christian catacombs are known to contain large rooms that were used for meetings, because Christianity was not a lawful religion until the fourth century C.E. Though Jewish catacombs do contain some rooms, they lack these large rooms, probably because Judaism was a permitted religion in Roman society. The term "catacomb" comes from a late Latin word, *catacumba,* whose etymology is uncertain. The word seems to have originally referred solely to one particular burial tunnel—"ad Catacumbas"—located on the outskirts of Rome. Since at least the ninth century C.E., the word has been used to refer to burial caves in general.

Unfortunately, half of the Jewish catacombs in Rome have been unavailable for modern research and viewing. Two discovered in the late nineteenth century (Vigna Cimarra and Via Labicana) have been lost in modern times. Another, the Via Appia Pignatelli Catacomb, is very small and almost inaccessible.

The other three Jewish catacombs (Monteverde, Vigna Randanini, and Torlonia), however, provide much information about Jewish burial practices during this period. The Catacomb Monteverde was the first Jewish catacomb discovered in Rome during modern times. It was first discovered in 1602 and then rediscovered in 1904. It contained hundreds of important Greek, Latin, and Hebrew inscriptions as well as several sarcophagi. Today the catacomb has collapsed and is inaccessible. The dedicatory inscriptions are commonly accompanied by symbols, mainly the the menorah. Several symbols of a Graeco-Roman origin are also found: the four seasons, a heavenly banquet with a child, birds, a dog, dolphins, a bull, and birds with grapes.

The Catacomb Vigna Randanini (Via Appia) was discovered in the late nineteenth century, and it too points to the adaptation of traditional Graeco-Roman symbols into Jewish life. Several painted rooms contain various Graeco-Roman symbols. One depicts a winged Victory crowning a nude youth, and another shows the crowned goddess Fortuna holding a cornucopia in her left hand and pouring a libation with her right hand. Despite these images, the catacomb is identified as Jewish because of the presence of several menorahs and several hundred Jewish inscriptions.

The Catacomb Torlonia (Nomentana), discovered in 1920, is the largest Jewish catacomb. In this catacomb Graeco-Roman art motifs are inextricably mixed with Jewish art. For instance, one ceiling depicts a menorah with a wreath, peacocks eating grapes, a grapevine, a lion, a dolphin, astral symbols, rosettes, sun, pomegranates, and birds. The integration of Graeco-Roman symbols with traditional Jewish symbols is also known from numerous sarcophagi from this catacomb. Thus, it seems clear that Graeco-Roman symbols were incorporated into Jewish depictions of the afterlife by the Jews of Rome during the first through the fourth centuries C.E.

catenae (Lat., chains) commonly used as a literary term to refer to the genre of a series of quotations used in support of a theological argument or exegesis. A good example is the series of quotations from the Hebrew Bible in Romans 3:10–18.

Catullus governor of the province of Cyrenaica (Josephus, *War* 7:439–450), the most fertile part of which comprised five Greek cities known as the Pentapolis. Josephus reports that in 73 C.E., Catullus encouraged Jonathan, a member of the Sicarii, to bring false charges of sedition against wealthy Jews of the area. Catullus then arranged the murder of three thousand of them. He subsequently encouraged Jonathan to similarly accuse respected Jews in Alexandria and Rome. According to Josephus, Catullus's plan failed when Vespasian—whom Josephus views favorably—recognized Jonathan and Catullus's treachery. The former was executed. The later, though treated leniently under the law, succumbed to psychological and physical illness and was said to have died tormented by the ghosts of those he had murdered.

caution *see* EULABEIA

CD *see* DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

C.E. abbreviation for "Common Era." This alternative terminology is often used instead of "A.D." in non-Christian contexts. *See also* A.D.

celibacy refraining from sexual relationships in the interest of religious purity and devotion.

Celibacy is relatively uncommon among Jews, since procreation is enjoined by Genesis 1:28. Josephus (*War* 2.8.2; *Ant.* 18.1.5; but contrast with mention of married Essenes in *War* 2.8.12), Philo (*Hyp.* 11, 14–17), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 5.73) insist that Essenes did not marry; the two Jewish writers attribute this practice to the Essenes' view of women's natural infidelity. However, the Qumran Scrolls do not prohibit marriage, and both Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1:4) and the Damascus Document 7:6–7 (see also 1QM 7:4–5) mention it. Judith explicitly forgoes remarriage, and Philo's Therapeutae were celibates: the men adopted the practice after leaving their family life; the women were "elderly virgins" (*Vit. Cont.*). The History of the Rechabites/Apocalypse of Zosimus depicts a miraculous community in which parents have intercourse once, conceive two children of which one will continue the family and the other will remain virgin, and then forget the pleasure of the experience (11:6–9).

Jesus' comment on eunuchs (Matt. 19:12) indicates an ascetic preference. Paul advocated celibacy as an alternative to the distractions caused by families (1 Cor. 7:7–8). While the pastoral Epistles favor marriage and, by implication, procreation (1 Tim. 2:15, 5:14, etc.), New Testament apocryphal works such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla stress celibacy. Revelation 14:4 describes the number saved as 144,000 male virgins. Celibacy is not endorsed by rabbinic Judaism. *See also* MARRIAGE; VIRGIN.

Celsus philosophical writer of uncertain origin and affiliation from the second century C.E. His only known work, *The True Doctrine,* was primarily an attack against Christianity, which he regarded as a serious threat to Graeco-Roman civilization. The work is known only from the extensive quotations in Origen who wrote a refutation in *Contra Celsum.* In order to refute Christianity, Celsus also had to attack the basis of Christianity in Judaism. Although his arguments against the Jews do not draw on the gross slanders found in some writers, such as Apion, he shows no sympathy for them or their religion. He regarded the Christian belief in Christ as merely an extension of the Jewish belief in a Messiah, with the differences being of no account. He attacks the anthropomorphism found in the writings of both religions. He is one of the few Graeco-Roman writers to show a knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, though he spends a good deal of space trying to denigrate the Genesis creation account, as well as that of the flood and the Tower of Babel. Of interest is his manner of criticizing Christianity by putting objections to it in the mouth of a Jew.

centaur fabulous half-man, half-horse monster in Greek mythology, whose origins were in ancient Thessaly. The centaur was a very minor motif in ancient Jewish art, especially in synagogue art. The centaur is difficult to identify with certainty, as it has suffered at the hand of the iconoclasts of later generations. Badly damaged figures of leaping centaurs, alternatively interpreted as panthers or lions, appear on a lintel from the later synagogue of Capernaum. A damaged depiction of a galloping centaur (or horse and rider) is known from the synagogue of Chorazin.

centurion *see* CHILIARCH

Cerialis, Sextus Vettulens Roman general. He was a trusted commander whose troops had destroyed Hebron and who was commander of the Fifth legion during its siege of Jerusalem. After Titus had conquered the city, he left Cerialis in command of the Tenth legion and the detachment that had been associated with it in holding the city.

Cestius Gallus, Gaius legate of Syria (63–67 C.E.). Gallus visited Jerusalem during Passover in 66. The Jews approached him and denounced the procurator Gessius Florus, who in turn demeaned the Jews. In the summer of 66, Florus's demand for seventeen talents from the Temple treasury was met with ridicule by the population of Jerusalem. Florus took a cohort to Jerusalem, sacked the upper city, and crucified those who were taken prisoners. Florus, the Sanhedrin, and Berenice immediately sent reports to Gallus concerning these events. Gallus sent a member of his staff to investigate the situation in Jerusalem; he reported back that the Jews were loyal to Rome and hostile only to Florus. But by September of 66 Gallus had assembled an army of over thirty thousand, which easily marched through the Galilee, establishing its base at Caesarea. By mid-October he led his troops toward Jerusalem. Believing he could take advantage of the disorder among the Jews in the city, Gallus encamped his troops on Mount Scopus, one mile north of the city. After five days of attacking the city, Gallus suddenly withdrew his troops. His retreat on the verge of victory remains a mystery, for had he continued, he could have put down the revolt at that time.

Chaeremon Egyptian priest and Stoic of the first century C.E. who wrote a history of Egypt. His single reference to the Jews is an account of the Exodus. It has many similarities to that of Manetho but also shows knowledge of traditions independent of Manetho. According to Chaeremon, the Israelites

arose as a group of afflicted persons banished by Amenophis on the instructions of the goddess Isis. Under Moses and Joseph, in this account, they joined up with refugees on the border of Egypt who had been refused entry and were then able to attack Amenophis, who fled; when Amenophis's son Rameses grew up, he drove the Jews out.

Chair of Moses modern name of stone chairs found in several ancient synagogues: Delos in the Greek islands, Dura-Europos in ancient Syria, Hammath-Tiberias on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee, Chorazin in Lower Galilee, and En Gedi on the west shores of the Dead Sea. These chairs were placed to the side of the Torah shrine, with their backs against the wall that the congregation faced, though at Delos the stone chair formed part of the congregational seating. The example from Chorazin has decorated hand rests, one arm with a lion and the other with an eagle. Recent study has emphasized that the Delos stone chair is for a synagogue official, but that the others are for a fourth-century ritual of enthronement of the Torah during worship. The "Chair of Moses" or "Throne of Moses" is mentioned in Matthew 23:2, where it is described in terms of prestige seating, apparently in the synagogue or *beit midrash*. This would accord well with the situation at Delos, where the marble "Chair of Moses" is in the center of the other seating, rather like a patriarch seated with his elders to the right and left. With regard to the stone chairs in ancient Palestine, they do not appear to have been designed for actual seating. Instead, they resemble honorific "empty thrones" known in both Roman and Byzantine non-Jewish art in the eastern Mediterranean, which were supposed to represent the deity.

Chalcedon, Council of (451 C.E.) the fourth ecumenical council. The council of five hundred bishops began their meeting at Nicea, but they were moved to Chalcedon at the request of the emperor Marcian (r. 450–457). The major issue before the council was the spread of Monophysitism. The council accepted the formula that proclaimed the unity of Christ "in two natures," while the Monophysites preferred the phrase "one nature." The Chalcedonian creed maintained that in Christ the divine and human natures coexist, entirely and completely, without mixture, transformation, separation, or division. This means that Christ is consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity and consubstantial with humans according to his humanity. Juvenal, the bishop of Jerusalem, dropped his support of the Monophysites and accepted the doctrine proposed at Chalcedon. In recognition of his support, the council elevated him to the rank of patriarch and gave him full authority over the churches in Palestine and Arabia, abolishing the authority of the bishop of Antioch over the Palestinian churches. When he returned to Jerusalem, Juvenal found that the Monophysites had declared another priest the bishop of Jerusalem. It took Juvenal over a year and a half to regain his authority. The anti-Monophysitism of Chalcedon created a division among the Christians in Syria-Palestine. The Monophysites often termed the supporters of Chalcedon as "Jews" because the latter claimed that a human had been crucified.

Chaldeans tribal people of southern Mesopotamia; Nebuchadnezzar and other Neo-Babylonian rulers (612–539 B.C.E.) were Chaldeans. In the Graeco-Roman world, the term became applied to experts in astrology and other esoteric arts. "Chaldee" is also (incorrectly) applied to the Aramaic language in some older modern works.

chambers of souls repositories for the souls of the dead, sometimes called "treasuries." 1 Enoch 22 describes a mountain in the far west with caves containing spirits or souls sorted according to their character or lot in life. 2 Baruch 24:1 and 30:2 posit the existence of such chambers, allotted to the righteous and the wicked. 2 Esdras 7:75–101 contrasts the torment of the wandering souls of the wicked with the repose in the quiet chambers of the righteous. Revelation 6:9–11 places the martyrs' souls under the heavenly altar. Presumed in all cases is the separate conscious existence of the disembodied soul or spirit, which awaits the judgment and, for the righteous, a new resurrection body.

Charax Spasinu city built by Characene, who, in the early second century B.C.E., broke away from the Parthian ruler Phraates II and established an independent kingdom under the satrap Hyspaosines. He quickly enlarged his realm, for a time controlling all of Babylonia and founding Charax Spasinu. Soon after, a Parthian campaign restored Babylonia, and with it Charax Spasinu, to Parthian control. A commercial center on the Persian Gulf, the city had a largely Hellenized population and was home to a Jewish community.

charisma (Gr., favor or gift) in common usage, the ability to inspire others with devotion and enthusiasm. In scholarly study, "charisma" has a somewhat different connotation, which varies according to its two technical meanings: First, it may be used in a sense taken from sociological study to mean the power residing in an office like that of king or prophet; second, it can refer to a

divine gift of special powers, such as those of healing, casting out demons, or performing miracles. We know of a number of charismatics in Jewish history, such as Honi the Circle Maker and Ḥanina b. Dosa. *See also* CHARISMATIC JUDAISM.

charismatic Judaism modern scholarly term for a putative type of Second Temple Judaism in the Land of Israel. The term refers to Second Temple figures who, following the model of the early Israelite prophets Elijah and Elisha, were known for miracles, primarily healing and control over weather. Two figures in rabbinic literature, Honi the Circle Maker and Ḥanina ben Dosa, as well as Jesus of Nazareth, are used to illustrate the charismatic type. Charismatic Judaism is judged to stand in contrast to the halakhic Judaism of the Pharisees and other levitical groups and to derive from Galilee.

Widespread in the 1970s and 1980s, the category became less popular in the 1990s. Close analysis of the rabbinic sources about Honi and Ḥanina showed these figures to resemble Jesus less than previously had been assumed and weakened the connection to Galilee as well. Though still in use, the category charismatic Judaism has lost most of its analytical force.

chastisement *see* DISCIPLINE

Chelkias a general for Cleopatra III Euergetis in her civil war (107–102 B.C.E.) with her son, Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus. Chelkias died in Coele Syria while pursuing Ptolemy toward Egypt. His father, Onias IV, built the Temple at Leontopolis. His brother Ananias also served as a general for Cleopatra.

Cher. *see* DE CHERUBIM

cherubim winged creatures of composite animal and sometimes human form associated with God's presence. Two- and three-dimensional depictions of these creatures were placed in the tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple, and in the Holy of Holies two massive statues of cherubim spread their wings over the ark (1 Kings 6:23–28, 8:6–7). These depictions, which drew their inspiration from the ancient Near Eastern environment, suggest the existence of such wondrous creatures in the divine throne room. According to 1 Enoch 14:18, they flank the heavenly throne (cf. Ezek. 1:4–14). 1 Enoch 61:10 and 71:7 list them with other classes of heavenly beings. *See also* ANGELS; DE CHERUBIM; OFANIM; SERAPHIM.

child sacrifice or exposure, Jewish laws on Although human sacrifice was still sporadically practiced by the Carthaginians, it was generally abhorred in the Graeco-Roman world; however, the exposure of unwanted children was widely accepted. The Jews were unusual in forbidding it, and writers comment on their rearing of all their children.

chiliarch (Gr., ruler over a thousand) generally used as the military title of a commander over a unit of one thousand troops, though sometimes it could be applied to more administrative offices. It is the equivalent of a Roman military tribune or a Persian *hazarapatish*.

Chionites central Asian people, probably related to the Hunas and the Hephthalites. They were allies of Shapur II at Amida in 359 C.E. During the reign of Bahram V in the early fifth century C.E., they crossed the Oxus, ravaged Merv, crossed the Elburz into Khorasan, and reached Rey. They made peace with Bahram at Oxus.

chōra (Gr., countryside) sometimes used to designate a district or even a country. More often, however, it was used generically to refer to the rural and village population as opposed to those in the cities. Thus, it took on the connotation of "peasant" or "unsophisticated."

Chorazin (Arab.: Korazin, Khirbet Kerazeh) ancient village and synagogue site in the mountainous area north of the Sea of Galilee, west of the Jordan, and only 4 kilometers from Capernaum. The site is mentioned in the Babli at least twice (B. Men. 85a and 85b). The synagogue is quite large, measuring nearly 23 by 17 meters. It stood facing south toward Jerusalem with carefully finished and decorated exterior walls on an elevated terrace virtually in the center of the ancient village. A grand staircase on its north facade led up to a triple-portal entrance from the street or square in front of the building. Chorazin's exterior was extensively decorated with some of the most striking Jewish art of the period; the interior was also decorated. The interior space of the synagogue was divided into two side aisles and a rear aisle by columns with Ionic capitals. Three doorways in the facade gave entry to worship space. A narrow courtyard to the west was accessed from the synagogue's front portico. A small room at the north end of the courtyard was accessed from the west aisle of the synagogue.

External decorations in relief include immense shells, presumably above the portals; lions sculpted in the round on the cornice of the pediment; and a frieze of lions and acanthus leaves crowned by an eagle. Interior decoration includes a menorah (?), two lions carved in the round, relief carvings of a centaur, a lion attacking a centaur, a lioness suckling her young, and a lion devouring its prey. One stone fragment displays a Torah shrine within a

wreath, but also a Medusa or head of Helios inside a wreath. A frieze on one wall displayed viticultural motifs, including two men treading out grapes and human figures reaching for or holding grape clusters. One of the most famous finds is a "Chair of Moses" carved from a single block of basalt and having an Aramaic inscription carved on its front: "Remembered be for good Judah bar Ishmael who made this stoa and its steps. For his work may he have a share with the righteous."

A hoard of coins was found beneath the synagogue's threshold. Since the majority date from the end of the fourth to the end of the fifth century C.E., the building cannot have been built later than the fifth century, assuming that the hoard was concealed while the building was in use. Some have argued for the third or fourth century C.E. as its earliest date, finding it analogous with Capernaum. Artifacts found within the building suggest that it was in use until the seventh or eighth century C.E.

chosen one (Heb.: *baḥir*; Gr.: *eklektos*) one chosen by God for a specific purpose. The earliest certain use of the term with reference to an individual appears to be in Second Isaiah, where it is a synonym for the servant of YHWH (Isa. 42:1). Postexilic texts apply the term to Abraham (Neh. 9:7), Moses (Ps. 106:23), David and the future Davidic king (Ps. 89:3, 19, both parallel to "my servant"), and Zerubbabel the Davidite (Hag. 2:23). In the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), it is the preeminent title of the exalted judicial figure also known as "righteous one" and "son of man" (e.g., 49:2; 51:3; 52:6; 61:8, 10; 62:1). Its source is Second Isaiah, whose portraits of the servant are among the origins of Enoch's visions of the exalted one (cf. 1 Enoch 48 and Isa. 49; 1 Enoch 49:4 and Isa. 42:1). The title, moreover, parallels Enoch's use of "chosen ones" as a major title for the righteous, whose cause "the chosen one" champions (1 Enoch 62:1–8). Elsewhere in Second Temple non-biblical texts, the term is used of an individual only in the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah with reference to Jeremiah the prophet (Par. Jer. 1:1, 4, 7; 3:4, 5).

In the New Testament the singular is applied once, and possibly twice, to Jesus. In his rewriting of Mark's story of Jesus' crucifixion, Luke changes "the Christ, the king of Israel" to "the Christ of God, the chosen one" (Luke 23:35), and some manuscripts of John's version of the story of Jesus' baptism ascribe to John the Baptist the confession that Jesus is "the chosen one of God" (John 1:34). The latter usage fits with the baptism stories in Mark 1:11 and Matthew 3:17, where "my son in whom I am pleased" is a conflation of Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1. This combination of servant and messiah language can be traced back through 1 Enoch to Second Isaiah, where the servant combines features of the prophet and king. *See also* CHOSEN ONES; SERVANT OF THE LORD.

chosen ones the segment of Israel on whom God's favor is bestowed. In Third Isaiah (Isa. 56–66) it parallels the plural "servants" (Isa. 65:9–15) because, unlike Second Isaiah (Isa. 44:1–2, 45:4), this prophet does not believe that all of Israel is God's servant and chosen one. Among Second Temple nonbiblical texts, the term is prominent in 1 Enoch (1–5, 37–71, and 93) and in some of the Qumran scrolls (1QS 8:6; 1QH 14:15), where it reflects a clear sense that only certain Israelites are true Israelites. At Qumran, and perhaps in 1 Enoch, the authors have a particular group in mind. In the New Testament, "the chosen" refers to those who accept Jesus as Messiah (Mark 13:20, 27; Rom. 8:33; 1 Pet. 1:1–2; cf. 2:9). *See also* CHOSEN ONE; ELECTION.

chosen people Israel; refers to the belief that the people of Israel were elected by God and covenanted with Him through the Torah. The belief is stated throughout the Hebrew scriptures: for example, "For you did separate them from among all the peoples of the earth to be your heritage" (Deut. 7:6); "For they are your people and your inheritance" (1 Kings 8:51). The election of Israel is expressed in terms of the Torah; God wished to show Israel grace; He therefore gave it the Torah and the commandments. In the words of the sage, R. Ḥananiah b. Akashiah, "The Holy One, blessed be He, wanted to show grace to Israel. Therefore He gave them abundant Torah and numerous commandments, as it is said, 'It pleased the Lord for his righteousness' sake to magnify the Torah and give honor to it'" (Isa. 42:21). *See also* ELECTION.

Chosroes *see* KHUSRO I; KHUSRO II

Christ (Gr.: *christos,* one who is anointed; Heb. *mashiaḥ*) In the Hebrew Bible, the "anointed" were the king and the high priest. In later Jewish writings in Greek, "Christos" could mean the messiah (however conceived). The term comes into wide currency as the New Testament designation for Jesus. It is used with the definite article to refer to an expected eschatological figure (Matt. 2:4) or to refer to Jesus as Messiah (e.g., Matt. 16:16). It also occurs in combination with the name Jesus (Acts 5:42). Most often "Christ" occurs without the article as a proper name, alone or in combination with "Jesus." Paul employs the expression "in Christ" to designate the church as the extended body of the risen Jesus. As a proper name, Christ

seems to have been used widely and very early to reflect the belief that Jesus fulfilled Jewish messianic expectations. *See also* MESSIAH.

Christian Palestinian Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN

Chronicle 2 one of the Samaritan Chronicles, apparently extending from the death of Moses to medieval times (though not yet fully published). The early part of it ascribes the origins of the Samaritan sect to a dispute over the high priesthood in the time of Eli. There is controversy over how early and original it is.

Chronicles, Targum to This targum exists in two related versions—one dating from the eighth century, the other from the ninth—each of which seems to derive from an earlier targum. Both are quite eclectic, combining materials from the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, the Targum to Kings found in the Targum to the Prophets, and the Babylonian Talmud. It also has similarities to the Peshita version of Chronicles. It is not surprising, then, that linguistically the targum is quite mixed, revealing evidence of Western and Eastern Aramaic.

chronography This term refers broadly to the science of writing chronicles. In antiquity, however, the object of determining chronology had more than just a scientific or historical function. It was believed by many that the world and history had a finite number of years, at the end of which they would come to an end, or at least a climax. Thus, calculating how much time had elapsed since the beginning of the world was the key to determining how much time was left. A number of Jewish writings show evidence of such calculations, or provide figures that could be used for them. One of the early ones was the seventy weeks of years in Daniel 9, itself a reinterpretation of the seventy years in Jeremiah 25. Eupolemus calculated the age of the world to his own time as being just over five thousand years, as did Josephus, while many Christian chronographers worked on the assumption that Jesus was born in the year of the world 5500. Behind such calculations was often the view that there was a world week; that is, just as the week had seven days, the world had seven millennia to exist. *See also* ESCHATOLOGY.

church customary New Testament translation of the Greek *ekklēsia*. In the Septuagint, *ekklēsia* translates both the Hebrew *kehal* and *edah,* terms frequently rendered in English by "congregation." In classical Greek and Hellenistic literature, *ekklēsia* became a technical term for the assembly of the people, a meaning found in Acts 19:32–39, where it is translated "assembly." The earliest Christian usage is in the phrase "church of God" (1 Cor. 1:2, 10;32, 11:22, 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:13; plural of "church" in 1 Cor. 11:16; 1 Thess. 2:14), which may reflect *kehalel* found in apocalyptic Judaism to designate the eschatological assembly of God (1QM 4:10; 1QSa 2:4) and which would envision early Christian self-understanding as the eschatological community of God. Paul also speaks of the churches of Christ (Rom. 16:16; Gal. 1:22) whereby God's action in Christ founds the Christian community. Most occurrences of "church" in the New Testament refer to local groupings, whether a single household (Rom. 16:5; Philem. 2), a single city (Rom 16:1; 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:1; 1 Thess. 1:1; Rev. 2:1) or a single province (Gal. 1:2, 22; 1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Cor. 8:1). Paul can also speak of the churches of the Gentiles (Rom. 16:4). Paul does not see local groupings as completely autonomous, however, for he teaches the same in every church (1 Cor. 4:17) and expects the Corinthians to adopt the rule found in the churches of God (1 Cor. 11:16). In his development of the metaphor of the community as a body, Paul says that "God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers. . . ." (1 Cor. 12:28). Thus, in the notion of church, there is interaction between the idea of a specific body of Christians at a particular place and a more universal body that includes all of God's eschatological people. The universal meaning is particularly present in the hymn in Colossians where Christ is the head of the body, the Church (Col. 1:18). Here the metaphor of 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12 has been transformed into a hierarchical organization with Christ as head. The same development is also found in Ephesians (1:22–23, 2:11–22, 5:23–24). In Ephesians 2:19–22, the church is the household of God built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Such an image is also present in Matthew 16:17–19—where Jesus says he will build his church on the rock of Peter—as play on the Aramaic word for rock, *kepa,* and Peter's name, Cephas.

As regards the organization of the church, Paul speaks in Philippians of "overseers and deacons" (1:1) and provides lists of various ministries in 1 Corinthians 12:28 and Romans 12:6–8. In the post-Pauline letters, the offices of deacons (1 Tim. 3:8–13), elders (1 Tim. 5:17–22; Titus 1:5–6), and bishop (1 Tim. 3:1–7; Titus 1:7) are described in more detail, whereas the Johannine literature, where the church seems to be designated by "the elect lady" (2 John 1), guards against such organization (3 John 9–10).

Cicero (c. 106–43 B.C.E.) Roman rhetorician, politician, and author. He personally does not seem to have had much interest in Jews or Judaism. He makes no mention of either in his philosophical writings, unlike his contemporary Varro; neither does he mention Jews in his published letters. Only in two of his published speeches does he refer to Judaism, attacking it as a barbaric religion; however, as these are trial speeches for the defense, they cannot be taken at face value. In fact, he attacks other ethnic groups just as ferociously when it suits his purpose.

circumcision the act of cutting off the foreskin of the male genital. Practiced in many ancient cultures (cf. Jer. 9:25–26), circumcision was seen by the Israelites as a sign given to Abraham of their covenant with God (Gen. 17:10–14). This customary ritual act became particularly significant in Judaism when its practice was forbidden by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 B.C.E. (1 Macc. 1:48). Circumcision came to be seen more and more as a distinguishing mark of Judaism. Judith and Esther insist on the circumcision of proselytes (Jdt. 14:10; Esther 8:17 [LXX]). Mattathias, leader of the Hasmonean revolt, forcibly circumcised all uncircumcised boys found within the borders of Israel (1 Macc. 2:44–46). King Josiah is praised in 2 Baruch 66:5 for leaving no one uncircumcised. Philo of Alexandria defended the law of circumcision for hygienic and allegorical reasons (*Spec. Leg.* I.1–11). Josephus relates an account of a Jewish merchant who converts Izates, the prince of Adiabene, then tries to dissuade him from being circumcised; the narrative ends with another, more learned Jew arguing that Izates should be circumcised (*Ant.* 20 secs. 38–48). The circumcised Jew is even seen as imitating the holy angels, who were created circumcised (Jub. 15:27), and Moses, who was born circumcised (LAB 9:13).

Thus, to become a Jew normally required circumcision. But what of the situation at the eschatological end times? Often the destruction of the Gentiles or their subjugation is described, but sometimes Gentiles are said at the end times to turn from idolatry with no mention of their undergoing circumcision (Isa. 2:2–4; Sib. Or. 3:710–731; 1 Enoch 90:30–36). For early Christians who believed they were living in the last days (1 Thess. 4:15), a major debate erupted about twenty years after Jesus' death over whether Gentiles entering the movement should be circumcised. At first, they did not demand the circumcision of Gentiles (Acts 15:19–20) but, as time passed and the end did not come, the question arose as to whether one should enforce the normal rules for admission to Judaism, namely, circumcision, onto Gentile converts to the Christian movement. Paul vehemently denied this in his letter to the Galatians. In Colossians, the entrance into the Christian community is described as a circumcision made without hands (Col. 2:11).

The rabbis explain circumcision's importance by describing the foreskin as a disgusting imperfection, the removal of which renders the body perfect (M. Nedarim 3:11). In line with this, only after circumcision did God tell Abraham, "Walk before me and be perfect" (Gen. 17:1; see also Gen. Rabbah 46). In this same passage, circumcision is described as the primary purpose for which God created the world in the first place, the embodiment of the covenant that made creation worthwhile.

The rabbis attributed to circumcision protective powers similar to those they credited to phylacteries or other amulets. Circumcision saves Jews from the tortures of Gehenna, to which the uncircumcised are subject. Even Moses' considerable merit could not protect him from the dangers he faced prior to circumcision (M. Nedarim 3:11). Failure to observe the covenant of circumcision was one of the reasons for the destruction of the Temple (B. Menaḥot 53b). *See also* BERIT MILAH; COVENANT.

citizenship In English, as in Greek (*politeia,* from *polis,* city), this term means membership of a city, though it has been extended to mean membership of a nation. Nevertheless, the concept of citizenship in the Graeco-Roman world was different from that of modern times. One was not normally referred to as a citizen of a country; citizenship was confined to a city. Even when the idea of Roman citizenship was developed to embrace all Italians and even others within the empire, the term still carried the idea of being a citizen of Rome, the city. The concept of citizenship goes back to the Greek city-states, in which citizens were those with civic rights in the government. The model often used in the Graeco-Roman world was that of Athens, in which all citizens were members of the gymnasium and the popular assembly, which voted on many issues. This model was to some extent a fiction, since above all the cities was an empire (e.g., the Seleucid or the Roman Empire) that restricted its autonomy to certain areas only. Nevertheless, most rulers respected the rights of cities within their autonomous spheres, so that cities were self-governing up to a certain point. The citizens would thus be able to determine to a large extent the city's governing and administration.

To be a citizen, one would usually have to be

born to parents who were both citizens (i.e., a citizen by birth) or one would have to be made a citizen (usually as an honor for some major service to the city). Simply being born in the city did not make one a citizen. Indeed, most of the inhabitants of a city were usually not citizens, though most cities had ethnic communities that were to some extent autonomous (*politeuma*) but did not enjoy the privileges of citizenship. The Jews were no different from other ethnic communities in most Graeco-Roman cities, since they formed their own *politeuma,* which applied Jewish law within its own sphere of authority.

The question of citizenship came to a head in the first century C.E. in several cities, especially in Alexandria. Generally, a few Jews (e.g., Philo of Alexandria) were citizens because of wealth or the deeds of ancestors. It was therefore natural that others also desired this privilege and agitated for it. The result was civil disorder, riots, and, in some cases, severe persecutions. Eventually, the emperor Claudius issued an edict that restricted citizenship to those who already possessed it by birth. *See also* GYMNASIUM.

citron (Heb.: *etrog*) a citrus fruit; one of four species carried in synagogue on Sukkot; from Leviticus 23:40, "fruit of a goodly tree." *See also* ETROG.

city of refuge a place where a man who has incurred blood guilt by unintentionally killing another may find sanctuary until he is brought to trial. He must remain there until he is proved innocent and the high priest has died. Should he leave the city of refuge before this, he may be slain because he has shed blood, no matter how innocently—a prerogative of YHWH alone. The cities of refuge were not intended to afford sanctuary to one who killed intentionally, that is, committed murder. In such a case, it was the obligation of the elders of the city in which he was born to extradite him and to hand him over to the proper avenger. Although there is general agreement that there are six cities of refuge, their disposition is not agreed upon. The Chronicler treats them as Levitical, but he only mentions two by name: Hebron and Shechem.

Clarus, Gaius Erucius *see* ERUCIUS CLARUS, GAIUS SEXTUS

Claudius (10 B.C.E.–54 C.E.) Roman emperor. Claudius's proclamation as emperor in 41 was virtually an accident. He was hiding in the palace when the emperor Gaius was murdered, and upon being discovered, he was taken to the Praetorian camp and saluted as emperor by the Praetorian Guard. His rule was less authoritarian than his predecessors. He constantly urged the senators to take their responsibilities more seriously. Even though he lacked military experience, he participated in the invasion of Britain in 43. His administration is noted for the rise in power of rich and powerful freed slaves.

Dio claims that in 41 Claudius deprived the Jews in Rome of the right of assembly because they were too numerous to expel. Suetonius says that Claudius expelled the Jews because of the constant riots instigated by Chrestus. Orosius claims that Josephus reported Claudius's expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 49, but there is no reference to this in our versions of Josephus. In 41 Claudius sent an edict to the city of Alexandria reestablishing the position of its Jewish community after the attacks it had experienced there during Gaius's reign. There is speculation that his Jewish friends Agrippa I and Herod of Chalcis encouraged him to investigate the matter. Claudius seems to have heard from Alexandrian delegations representing both sides of the dispute before he issued his edict confirming the rights of the Jews to follow their own customs. Shortly after this, he issued a similar edict affecting the whole empire that also confirmed the rights of the Jews to follow their own traditions, but also reminding them not to be disrespectful to the cults of other peoples. However, the situation in Alexandria was still unstable, and Claudius was forced to send a letter to Alexandria in November 41. He writes that both sides must give up their mutual and stubborn hostility. He reaffirms that the Jews, long-time residents of Alexandria, should continue to enjoy the privileges granted them by Augustus. Furthermore, the Jews must not seek to gain more rights; they must refrain from sending more delegations to Rome; they must not invite Jews from Syria or Egypt to Alexandria; and they must not intrude into the events at the gymnasium.

A papyrus known as the Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs refers to Claudius's punishment of Isidorus and Lampo for their attempt to defame Agrippa before the emperor. Unfortunately, the state of the text is so poor that it is difficult to ascertain the details of the event or even to ascertain whether the text refers to Agrippa I or II. In 45 Fadus sought to strengthen his control over Judea by placing the high priest's vestments under Roman control. Fadus was forced to send an embassy along with one from the Sanhedrin to Claudius to resolve the matter. Josephus claims that the presence of Agrippa II at the imperial court was the reason that the emperor supported the Jews' position. At this same time, Claudius granted the nomination of the high priests to Herod of Chalcis.

Claudius Paternus Clementianus procurator of Judea and Syria of uncertain date. The province is called "Judea" and not "Syria-Palaestina," suggesting a date before 135 when Hadrian renamed the province. Claudius is identified as the "procurator of the dead or recalled governor," but there is no indiction to whom this refers.

Clearchus of Soli Peripatetic writer who flourished c. 300 B.C.E. He spent time in Asia Minor, where he probably came in contact with Jews. In a quotation from Josephus, he relates a supposed meeting between Aristotle and a Jew of Syria, who "not only spoke Greek but had the soul of a Greek." It is unlikely that such a meeting took place, but, like similar stories, it served as a vehicle for Greeks of this time to idealize Oriental wisdom. The same story claims that the Jews descended from Indian philosophers. A number of early Greek writers spoke positively of the Jews.

Clemens procurator of Syria-Palestine under Diocletian. We find only one reference to him on the side of an inscription of the legate L. Valerius Valerianus. The inscription merely mentions his name and the emperor under whom he served.

Clementianus, Claudius Paternus *see* CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS

Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) theologian. He may have been born in Athens and seems to have become a Christian as an adult. He headed a school in Alexandria that introduced Christian ideals of life in philosophical terms. Although popular in the early church, he fell out of favor beginning in the eighth century, when he was presumed to be one of Origen's teachers. Only three of his works survive. His *Protrepticus,* like Aristotle's lost work of the same name, is presented in the form of a proclamation addressed to educated people. He is familiar with Jewish Hellenistic authors, especially Philo, and the philosophical principles of Clement's thought come from Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy. He follows Philo's method of allegory in interpreting scripture and believes that Moses' legislation is natural law. Clement praises the Bible's dietary laws, restrictions on dress, and sexual mores, for they help humans achieve a modified asceticism that is necessary for a true Christian life. Several times he refers to Jewish customs, such as washing, and sometimes he supports his own views by stating that "a Jew told me so." However, he does not seem to have extensive knowledge of Judaism. While he has some sympathy toward Judaism, he did write a tract against the Jews.

Cleodemus Malchus writer, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, about whom little is known. He is called a prophet, but the significance of this is uncertain. Only one fragment survives of his writing, which seems to have been about Libya. This quotation came through Alexander Polyhistor, showing that Cleodemus lived earlier than that writer, but his date is otherwise uncertain (perhaps the second century B.C.E.). We also do not know his nationality. Some have identified him as a pagan because he combines Jewish with Greek tradition; however, we find similar practice in some writers who are certainly Jewish or Samaritan, such as Artapanus or Pseudo-Eupolemus. Thus, the suggestion that he was Jewish or Samaritan seems the best guess. According to Cleodemus, Abraham had many sons by Keturah. Assyria was named after one called Assouri, and Africa was named after one called Iapheras (actually a grandson in Gen. 25:4). Iapheras and another son, Iaphras or Aphranes, joined with Heracles in fighting against Libya. Afterward, Heracles married a daughter of Iaphras or Aphranes, thus joining in the line of Abraham.

Cleopatra III Euergetes (Kokke) daughter of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II. She was married to her uncle Ptolemy VIII Euergetes in 142 B.C.E., while her mother was also his wife. After his death in 116 she was made co-regent with one of her sons, Ptolemy IX Philometor (Lathyros), whom she disliked intensely. She incited rebellions against Lathyros, and she finally drove him out in 107; a second son, Ptolemy X Alexander, was installed. Alexander Jannaeus in Judea tried to take advantage of this split in Ptolemaic power to expand his kingdom, without success. Eventually, Cleopatra quarreled with Ptolemy X, and in 101 she was assassinated by him.

Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator (69–30 B.C.E.) daughter of Ptolemy XII; ruled Egypt along with Ptolemy XIII in 51 B.C.E. The last of the pharaohs, Cleopatra tried desperately to revive the fortunes of Egypt and to provide for her subjects. She ruled during a time of transition in the Roman Empire; intelligent and quick-witted, she allied herself with Julius Caesar and bore him a son, Caesarion. After Caesar's assassination, she joined with Mark Antony, bearing him twin children. Antony returned to Cleopatra former portions of the old Ptolemaic Empire, as well as parts of the Phoenician seacoast and the spice-bearing areas around Jericho and in Arabia, and she supplied money and stores to aid Antony after his failed expedition against Parthia. In 34 B.C.E. Cleopatra and Antony staged a triumphal scene at Alexandria, whereby all the lands once ruled by Alexander the Great, from Greece to the Indus, were divided between

Cleopatra and her children, even though much of the area remained unconquered or was held by client kings. This vision died with the defeat of Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.E. by Octavian. Cleopatra committed suicide soon after, on 10 August 30 B.C.E.

cleruchy (from Gr.: *klēruchia*, inheritance) The term became generally applied to a military colony in the Graeco-Roman world. It derives from the Greek *klēros* (part, or share), in reference to the allotments of land that settlers were given. A ruler would often found such a colony in a border or other area of potential trouble. The settlers were responsible for police work and border defense and could be conscripted into the army in time of war. It was an effective way of keeping order in the area, as well as having reserves ready to fight at short notice.

client kingdom kingdom under Roman domination but not administered directly by Rome; also known as a "friendly kingdom." During the period of Roman expansion, many states were turned into Roman provinces with Roman governors. Nevertheless, a few native kings were able to retain their thrones and maintain their own internal governments. Such a kingdom was usually in a border area. The king had to be approved by Rome; he had restictions placed on his activity, especially with regard to other kingdoms, but he otherwise often functioned as a virtual autocrat in his own country. Herod the Great is a major example. He was appointed king of Judea during the late Republic, held on to his throne during the Roman Civil War, and was confirmed in it by Octavian in 31 B.C.E. During his long reign, Herod generally had good relations with Augustus, but he consulted him about any matters relating to the succession. When Herod evidently accused some of his sons of plotting against him, the trial was presided over by the Romans. Herod was once admonished for attacking the Nabateans, a neighboring kingdom, and had to endure humiliating raids from them until Augustus changed his mind.

clothing any of the apparel used in antiquity by Jewish communities in Palestine and in the diaspora. Our sources for reconstructing dress stem mainly from ancient Jewish and non-Jewish art, especially in wall murals, mosaic floors, and in wall mosaics of the Byzantine period. There is a small amount of evidence from coins, relief sculpture, and finds of clothing at Masada and En Gedi in Israel. Clothing in general consisted of an outer garment, perhaps a cloak, a main garment, and sandals or boots. In general Jews wore garments that reflect the culture in which they lived. We have no details of dress from the Persian period, but it seems likely that local styles persisted except where one dressed like the Persians for reasons of status or political expedience. In the Hellenistic period the major form of dress was the rectangular mantle (Gr.: *himation*; Heb.: *talit*) over a tunic (Gr.: *chiton*; Heb.: *haluk*), the main garment. The tunic was simply two rectangular sheets sewn together with holes at the edges for the head and arms. Two broad stripes in a dark color ran from top to bottom in front and in back. The mantle could then be removed by men working in the fields. The main garment for a woman was longer than a man's, short-sleeved, and may have been pleated with many small pleats. Women generally wore a belt or sash, while a virgin could wear two belts, one at the waist and one below the breasts. Both sexes wore sandals that do not appear to have been distinctive for the sexes. Both sexes also had the option of wearing an outer cloak (Gr.: *chlamys*). This was fastened at the neck and wrapped around the body in inclement weather. In the Roman period, men wore the toga over the tunic and added an outer cloak during bad weather. The outer cloak in purple was also a sign of status and authority for Roman officers. Some Jewish soldiers depicted on the special Roman issue coins called "Judaea Capta" (71–79 C.E.) depict a Jewish soldier wearing the outer cloak. According to the finds in the Cave of Letters near En Gedi (135 C.E.), Jewish men wore white or pale yellow outer garments with notched, straight bands woven into the corners of the rectangular cloth. Women wore colored outer garments with a notched band in the form of a capital gamma woven into the corners. Some of the men's clothing found in the Cave of Letters was striped in the area around the neck. Both men and women wore similar sandals, and both wore the tunic as a main garment. A linen cloth worn like a loincloth, called the *sindon* in Greek, was an occasional undergarment. Wealth and status were easy to display in clothing, as one could buy outer garments in cotton, linen, or even silk, in addition to the most widely worn fiber, wool. Dyed linen clothing with woven gold threads could be made to order, and one could purchase ersatz purple or true purple as a sign of status. Dense weaving and weaving of garments in various patterns were also telling in matters of wealth and status.

clover, four-petal very minor motif in ancient Jewish art, especially in synagogue art. The design is somewhat enigmatic, since the four-leaf clover is

not part of the flora of ancient Israel. On the other hand it could simply be a four-leafed plant. One low-relief example on basalt stone is known from the ancient synagogue site of Butmiyyah in the Golan Heights.

clubs *see* COLLEGIA

Codex Reuchlinianus *see* REUCHLINIANUS, CODEX

Coele Syria (Lat., from Gr., Hollow Syria) geographical designation with varied meaning. During the third century B.C.E., the name was used unofficially for Ptolemaic possessions in Asia, that is, for South Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. When the Seleucids acquired these Ptolemaic possessions, they referred to them as Coele Syria and Phoenicia. In a more restricted sense, the term Coele Syria refers to the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains. Under Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 C.E.), the name Coele Syria referred to a province comprising northern and inland Syria with its capital at Antioch on the Orontes (in contrast to the southern Syrian area called Phoenicia).

coffin wooden, lead, stone, or clay box for the burial of the dead. Stone coffins are ordinarily termed sarcophagi. Coffins were not common in Jewish burials, but they are known. For example, an intact, undecorated clay coffin is known from catacomb 14 at the Jewish necropolis at Beth Shearim. This coffin was 1.87 meters long and 0.22 centimeters high by 0.54 meters wide. This is shallower than modern coffins. Clay coffins have broad rims for installation of clay tiles as a cover. Clay coffins are mainly associated with Phoenician burials of the Iron 2 and Persian period on the Mediterranean coast, and clay coffins of later periods are often associated with that geographic area. On the other hand, lead coffins are more widely known. For example, five lead coffins are known from the same necropolis at Beth Shearim. These ranged in length from 1.84 to 2.07 meters long, and all were decorated in low relief with stereotypical designs: bands of vine scrolls, bead and reel patterns, triangles, eight-petaled flowers, grape clusters, an arch on two columns, running animals, and two menorahs, which establish the Jewish character of the burials. The menorah on lead coffins is modeled somewhat realistically in relief, sometimes with shofar, etrog, and incense shovel. It is often hypothesized that lead coffins originated in Hellenized Phoenicia, and specifically in Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. They are most commonly dated to the third and fourth centuries C.E. They are known as far east as the Jordan Valley, but have been found mainly in Judea and western Galilee.

Wooden coffins are known from Roman Jericho, where they were decorated with geometric and stereotypical inlays. Sarcophagi are known everywhere in Roman Palestine, and many of them were imported. They could be purchased decorated or plain, and at Beth Shearim many of them were apparently decorated by the families that used them. Sarcophagi are generally more massive than wood, lead, or clay coffins because of their greater width and the thickness of their lids, which may approach 60 centimeters. For example, sarcophagus 87 from catacomb 20 (in which no less than 125 sarcophagi were found) was 2.05 meters by 0.87 meters by 0.61 meters, not counting the lid. This would require a 2.6 ton limestone block for carving just the receptacle. Even larger sarcophagi are known at Beth Shearim and elsewhere, some of them approaching seven tons in weight. Lids of sarcophagi are typically carved to resemble a roof with *acroteria* or rounded projections on each corner. Sometimes families inscribed the name of the deceased on the side of the sarcophagus, presumably so that family members who entered the tomb at a later date for a new burial could locate family members. In catacomb 20 at Beth Shearim, twenty of the sarcophagi are inscribed with a family member's name. Other sarcophagi in fine marble feature carvings in high relief of war scenes and other popular motifs. The white marble sarcophagi with such scenes have been traced to Attica in Greece and to the island of Marmara in the Dardanelles. One of the most popular themes depicted on these sarcophagi of the first to the third centuries C.E. is the war of the Amazons with the Greeks. These are found in both Jewish and non-Jewish contexts.

cohen *see* PRIEST

coin symbols emblems, designs, or figures found on coins of ancient Judea, either minted directly by Jewish rulers or by other rulers who sometimes allowed Jewish sensitivities. The earliest minted coins in Judea after the return to Zion were minted by the Persian rulers and therefore reflect Persian motifs. The earliest of these coins is a small silver obol bearing a head facing forward. On the reverse an owl stands right, and around one reads a Hebrew inscription: "Yohanan the Priest." This coin is dated to the mid-fourth century B.C.E. Yohanan is Yohanan II, who is mentioned in the Elephantine Papyri. Another small silver coin shows the head of Athena facing right on the obverse (front), while the reverse (back) depicts an owl and the Greek abbreviation for Athens. An Aramaic inscription reads "Yadua," who has been provisionally identified with the high priest Yadua II (about 390–323 B.C.E.). Other coins of this type were struck by the

alien rulers and therefore reflect their motifs. These silver coins are known in about a dozen varieties. Symbols on the coins include birds (a bird looking backward, owl, and falcon), lily, rosette, a human head, and a bust of a male or female. After 312 B.C.E. these coins show a head of Ptolemy, a horse, a bird looking backwards, and an eagle with spread wings. An Aramaic inscription reads "Yehudah" (the Persian province of Judah) or "Yehezkiyah the Priest" and apparently these coins are to be dated to about 330 B.C.E.

From the time of John Hyrcanus I (135 B.C.E.) a new type of Jewish coin enters history. This tiny bronze coin (Heb.: *prutah*; Gr.: *lepton*) features a wreath with a long Hebrew inscription on one side, for example, "Yehohanan the High Priest and Council of the Jews." On the other side one sees double cornucopias with a pomegranate between horns. Other issues of the Hasmonean rulers may show two parallel cornucopias on one side and a crested helmet on the other, an anchor on one side and a lily on the other, or an anchor on one side and a star on the other (always Alexander Jannaeus, who reigned from 106–76 B.C.E., or Judah Aristobulus II, who reigned from 67–63 B.C.E.). A few lead coins of Alexander Jannaeus show an anchor surrounded by a circle (a diadem) with a Greek inscription "Alexander the King," and on the other side an Aramaic inscription in three lines, "King Alexander." The star and diadem are clearly a symbol for kingship. The anchor may be associated with Jannaeus's annexation of the coastal cities from 95 B.C.E. The cornucopias clearly are symbols for plenty, and the pomegranate is normally associated with fertility. The wreath is known from all parts of the Graeco-Roman world as a symbol of authority and leadership, a symbol fit for a king. The helmet likely serves a similar function. In the Hasmonean issues depictions of living things, humans, or angelic beings are scrupulously avoided.

Mattathias Antigonus reigned only from 40–37 B.C.E. and engaged in continual warfare with Herod the Great in the struggle for power. On his largest denominations he depicted a wreath on one side with the inscription "Of Antigonus the King" in Greek. On the other side he struck the double cornucopias and a Hebrew inscription, "Matityah the High Priest and Council of the Jews." On the smaller denomination, which was evidently half the value of the larger, there appears only one cornucopia. The third and smallest denomination, the *lepton* or *prutah,* mainly has the wreath and Hebrew inscription on one side and a head of wheat on the other, though some show the double cornucopia as on the earlier Hasmonean coins. On a few of these smallest denominations, which he minted in bronze only, he depicted the menorah and the table of showbread or the table for the bread of the presence. This is normally understood to be a bid for support from the Jewish population of Palestine. The menorah would never again appear on a Jewish coin, but the table of showbread will appear on coins of the second Jewish Revolt against Rome.

Herod the Great (37 to 4 B.C.E.) was the first Jewish ruler to use symbols from Roman republican issues. The coins therefore sometimes depict instruments of Roman cult, but were likely used to show the source of his power and not to advocate Roman religion. The symbols he used on dated coins include the apex (crested helmut), tripod, shield, winged caduceus, fruit, aphlaston or curved stem of a ship, and palm branch. On undated coins he used a table (sometimes with bowl), diadem, wreath, double or crossed palm branches, the vine, anchor, galley, and eagle. The table may commemorate the silver table that Herod gave to the Temple as part of its grand reconstruction. Likewise the vine could commemorate his gift of a gold vine to the Temple, just as the eagle probably represents the eagle Herod attempted to have installed in the Temple in honor of Rome. The galley is usually understood to commemorate his construction of the harbor at Caesarea, and the anchor may have served the same purpose. The caduceus is a surprise, although scholars usually think this has become a generic symbol for health and recovery and therefore a political symbol.

The sons of Herod the Great, each of whom inherited a portion of their father's kingdom, continued to use Hasmonean coin symbols and those introduced by Herod the Great. They also introduced their own symbols. For example, the eldest son, Herod Archelaus, Ethnarch of Judea, continued to use the galley, anchor, double cornucopias with caduceus between the horns, and diadem. Archelaus also used the crested helmet.

Herod Antipas, who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (Trans-Jordan), introduced the reed on his coins, probably to symbolize his founding of the city of Tiberias. He also used the palm branch on coins of Tiberias and introduced the palm tree on a coin minted at Tiberias. This motif became a specifically Jewish symbol on several issues by later Jewish rulers.

Herod Philip, who reigned as tetrarch of Gaulanitis and other northeastern territories, used

wholly Roman symbols on his coins, including busts of himself and the emperor Augustus. His coins are not distinctively Jewish. On the reverse of his coins, he even depicted the temple to Augustus, the Augusteum, which he built at Caesarea-Philippi.

From this point forward in history coins of the Jewish rulers often borrow their symbols freely from Roman issues. Herod Agrippa I (37–44 C.E.) copied Roman issues in honor of the emperor Caligula, complete with Caligula as charioteer. On the other hand, he seems to have softened his approach in certain coins, using a canopy as a symbol of authority on one type and three heads of wheat on another. The wheat is one of the seven "kinds" that are to be found in the land. Likewise coins of Herod Agrippa II (56–97 C.E.) are virtually indistinguishable from Roman coins.

With the outbreak of the Great Revolt in 66 C.E. a new silver Jewish coin appears. On the obverse or front of the coin there is the omer, a silver vessel from the Second Temple. There is a Hebrew inscription around the edge of the coin: "Shekel of Israel." The Hebrew letter *aleph* above the omer indicates that it is the first year of the revolt. On the reverse one sees within the inscription "Jerusalem the Holy" (or "Jerusalem Is Holy") and three pomegranates on one branch. The half-shekels use the same symbols for the first year.

The same design continues in the second year of the revolt (67 C.E.), but a new shekel appears with an amphora on one side and a vine leaf, small branch, and tendril on the other side. There is also a new inscription: "Freedom of Zion." Now coins begin to be struck in bronze also.

On the coins of the third year (68 C.E.), the amphora sometimes has a conical lid. On coins of the fourth year (69 C.E.), a few of the coins identical to the second-year shekels are struck in bronze. A new type appears with three palm branches tied together by the stems on one side and a wreath of palm branches on the other side. A second new type depicts a palm tree with seven or nine branches flanked by two baskets of dates. The inscription reads "For the Redemption of Israel." Another type depicts the omer on one side with the Hebrew inscription "For the Redemption of Zion." On the reverse there is a lulab flanked by two etrogs.

On a few surviving coins of the fifth year of the revolt (70 C.E.), the same design as on the first year shekels appears. It is interesting to see that wheat, barley, figs, and olives play no role as symbols on these new coins. In fact, it is clear that these coins are making a nationalistic and religious statement about the Jewish festival of Sukkot (Tabernacles). This festival commemorates the dwelling in tents in the wilderness (Lev. 23:42–43). The palm branches are mentioned in a Hellenistic historical text that reasserts the importance of the feast in II Maccabees 10:6–8. Therefore, it is of no surprise that temple objects (the omer) and images associated with festivals appear on these new coins.

On Roman coins, called "Judea Capta" by scholars, issued after the collapse of the First Revolt, Rome uses the palm tree as the operative symbol for Israel. On one side of the palm tree sits a mourning female captive. On the other side of the palm tree stands a captive male wrapped in a cloak with his hands tied behind his back. These coins are inscribed "Judea," "Judaea Capta," "Judaea Devicta" (conquered).

The next occasion of the minting of Jewish coins is during the Bar Kosiba Revolt of 132–135 C.E. All these coins are overstrikes on contemporary Roman or other coins. Overstriking in itself makes a political and religious statement.

The symbols on coins of the Bar Kosiba Revolt include the images associated with Tabernacles, such as the lulab, but other symbols are from the previous vocabulary of Jewish symbols: a cluster of grapes, the vine leaf, the palm tree, and the wreath. The new symbols are the facade of the Temple, a jug (surely a vessel from the Temple cult), a harp (used in Temple worship), a lyre (also from Temple worship), and two trumpets, presumably those used in the Temple cult to announce the daily offerings and other events.

The largest silver coins (the tetradrachms) of the first and second years of the Bar Kosiba Revolt show the Temple facade in Jerusalem and an object within the facade that is usually interpreted as the Holy Ark. The facade has four columns with a pediment above, a star or other device within the pediment, and sometimes a low barrier in front of the columns. On the reverse of this coin is a detailed representation of a lulab, a bundle formed of the palm branch bound with myrtle and willow branches, with an etrog on the left. On the reverse appears the Hebrew inscription "Year One of the Redemption of Israel." A second, smaller silver coin (a denarius) shows a golden jug or flagon with handle, a lulab on the right, and a Hebrew inscription: "Eleazar the Priest."

The large bronzes show grape leaves and an amphora, probably also understood to be a vessel of the Temple. The small bronzes have a palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates on

one side and a grape leaf on the other. Other small bronzes depict the harp (nebel) with four, five, or six strings. A large, undated silver coin shows a two-column facade of the Temple with an architrave above the two columns and a podium with two steps beneath the columns. The table of showbread stands between the two columns. On the reverse stands a bundled lulab and a Hebrew inscription: "For the Freedom of Jerusalem." Silver denarii of year two show the harp or the lyre (*kinor*), while others depict two temple trumpets with the Hebrew inscription "For the Freedom of Jerusalem." Many of the coins of this revolt were also inscribed in Hebrew: "Simon, Prince of Israel," (Simon Bar Kosiba). This surprisingly rich vocabulary of coin symbols gives expression to the desires of the Jewish people in the revolt, namely, to gain freedom and redemption for Israel and to recover the Temple and its cult.

collegia (Lat., association, club) used in reference to political and religious associations or clubs common in the Graeco-Roman world (known in Greek as *hetaireiai*). Usually organized around a deity or religious cult, with drinking and socializing, some had a serious political purpose and could be subversive. Thus at various times they were banned, especially from Rome, as potentially seditious against the government of the day. Since synagogues came under the strict definition, they had to be and were generally exempted from bans under the Roman emperors.

commandment *see* MITZVAH

commissioning *see* CALL

Commodus, Lucius Ceionius legate of Judea, 75 or 76 C.E. An inscription from Gerasa mentions Commodus. The nature of the inscription leaves some questions about Commodus's authority, and the subsequent course of his career in relationship to that of his predecessor, Bassus, is unclear.

community (Heb.: *yaḥad*; Gr.: *koinōnia*) The Hebrew root of the word "community" denotes a sense of unity and common purpose, and this notion persists during the many changes through which the "community" of Israel went throughout its history. In the period of the tribal league (c. 1200–1000 B.C.E.), Israel's community was a loose confederation of tribes united by common worship of the god YHWH. Membership in this community was determined by birth into a clan, part of the larger unit of the tribe. Tribes came together periodically for festivals and for holy war and also began to unite around a tradition of common law that defined the obligations of members both to fellow members and to outsiders. The autonomy of the tribes, however, threatened the very existence of the community Israel, and, in the face of outside threat, a monarchy was established. The institution of monarchy disrupted the tribal community and conferred on Israel the status of nation-state. However, the office of prophecy kept alive the traditions of the tribal league throughout the period of the monarchy. During the exile, the Jews struggled to reclaim themselves as a community. Two competing definitions emerged: one, a universal Yahwism embracing all nations (the Isianic corpus); and the other, a radical separation from other nations through adherence to the Torah (Ezra, Nehemiah, etc.).

In the Second Temple period, several groups emerged that may fit the sociological definition of "community" (Pharisees, Sadducees, etc.), but one group in this period actually named itself the Community, or *yaḥad*, and that is the group living at Qumran, usually identified with the Essenes. In fact, in the Qumran library there were found two rule books: one, the Damascus Document, was written for Essenes living in "camps" among the towns of Judah; while the other, the Community Rule, was written for the *yaḥad* par excellence, the Community at Qumran.

The Community Rule envisages a group living in radical separation from the rest of Judaism (and, of course, from Gentiles). The Community is divided into priests and laity, with a strict hierarchical structure by rank. The leadership of the Community is given to the priests and Levites, governed by a Master. Members hold property in common. Part of the archaeological evidence (a large dining hall) from Qumran supports an injunction to eat in common. Infractions of the Community's rules caused severe punishment, including expulsion. This points to a less attractive aspect of the Community at Qumran: while the sectarians were called upon to love their fellow members, they were also called upon to hate outsiders.

This radical disjunction between "us" and "them" seems to have been rejected by the early Christian community, which was united by their belief in Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah and their eschatological hope in the coming of the Kingdom of God. Therefore, the community theoretically welcomed all comers and had an organization of leadership that was charismatic and nonhierarchical, including women. However, as the Christian movement expanded in the second and third centuries C.E., the community moved to a more hierarchical structure, with organized statements of belief (creeds).

Judaism, after the fall of the Second Temple in

70 C.E., followed the path begun by the Pharisees, characterized by a community bound together by adherence to the Torah, both written and oral, that comes together for worship and study. Observance of the Torah, as interpreted by the Beit Din (which replaced the Sanhedrin as the chief governing body of the Jews), was the main indication of membership in the community. In Palestine the Jewish community was headed by the patriarch and in Babylon by the exilarch, each being unofficially responsible for the internal governance of the community. A radical separation from non-Jews was not necessarily sought, but a focus on the Jewish community, particularly in the face of persecution, became natural. This type of Judaism, rabbinic Judaism, continues as the norm in the Western world today. *See also* COMMUNITY RULE.

Community Rule a collection of rules and hortatory material governing community life (presumably the life of the Community at Qumran); alternative titles are the Manual of Discipline and the Serekh haYahad. The major manuscript of the Community Rule (1QS) was discovered in 1947 in Cave 1 at Qumran and published by M. Burrows in 1951. This manuscript is a complete (although damaged) Hebrew scroll consisting of eleven text columns; its handwriting dates from c. 100 B.C.E. The text exists also in ten copies from Cave 4 (unpublished) and one copy from Cave 5 (published by J. T. Milik, DJD III). Since the oldest copy we possess (4QS^e) has already undergone editing, the text itself must have been composed no later than the second half of the second century B.C.E.

The Rule, as it now exists, is a composite document; that is, it is composed of units that were originally independent. As it now stands, it can be easily divided into six sections: (1) 1:1–15, a statement of the Community's aims; (2) 1:16–3:12, the entry into the covenant; (3) 3:13–4:26, a treatise on the two spirits; (4) 5:1–9:11, regulations for the Community; (5) 9:12–26, rules for the Master; and (6) 10:1–11:22, the Master's hymn.

The regulations describe a community that shares a common life and keeps its property in common (sect. 4). The Community is headed by priests and Levites and governed by a *maskil,* or Master; the members evidently do not mingle with people outside the Community, including their fellow Jews (sect. 4). Within the Community, they adhere to a strict hierarchy of priests, Levites, and others, and within those divisions, to a further ranking based on age and standing in the Community. Regulation of daily life is strict, and punishments for such offenses as lying, spitting, anger against a fellow member, speaking out of turn, and swearing range from complete expulsion from the Community to exclusion from the common meal for a fixed period of time. The precepts for the Master remind him of his duty to love and instruct in the "Way"—the doctrines of the sect—those who are members of the covenant, but to reject absolutely those outside of the covenant.

This dichotomy between those inside and those outside the covenant is illustrated most strongly in the Treatise of the Two Spirits (sect. 3). According to this piece, which probably existed as a separate document before its incorporation in the Rule, all of humanity is divided into two groups or lots: the lot of truth, or light, and the lot of falsehood, or darkness. Each of these lots is governed by an angel (the angel of light and the angel of darkness, or Belial), and there is an absolute distinction between the two. There is a strong flavor of predestination in this section, for it is God who has appointed the lots and each individual's place in them. Those who belong to the lot of light will choose entry into the covenant (sect. 2), thereby rejecting the lot of darkness and the people in it. This doctrine has important repercussions for the study of early Christianity (e.g., the dualism of the Gospel of John).

The Community Rule is very important for reconstructing the beliefs and practices of the Community at Qumran, which illustrate the variety of Judaism in the Second Temple period.

conch *see* SHELL

Conf. *see* DE CONFUSIONE LINGUARUM

confession the explicit acknowledgment and confession of human sinfulness, which is found in many prayers in Second Temple Judaism. The same Hebrew verb (*yadah*), "to confess, to acknowledge," is used both for a declaration of human sinfulness and for a declaration of God's attributes and works of deliverance. Thus, confession and praise are more closely bound together than in our modern English understanding of these terms.

Of particular interest are a group of extended prose prayers (Ezra 9:6–15; Neh. 1:5–11, 9:6–37; Dan. 9:4b–19; Prayer of Azariah; Bar. 1:15–3:8; and Words of the Heavenly Lights [4Q504]), which share certain distinctive features. All draw upon a common vocabulary, very much influenced by the Deuteronomistic tradition (note esp. 1 Kings 8:47). The same confession formula reoccurs with slight variations: "We have sinned, we have done wrong, we have acted wickedly and rebelled" (Dan. 9:4, 9, 15; Bar. 1:17–18; Prayer of Azariah 1:6–7). Often

there is an explicit acknowledgment of God's justice and righteousness, a doxology of judgment: "You have been just in all that has come upon us" (Neh. 9:33); "Yours is righteousness, O Lord, for it is You who have done all this" (4Q504 vi. 1; cf. Prayer of Azariah 1:4, 8). The confession itself is set within a context of praise (e.g., Prayer of Azariah 1:3: "Blessed are you, O Lord, God of our ancestors, and worthy of praise") and an extended explicit recalling of God's acts of deliverance and convenantal fidelity in Israel's past history. All of these features point to a common origin for these prayers, probably in a postexilic liturgical setting.

Other prayers of confession share many of the same features. From the Dead Sea Scrolls, we have the text of the confession to be recited in a liturgical ceremony by those entering the covenant: "We have strayed. We have [disobeyed]. We and our ancestors before us have sinned and done wickedly" (1QS i. 25–26). In Greek, the Prayer of Manasseh is an extended poetic confession of sinfulness, "I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge my transgressions" (v. 12), which culminates in praise and doxology, "and I will praise you continually all the days of my life" (v. 15).

confession of sin (Heb.: *vidui*) On the Day of Atonement, in line with Leviticus 16, the high priest and the people confessed their sins and asked for divine forgiveness.

Congr. *see* DE CONGRESSU QUAERENDAE ERUDITIONIS GRATIA

congregation most frequently a translation of the Hebrew *edah* and *kehal*. The word *edah* can be applied to any gathering, group or company (Ps. 22:16: "company of evil-doers") but in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, it frequently designates the congregation of the Israelites encamped around the tent of meeting in the wilderness (Exod. 12:3, 16:1–2; Num. 10:2–3), that is, the national, legal, and cultic community. *Kehal* is used especially in Deuteronomy, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. However, there is no essential distinction between the two. In the Septuagint, *synagōgē* and *ekklēsia* could be used for both Hebrew words, with *edah* most often rendered by *synagōgē*. In 1 Maccabees 2:42 and 7:42, *synagōgē* has the meaning of a company or group of Hasidim and of scribes, while in 2:42 it refers to a national gathering. The Qumran covenanters thought of themselves as the "holy congregation" (1QSa 1:12), as the congregation of Israel in the last days" (1QSa 1:1), and the "congregation of God" (1QM 4:9) opposed to the "congregation of Belial" (1QH 7:34). The Septuagint translates Numbers 16:24 as: "Tell the congregation, "Separate . . . from the congregation of Korah."

The more restricted sense of a local congregation can be found in Susannah 41.52.60, that is, the congregation at Babylon, and Psalms of Solomon 10:7 speaks of the congregations of Israel or the congregations of the pious (17:16). Inscriptional evidence, particularly from Rome, also documents this shift toward *synagōgē* as referring to the local congregation.

Within the New Testament, *ekklēsia* is the preferred form and is normally translated "church." *Synagōgē* does refer to a Christian congregation in James 2:2, but usually the term is translated by "synagogue" and can refer either to the Jewish congregation or to the building itself. Thus a clear distinction is drawn between the two terms, which originally were not distinct.

conscience a concept of Greek moral philosophy. During the late Second Temple period it became increasingly significant among Jews affected by Hellenistic culture.

The Greek word for conscience, *syneidesis*, developed out of classical expressions for "awareness" or "consciousness," and one could be conscious or aware of many kinds of things, moral and nonmoral. Prominent among those things was the consciousness of guilt for past transgressions. During the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods the understanding of consciousness developed into the notion of a mental faculty that embodied norms of conduct. Seneca, the Roman Stoic of the first century C.E., understood conscience as a "spirit within us . . . an observer and guard of our evil and good deeds" (*Moral Epistles* 41.1), and he prized a "good conscience" (*Moral Epistles* 28.9–10; 43.5; 105.79; *On the Happy Life* 19.1; 20.5). Among some moralists, especially neo-Pythagoreans who influenced Seneca, there arose the discipline of examining the conscience daily to determine whether one had committed any faults (Seneca, *On Anger* 3.36). In the late first century C.E. Epictetus (*Discourses* 3.22.94) speaks of conscience as an awareness of what is right, enabling one to do it.

The Hebrew Bible does not know any term for conscience. The Septuagint rarely uses the Greek *syneidesis* and does so simply in the sense of consciousness (Kohelet 10:20).

Appropriation of the concept of conscience as a moral faculty of awareness of past deeds appears in Alexandrian Jewish literature. The Wisdom of Solomon (17:10) personifies wickedness, "distressed by conscience." A liturgical use appears in

the prayer, possibly based on a synagogue liturgy, in the Apostolic Constitutions 7.33.3. Philo develops extensive reflections on conscience. It is knowledge of misdeeds (*On the Virtues* 124; *On the Special Laws* 2.49; *That the Worse Attacks the Better* 146; *On Rewards and Punishments* 84). It is a faculty that functions as an accuser, judge, and monitor (*On the Special Laws* 1.235; *On Flight* 118; *On the Virtues* 206; *Against Flaccus* 180; *On the Decalogue* 87). Some of Philo's formulations suggest an understanding of conscience as a moral guide (*That the Worse Attacks the Better* 23; *On Flight* 130–31), but this notion is not fully developed. Philo also suggests that the conscience is a device used by God to lead people to confess sin (*On Rewards and Punishments* 163; *On the Immutability of God* 126). Josephus uses the notion to refer to the consciousness of guilt, but can also refer to "good conscience" (*War* 2.582; *Antiquities* 2.52; 13.316; 16.100).

Early Christian sources follow the use of the term in Hellenistic Judaism. Paul refers to conscience as a faculty that will confirm the divine verdict on the day of judgment (Rom. 2:15). It embodies knowledge of what is right (Rom. 13:5) and the individual's conscientious judgment about moral matters needs to be respected (1 Cor. 8:1–11:1). Hebrews refers to conscience as a faculty whereby one is aware of guilt that stands in need of cleansing (9:9, 14; 10:2, 22). According to 1 Timothy 1:19–20, the person who leads a righteous life has a "good conscience."

consolation of Israel comforting of Israel. This term occurs literally only once, in Luke 2:25. Here the devout Simeon, who comes to the Jerusalem Temple to see the baby Jesus, is characterized as one "looking forward to the consolation of Israel." The following verse implies that this aspiration is now fulfilled by his seeing "the Messiah of the Lord." In Luke 2:38, a parallel passage describes the prophetess Anna's audience as "looking for the redemption of Jerusalem."

The phrases "consolation of Israel" and "redemption of Jerusalem" both refer to Jewish hopes for God's eschatological restoration of the sovereignty of Israel (or Jerusalem). This event is conceived and described in terms drawn from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40–55), often called "The Book of the Consolation of Israel," wherein the prophet promises the imminent restoration of their homeland to the exiled Judahites in Babylon. Deutero-Isaiah throughout extends a message of hope and consolation; it begins, "Comfort, O comfort my people, says your God" (40:1). Again, Isaiah 52:9 states, "For the Lord has comforted his people, he has redeemed Jerusalem."

The Lukan usage extends this idea of consolation to those living in the "exile" of the present age who look forward to "deliverance" at the eschaton. This concept also occurs in later rabbinic Judaism.

Constantine (c. 280–337 C.E.) Roman emperor. Born in the Balkan city of Naissus (modern Niš), he was the son of the emperor of the West, Constantius Chlorus, and his concubine, Helena. He fought against the Persians in the army of the emperor of the East, Galerius. Constantine remained at Galerius's court until 306 when his father requested that he join him in Britain. Upon Constantius's death that year, his troops proclaimed Constantine Augustus. Constantine remained in Europe, mostly in Gaul, until 312 when he invaded Italy. He defeated the Roman princeps, Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge and was honored by the Senate for his victory. In 313 he and his brother-in-law Licinius, the ruler of the East, issued the Edict of Milan, which recognized freedom of worship for Christians and ordered the restitution of goods and property previously confiscated from the Christian communities. By 324 Constantine succeeded in reuniting the Roman Empire and ruled as sole emperor. He completed Diocletian's administrative reforms, separating the civil and military commands of the army. A large field army was created with a new command structure. He reorganized the central government, creating new corps of guards, couriers, and agents. His founding of Constantinople on the site of Byzantium, on the Bosporus, gave him an imperial headquarters near the eastern frontier and the Danube. Major work was begun on the city in 326, and dedication ceremonies with both Christian and Roman religious rites were held in 330.

Constantine became a follower of Christianity, although he did not persecute the followers of the old Roman religions. He favored Christians for administrative posts in his government, for he believed that Christianity could serve as a unifying force for his empire. He declared Christianity a legal religion, which gave the church the same status within the empire as Judaism. The Church could hold property, Christians were excused from pagan sacrifices, and their leaders could head courts and judge cases if the litigants agreed. Although he failed in his attempts to solve the Donatist schism in North Africa, he did call the first general council of the Church in Nicea in 325 to deal with the Arian controversy.

Constantine's policy toward the Jews followed

the bishops' desires to separate Jews from Christians. In 335 Constantine decreed that any slave circumcised by a Jewish master had to be freed. In 337 the emperor issued a law prohibiting Jews from bothering or causing any damage to Jews who converted to Christianity. The punishment for one who harassed a convert to Christianity varied according to the severity of the harassment. Like Hadrian, Constantine prohibited the Jews from living in Jerusalem or passing through the city. Constantine and his mother undertook the construction of a number of churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and he actively supported the spread of Christianity throughout Palestine. In 321 Constantine ordered that the Jews should be nominated to serve in the municipal courts, called curia, which meant that they had to share the financial burden of administrating the cities. Constantine notes that this is a change of ancient custom, and he declared that only two or three Jews should be exempted from this responsibility. This was part of Constantine's general policy of increasing the number of those who had to serve in municipal posts.

Constantius II (317–361 C.E.) Roman emperor. He became ruler of the East upon his father Constantine's death in 337. After a series of wars with his brothers, he became ruler of the whole empire in 350. He spent most of his reign repelling Persian attacks and fighting usurpers for his throne. He appointed his cousin Gallus as caesar in Antioch in the hopes of establishing a stable ruler to ward off the Persian invasions. In 336, the Persian king Shapur II began his wars against the Romans, and these struggles continued into 351. These Persian incursions may have been a factor in the Jews' revolt against Gallus, which broke out in Sepphoris in 351. Constantius deposed and executed Gallus in 354. In 355 he appointed Julian as caesar in Gaul to respond to the military threat posed by the Franks and the Alamanni. After Julian's military successes against the barbarians, his troops declared him Augustus in Paris in 360. Constantius died in 361 while marching to quell Julian's revolt.

While his father Constantine's personal animosity toward Jews and Judaism did not lead him to enact laws that ran counter to previous Roman policy, Constantius's legislation does move in new directions. To Constantius, Judaism is a "savage" and "abominable" sect, which is a "disgrace and an infamy." The Jews are "sacriligious" and "blasphemers." The Theodosian Code includes three laws that were decreed in 339. One ruling forbids Jews under penalty of death to marry or to convert Christian women. Also, marriages between Jews and women who had been part of the imperial *gynecaeum* were annulled. (The *gynecaeum* were factories that manufactured cloth products. The women who left these establishments to marry Jews brought their skills to the Jewish factories, which then could compete with the imperial manufacturers.) Another law threatens death by burning to any Jew or non-Jew who throws stones at converts to Christianity or attacks them in any other way. Finally, the Jews were prohibited from holding slaves of all religions or nations except for Jewish slaves. Christian slaves owned by Jews were set free immediately. The imperial treasury confiscated the non-Christian slaves owned by Jews. If a Jew was discovered holding a Christian slave, all of his property was confiscated by the government. If a Jew circumcised a non-Jewish slave, the Jew was executed. These rulings had far-reaching economic significance, because all artisans and manufacturers were dependent on slave labor. By removing this labor force from the Jews, Constantius put them at a severe economic disadvantage. In 353 Constantius II prohibited Christians from converting to Judaism. Upon conversion, the proselyte's property was confiscated by the government. A Roman statute at the end of the third century had decreed that those who converted to Judaism would lose their property and would be sent into exile. Constantius's ruling does not mention exile, and it refers only to Christians who converted to Judaism. Non-Christian converts were not punished.

Constitutio Antoniniana decree issued by Emperor Caracalla in 212 C.E. granting Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire. A badly damaged papyrus contains a Greek translation of the text and excludes the *dediticii* from some of its provisions. The *dediticii* were individuals, communities, or nations that had made a formal and unconditional surrender of all of their property to Rome; this status was normally only temporary. The scholarly consensus is that the *dediticii* were granted citizenship but were excluded from other provisions of the law. Unfortunately, the damaged state of the papyrus does not allow scholars to discover the nature of those provisions. Under the terms of the Constitutio, virtually all Jews in the empire would have become Roman citizens. Dio claims that Caracalla enacted the law in order to increase the number of citizens from whom he could collect the taxes needed to support his extravagant style of life. The Greek text, however, claims that the edict sought to enhance the prestige of the Roman gods by increasing the number of their worshipers. Caracalla issued the decree to

express his appreciation to the gods for having protected him from some danger. The text is damaged at this point and we cannot determine the event to which Caracalla responds. Dio's discussion of the Jews at this time indicates that they were granted full citizenship even though their religious sensitivities prevented them from fully participating in Roman civic life, which was permeated by Roman religious practices and rituals. Nor did this in any way limit the Jews' religious liberty. Given the fact that the Jews clearly were not added to the number of the worshipers of the Roman deities, Dio's explanation of Caracalla's motives seems closer to the truth than the one that appears in the Constitutio itself.

consul title given to the two chief magistrates of Rome. They were originally elected for one-year terms, though reappointment was possible. Since only ex-consuls were eligible for certain offices, it became customary for the consuls to resign halfway through their terms and thus allow two extra candidates to serve each year.

contract legally binding agreement between two or more parties. Rabbinic law lacks a single, generic term to describe such agreements, which in the Roman system commonly took the form of a document (*contractus*). Instead, rabbinic law recognizes a number of distinctive ways in which parties create binding ties in particular legal circumstance.

The absence of a general term meaning "contract" is a reflection of rabbinic law's insistence that a physical act mark the transfer of a right. Just as actual or symbolic transfer of the subject property completes the process of acquisition, so rabbinic law understands an agreement to become binding only upon the transfer from one party to the other of the consideration, for example, the borrower's receipt of the loan money, or, in the case of the creation of a partnership, each partner's receipt from the other of a portion of the partnership's property. In the same way, a contract for work to be performed is valid only when the work begins, that being the consideration for which the agreement is established.

The requirement of physical transfer of the subject consideration presented a significant impediment to the creation of contracts. Accordingly, in the talmudic period, ***kinyan sudar*** (acquisition by kerchief), used to acquire property, also became an accepted and widely used method of creating contracts. The promisee gave the promisor some object he owned, in return for which the promisor agreed to undertake the obligation. The procedure was symbolic only, requiring no correspondence between the value of the object and that of the obligation (indeed, upon completion of the procedure, the object could be returned to its original owner). As a symbolic act, ***kinyan sudar*** served as a convenient way to easily create a wide range of contractual agreements.

conversion From the Latin for "to turn around," conversion generally indicates a shift in religious-group affiliation, but its forms and functions vary across times, locations, and groups. Sojourners, if the men submitted to circumcision, could participate in some rituals (Exod. 12:48), and intermarry (Ruth). Esther 8:17 (***mityehudim***: declared themselves Jews) is the first textual example of conversion to a new belief system, as opposed to ethnic affiliation. According to Josephus, John Hyrcanus I converted the Idumaeans; Aristobolus I, the Itureans; and Alexander Jannaeus, Pella. Among the more famous Jewish converts or proselytes are: the Ammonite Achior (Jdt.); the royal house of Adiabene; Aquila (Onkelos?), the Greek translator; Flavius Clemens, Vespasian's nephew; Fulvia, the wife of the senator Saturninus; and Nicolaus the Deacon (Acts 6:5). Conversion to Judaism was not an uncommon phenomenon in antiquity, as sources as diverse as Juvenal, Josephus, Joseph and Asenath, and early Christian documents attest. Jewish rituals of conversion included circumcision for males, the donation of money to the Temple, and, eventually, ritual immersion; the Church required baptism. Some scholars claim on the basis of such passages as Isaiah 2:2–4, 66:18–21 and Zechariah 14:16–17 that Jews anticipated the eschatological conversion of Gentiles. But the term must be nuanced: while the Gentiles turn from their idols, they do not become "Jews" (i.e., they do not participate in Jewish initiation rites). Debate continues over whether Jewish affiliation with the Jesus movement should be seen as a conversion to a new religious group or as a shift within the Jewish community. The problem is less with the sources than with the imprecise term "conversion." *See also* GER.

Coponius Roman of equestrian rank who was the first prefect (governor) of the new Roman province of Judea, which included the seacoast and Samaria. He served under the emperor Augustus and the consular legate of Syria, Quirinius, from about 6 to about 9 C.E., after the removal of Herod the Great's son Archelaus, who had served from 4 B.C.E. to 6 C.E.

Copper Scroll (3Q15) one of the most curious manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls; found in

1952 in Cave 3, Qumran. This manuscript consisted of two rolls, which originally came from one sheet of a copper-based metal (hence the manuscript's name). Because of the metal's heavy oxidation, the manuscript could not be opened, so it was eventually sent to the University of Manchester, where it was divided into strips and subsequently published by J. T. Milik in 1951.

Written in postbiblical (mishnaic) Hebrew, the manuscript consists of a list of sixty-four hiding places in and around Jerusalem and Palestine where an enormous treasure of gold, silver, spices, and manuscripts would be found. The treasure's weight, calculated in modern measurements, would have totaled over ninety-one tons. Milik, because of these large amounts, considers the work a fiction that was composed about 100 C.E. and is therefore unrelated to the rest of the Qumran documents (the settlement at Qumran was destroyed in 68 C.E.). Other scholars (e.g., Allegro, Golb) view the treasure as real, deposited either by the Essenes from Qumran or by the Temple authorities in Jerusalem prior to the destruction of the city in 70 C.E. (F. M. Cross dates the scroll's handwriting as 25–75 C.E., so the scroll may have been written before the end of the Qumran settlement.)

The arguments supporting Milik's theory are the treasure's vast quantity and the fact that there is no record, either from antiquity or modern times, of any such treasure (or part of it) being found. However, Milik's argument is undermined by two of the document's most striking characteristics: the dry realism of its style ("At Horebbeh which is in the Vale of Akhor, under the steps that go eastwards, [at] forty cubits: a box of silver totaling 17 talents" [1:1–4]) and the fact that it is engraved on a sheet of expensive copper, rather than inscribed on the more common writing materials of leather or papyrus. The question becomes: why would someone go to such trouble and expense for a fairy tale? Objections may equally well be raised against those who argue for the document's reality. If the treasure did belong to the Essenes, how did they own such an enormous amount of silver and gold, and why did they hide it? Further, while it is conceivable that the Temple in Jerusalem contained such a treasure, it is not clear why the Temple authorities would hide it prior to the Temple's destruction in 70 (which they could not have foreseen), and why they concealed the record in a cave in the Judean Desert. The arguments from either side are not completely satisfactory, and thus the mystery of the Copper Scroll remains unresolved.

cornerstone part of a complex metaphor that describes the religious community as a building. The Community Rule 8:7–8 mentions it in connection with the foundations of the community, but does not specifically identify it. Ephesians 2:19–22 identifies Christ as this stone and the apostles and prophets as the foundation of the church. *See also* BUILDING.

corporal punishment in Rabbinic law, punishment by whipping, applied for a wide variety of offenses, civil, criminal, and cultic. Thirty-nine lashes were imposed, that is, the maximum number permitted by scripture (Deut. 25:3) less one. This assured that, even if there were a mistake in the count, more than the maximum permitted number would not be inflicted (B. Makkot 22a; cf. M. Makkot 3:10).

Flogging was carried out with a cowhide strap, with the offender tied by his hands around a pillar. He received two-thirds of the lashes on his back and the rest on his breast. During the flogging, a reader read admonitions and consolatory verses from scripture (M. Makkot 3:12–14).

Flogging was inflicted for crimes punished by divine extirpation (*karet*) and for overt violation of negative commandments. The Talmud also refers to punishment by lashes in cases of behaviors deemed inappropriate by the rabbis themselves, for example, for taking unreasonable vows (Y. Sukkot 5:2, 55b) or for having marital relations in public (B. Yebamot 90b).

corpse, treatment of Out of respect for the dead, talmudic law strictly prohibits mutilating, deriving any use or benefit from, or delaying the interment of any part of a corpse. These duties, including the requirement that burial occur as soon as possible after death, are derived from Deuteronomy 21:22–23, which states that the body of one executed by hanging must be buried on the same day, so as not to defile the land.

As signs of respect and honor, prior to burial, the corpse is watched over (*shemirah*) and is washed (*taharah*). This washing is not out of concern for cultic cleanness (a corpse is intrinsically unclean and renders unclean all who touch or are shadowed by it), but is viewed as a continuation of the hygiene that applied during life. The body is dressed in shrouds made of plain linen. This is in line with the premise that in death all people are equal. In biblical through talmudic times, the body generally was entombed in a cave. In posttalmudic practice, the corpse is buried in the ground in a wooden casket with no metal, to ensure a complete return to dust. Cremation is prohibited.

In light of the requirement that the body return to dust, embalming to prevent decay or improve the corpse's appearance is forbidden. Embalming is permitted only if it is a requirement of a non-Jewish government.

Despite these severe restrictions on treatment of a corpse, several talmudic passages permit autopsies, for example, in a case of murder when it must be determined that the victim in fact died as a result of the attack (B. Ḥullin 11b). The Talmuds also refer to dissection for anatomical research, but apparently contemplate the use of corpses of non-Jews (B. Bekhorot 45a).

corruption (Gr.: *diaphthora, phthora*) decay of the body due to death. Acts 2:27–31 and 13:34–37 present Jesus' resurrection from the dead as the fulfillment of Psalm 16:10, where the Septuagint has mistranslated "the pit" (Heb.: *shaḥat*) as "corruption" (*diaphthora*); Jesus has survived the decay of death. Working with a traditional Jewish eschatological scheme (2 Bar. 74:2), Paul sees the present age as characterized by a propensity to decay, which will be overcome when the resurrection transforms "the corruptible" to "incorruption" (Rom. 8:21; 1 Cor. 15:42, 50). *See also* DEATH; IMMORTALITY, INCORRUPTION.

cosmetics, cosmetic tools pigments and small implements used by women, as far as we know, for adornment of the eyes, lips, and face. These are not known in any distinctive Jewish forms, as these are to be associated with the broader Persian culture or the later Graeco-Roman culture in which Jews participated. Nevertheless, various items for personal beautification, especially cosmetic tools, are well known, though mainly from tombs. One of the most commonly found cosmetic tools is the kohl stick or cosmetic applicator. This device is made of bronze and resembles a modern eye pencil at its narrow end. This narrow end was dipped into the oily or wet mixture of black, green, or red eye makeup (kohl) for application. The other end might be formed into the shape of a small spoon for mixing the kohl. Small bronze or ivory spatulas and spoons for mixing eye cosmetics are also known. Small glass vessels for holding the cosmetics play a role. Dipping rods were used to extract oil-based perfumes and unguents from the narrow-necked glass or pottery vessels in which they were kept. In the early Roman period, the latter take the form of a double-tubed flask with glass threads wound around the top in decoration. Small palettes for mixing eye makeup are also well known, as are hand-held mirrors of polished bronze in wooden cases and with wooden handles. Lotions and therefore lotion bottles of glass appear everywhere in Roman contexts, attesting to their wide usage.

council, city (Gr.: *boulē*) judicial and/or legislative assembly. Numerous cities around Israel were organized as Hellenistic cities with councils composed of up to several hundred members, who were elected or chosen by lot annually by full citizens. This model was based on the Athenian Council of Five Hundred created by Cleisthenes in the late sixth century B.C.E. In the Graeco-Roman period, three Greek words are used for ruling assemblies in areas under Jewish rule: *gerousia,* an aristocratic council of elders; *boulē,* used less often; and *synedrion,* a word that enters Mishnaic Hebrew as Sanhedrin. Up until the Hellenistic period and subsequently in the mishnaic period, the traditional governing group in Jewish cities and towns was the elders, who exercised legislative and judicial roles. During Maccabean times Jerusalem was ruled by an aristocratic council of elders (*gerousia*), which probably consisted of prominent leaders of aristocratic families, both priestly and nonpriestly. In the Roman period, the more general term *synedrion* (assembly or council) became most common. In the first century B.C.E., the Roman governor Gabinius divided the country into five *synedria* that met in major cities. Local councils (*synedria*) and the council or Sanhedrin in Jerusalem are mentioned in the Gospels (e.g., Matt. 5:22; Mark 13:9, 14:53; Luke 7:3) and in Mishnah Sanhedrin. In these cases, judicial function is emphasized. Some hypothesize the existence of two or three councils in Jerusalem before 70 C.E., but the evidence for this is far from certain.

counselor *see* ADVOCATE

court (Heb.: *beit din,* house of judgment) According to the Mishnah, a court of three judges had jurisdiction in civil matters, including divorce, conversion, and absolution from vows, and was empowered to penalize a defendant through fines, flogging, and even enslavement. Courts of twenty-three judges adjudicated in criminal matters, including capital cases. A court of seventy-one judges had essentially unlimited legislative, administrative, and judicial power, including the authority to elect a king or high priest. Since, in rabbinic times and thereafter, the Jewish government had only limited autonomy, its courts could not exercise many of the functions described here. This was particularly so in capital cases, in matters involving a Jew and a non-Jew, and in cases in which Jews chose of their own volition to resort to a non-Jewish court.

courtyard The Mishnah describes smaller houses as grouped around an open courtyard (*ḥatzer*) served by a single covered entrance way (*maḇui*). While generally deemed to be public areas, for the purpose of transporting objects between domains on the Sabbath, these courtyards could take on the status of a continuous domain with the houses they served (see M. Eruḇin 1 and 2). This depended upon certain design elements (e.g., a maximum allowable height of the entranceway) as well as all inhabitants' preparing of a common meal (*shituf*), which symbolically joined their private domain to that of the shared courtyard.

covenant a treaty. Although there are different types of covenants, all covenants between YHWH and the children of Israel are suzerainty treaties, that is, treaties between unequal parties. There are both conditional and unconditional suzerainty treaties. In both types of treaties, it is YHWH, the superior party, who grants the Israelites, the inferior party, the covenant and he does so of his own volition. YHWH's responsibilities are primarily protection, succession, and land, although not necessarily all in the same covenant. Those of the sons of Israel vary in accordance with the type of covenant. In an unconditional covenant, there are no stipulations laid upon them. In a conditional one, there are various stipulations to which the sons of Israel are subject.

It is YHWH who makes the unconditional covenant irrevocable. In a conditional treaty, the superior party grants the covenant to and lays conditions on the inferior party, to which the latter is required to swear under oath. So in a conditional covenant between YHWH and Israel, if Israel violates its oath, the covenant will no longer be binding on YHWH. For this reason, the Jew prefers death to a violation of the Mosaic covenant, which promises him eternal life; and at the same time, he acknowledges that all men violate the covenant. This means that everybody, even members of the covenant community, sins. But precisely because a violation of the Mosaic covenant is a sin, Jews believe that the Most High can, if He wills, grant mercy and not exact the requisite punishment whereby the Jews are to be scattered among the nations.

The supreme covenant is the Mosaic covenant: that is, the covenant mediated by Moses, who saw the Deity face to face. In the pre-exilic and exilic portions of the Hebrew scriptures, the Mosaic type of covenant is patterned on ancient near eastern, and particularly Hittite treaty formulary. During the Second Temple period, various interpretations of the Mosaic covenant altered the preexilic and exilic scriptural traditions in such a way that the Hittite treaty formulary was almost completely eliminated. This is also true of the rabbinical interpretation of this covenant although the rabbis claimed to hold to the Sinai covenant as depicted in scripture.

From the early Second Temple period onward, the Mosaic covenant is deemed the conditional treaty that YHWH, the Most High God, granted the Israelites at Sinai/Horeb and that He again granted them after the Babylonian exile. The Mosaic covenant is generally certified by a ritually performed circumcision—connected with the covenant with Abraham in the Pentateuch—that an Israelite/Jewish male must undergo when he is eight days old. By the postmishnaic rabbinic period, circumcision and the Mosaic covenant were treated as one and the same thing.

Within the Qumran Community, for whom the covenant was reformulated to reflect its own teachings, more than mere circumcision is required for covenant compliance. The Community had its own covenant, but it is not clear whether it considered its covenant as different from the Mosaic one. In any case, those who join the Qumran Community are considered converts who are entering the covenant of the Community. After a probation period, those who wish to become members of the Qumran Community take part in a ritual ceremony of entry, which seems to have been part of the larger (annual) rite of covenant renewal. They view those in Judah and Jerusalem or elsewhere who scoff as violators of the Mosaic covenant, wherefore they bring God's curses on themselves.

From the perspective of Judah and Jerusalem, the Mosaic covenant was the law of both life and of knowledge, that is wisdom, that Moses was to teach Israel and Jacob. It is actually the inheritance of Jacob's congregations. The Jews themselves are sometimes equated with the eternal covenant as well as the Temple and Mount Zion. That a covenant is eternal, however, does not mean it is unconditional. Precisely because of the prior exilic experience, there is a sense that the covenant could be revoked. Significantly, then, the Mosaic covenant also has ethical dimensions, particularly in regard to the treatment of others, and it must be defended with one's life if necessary.

The laws of the covenant are said to have been handed down in a Book of the Covenant. There is no reason to presume that this is either the Covenant Code of Exodus, Josiah's Law Code, or even the entire Torah, although the latter is the more likely in Judah and Jerusalem. The community's own rules are more likely in Qumran. In Sec-

ond Temple Judaism, there is a distinct relationship between the divine commandments and the Mosaic covenant, just as there is between wisdom and the Mosaic covenant. The law need not coincide with what is in the Pentateuch. Moreover, for Ben Sira, neither the law nor wisdom is identical with the Mosaic covenant to which they are related. Possibly in response to the Hellenistic practice of epispasm by certain Jews, Ben Sira stresses that people must not be ashamed of the law of the Most High or the covenant.

Covenant is also the treaty to which Abraham gave witness by circumcision, which Yahweh gave to Abraham unconditionally. Notably, Ben Sira indicates that YHWH took an oath reassuring Abraham in regard to the stipulations of this unconditional treaty. In addition to the promises in Genesis, YHWH promised Abraham he would exalt his descendants like stars, and that their inheritance would extend from one sea to another as well as from the Euphrates River to the earth's ends. This covenant was transferred to Jacob.

The covenant with Abraham is sometimes treated as unconditional. Baruch, like others of the Second Temple period, thought it had been revoked during the Babylonian exile, but it was reoffered to the children of Israel provided they follow the Deity's stipulations. The covenant with Abraham seems to have been so confused with the Mosaic covenant that it was believed that should the Jews keep it, they would be given a (new) everlasting covenant whereby the Most High would be their God and they would be his people. As part of this covenant with Abraham conjoined with the Mosaic covenant, God stipulated that He would never again remove the children of Israel from the land that he will have given them under the terms of the covenant.

Covenant is the unconditional treaty given to Noah that never again would the Deity destroy mankind by a flood. Convenant is also the seemingly unconditional treaty that the Most High gave to Aaron, which established him as a priest for however long the heavens continue. The apocalyptic expectation of a new heaven and a new earth that was expected during the Second Temple era gives the covenant with Aaron a sense of the conditional. On the other hand, the covenant with Aaron resembles the unconditional Davidic covenant establishing David's succession, which was restricted to his male descendants. Only Aaron's sons are to inherit the priesthood just as David's sons are to inherit kingship.

Another such covenant was granted to Phinehas, son of Eleazar. He was to have charge of both the sanctuary and the Jewish people, and his descendants should hold the priesthood eternally. This is specifically called a friendship covenant.

covenant renewal the act of reaffirming an existing agreement. The fundamental covenant in the Hebrew Bible is the one made between God and Israel at Mount Sinai. There are several episodes in which the provisions of that agreement are renewed or reinstated; examples are the Book of Deuteronomy, perhaps Joshua 24, and the covenant of King Josiah in 1 Kings 22–23. However, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel provided a somewhat different perspective by speaking of a "new" covenant (Jer. 31; Ezek. 36). Both do make clear that, while the pact can be called a new one, it is really an improved version of the old, and the same law will be integral to it (Jer. 31:33). Later, Ezra and Nehemiah presided at a ceremony in which the Judeans took upon themselves to uphold the ancient covenantal law.

The Qumran Community renewed the covenant annually, apparently on the Festival of Weeks. They pledged to obey and recited blessings and curses to reinforce the agreement (Manual of Discipline 1–2). They, too, spoke of a new covenant made with their community. New Testament writers used the prophetic language of the new covenant (New Testament means new covenant). Luke's Gospel speaks of the wine at the last supper as a new covenant in Jesus' blood (Luke 22:21). Paul draws a sharper contrast between the ancient covenant and the new one that comes with Christ—a covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit (2 Cor. 3:4–11). In drawing this contrast, Paul was followed by the author of Hebrews, who called Jesus the mediator of a better covenant (Heb. 8:1–9:22).

Crassus, Marcus Licinius first-century-B.C.E. Roman consul. He escaped to Spain after the victory of Marius and Cinna in the Roman social war (87 B.C.E.). He subsequently supported Sulla, was consul with Pompey in 70 B.C.E., and later supported Julius Caesar. As a member of the first Triumvirate with Caesar and Pompey, he was given command of an army in Syria as consul (55 B.C.E.). He was defeated and killed by the Parthians at Carrhae (biblical Haran) in eastern Syria in 53 B.C.E.

creation fundamental affirmation of heirs of the biblical tradition. That God created all things is a forceful expression of divine sovereignty and is frequently repeated in Jewish sources addressed to the Hellenistic world (Sibylline Oracles 1:5–60; 3:20; Philo, *On the Eternity of the World*). Josephus

(*Antiquities* 1.21) emphasizes the fact that the Jewish "constitution" begins with cosmology, claiming that such an approach leads readers' thoughts to God and wins their obedience to the dictates of piety.

The radical quality of the act of creation found expression in the notion that creation was "from the invisible to the visible" (2 Enoch 48.5; Heb. 11:3) or "from nothing" (Joseph and Asenath 12:1–2; Wisdom of Solomon 11:25). Philo of Alexandria insists on this point as a way of distinguishing the true creative act from the formation of preexistent matter (*On Dreams* 1.76; *On the Special Laws* 4.187).

The details of the six days of creation could serve as the subject for lengthy exposition (2 Enoch 24–33; 4 Ezra 6:38–54). Philo gives special attention to the interpretation of the biblical accounts. His treatise *On the Creation of the World* combines various elements of his philosophical background—Platonic, Stoic, and Pythagorean—into an exposition of Genesis. The *Allegory of the Laws* pays more attention to the problem of the two accounts of creation, finding in the first a reference to the ideal creation and in the second an exposition of the creation of the physical.

creia moral anecdote. The term derives from the Greek word for "useful." A literary form in Greek education and rhetoric, the *creia* was used to illustrate an ethical or moral point. It was one of the exercises in the *progymnasmata* (prerhetoric stage of Greek schooling), where it served to teach students proper grammar as well as forms that would later be useful in rhetoric.

criminals, in rabbinic Judaism Rabbinic law does not distinguish between a criminal, who violates human law and is punished by human authority alone, and a sinner, who commits a crime against and is punished by God. Rather, the rabbinic system understands civil, criminal, and religious law all to derive from God, through the processes of revelation. In rabbinic parlance, therefore, the Hebrew term that best defines a criminal in general—*posbea*—describes a willful transgressor or even an apostate. Terms for those who commit specific crimes—e.g., *ganaḇ*, a thief, or *ratzḥan*, a murderer—appear. But no general term signifying one who violates human law alone is available. It follows from this fact that while rabbinic law details the procedures through which human courts try and sanction wrong doers, these courts are seen as acting on religious authority, on behalf of God.

At the foundation of the rabbinic trial system is Hebrew scripture, which holds that an individual's guilt or innocence is evaluated through the testimony of witnesses (see esp. Deut. 19:15; Num. 35:30; and Deut. 19:16–19), and which specifies punishments for specific crimes: a fine or monetary compensation for larceny, robbery, and even rape (Deut. 22:28–29) as well as for certain instances of manslaughter (Exod. 21:29–32); flogging (Deut. 25:1–3) for violation of religious dicta; and the death penalty for murder. The rabbinic system develops scripture's approach by carefully distinguishing crimes against persons, which are in the hands of the human court, from crimes against God, which are punished by the Divine hand, through extirpation. Additionally, unlike scripture, the rabbinic system accepts monetary compensation as a generally appropriate sanction, in most cases replacing flogging or other forms of physical punishment.

According to rabbinic law, most cases were brought before a two- or three-judge panel (M. Sanhedrin 1:1), while capital cases were heard by a court of twenty-three (M. Sanhedrin 1:4). The rabbis offered especially detailed guidelines for how these capital cases were to be heard, including how witnesses were to be questioned, the types of responses that would disqualify them, and other matters of procedure. Imposition of the death penalty was made almost impossible. The argument for acquittal came first, and acquittal required a majority of only one judge. While the decision to acquit could be made on the day of the trial, a determination to convict had to be made on the following day. A judgment for acquittal was deemed not reversible, and a witness who at any point argued for acquittal was not allowed to change his mind and argue for conviction.

Such rules assured that the accused had ample opportunity to defend himself and that he received every benefit of the doubt. At the same time, certain aspects of the biblical system, which placed justice in the hands of an avenger (Num. 35:21) or of witnesses, who were obligated to help in carrying out the sentence (Deut. 13:6–11, 17:2–7), still appear (see M. Sanhedrin 9:6). Despite the development of a sophisticated criminal procedure, rabbinic law still imagines imposing special punishments upon individuals deemed to deserve harsher treatment than that normally applied. In cases of recidivism, when the punishment of flogging appeared insufficient, the individual was to be put in prison and fed barley until his belly explodes (M. Sanhedrin 9:5). Similarly, someone who is known to have killed but, because of the

absence of witnesses, cannot be tried, is put in prison and fed the bread of adversity and the water of affliction (Isa. 30:20), understood to cause the death of the guilty (M. Sanhedrin 9:5).

Since the court acted on behalf of God, the punishment it imposed was understood to provide full atonement, so that the convicted person again stood in proper relationship to God and could receive a place in the world to come. The death penalty coupled with confession (M. Sanhedrin 6:2) or the infliction of stripes (M. Makkot 3:15) constituted full atonement for the sin. Atonement for crimes punished by monetary damages depended further upon the individual's seeking pardon from the one he injured.

crooked generation (Heb.: *dor ikesh, dor tapukhot*; Gr.: *genea skolia*) the idolatrous "generation" that brought God's wrath against Israel according to Deuteronomy 32:5, 20. The image of crookedness, twisting, and turning emphasizes that the people have turned from God or perverted God's commandments and thus renounced faithfulness to the covenant. 1 Enoch 93:9 applies the image to the postexilic generation, at the end of which a remnant is chosen to receive the "sevenfold wisdom" that will deliver them from divine judgment (v. 10). A similar assessment of the postexilic generation appears in 1 Enoch 89:72–74 and the Damascus Document 1:1–12. In these Jewish texts, crookedness describes the perversion of or apostasy from the Torah (cf. 1 Enoch 99:2, 104:10; cf. 5:4). The image recurs in Acts 2:40 and Philippians 2:15, where the Christian proclamation is seen as the eschatological revelation that will save people from the crooked generation.

cross *see* CRUCIFIXION

crown symbol of the eternal reward of the righteous. Drawing on Isaiah 62:3, the author of Wisdom of Solomon 5:15–16 concretizes the eternal life which is the reward of the righteous as "a glorious royal crown" (Gr.: *basileion*) and "a beautiful diadem" from the Lord. Second and Third Isaiah (Isa. 40–55, 56–66) played down the importance of the Davidic dynasty and assigned royal attributes to the servant of YHWH, and Wisdom follows in this tradition, interpreting the servant figure as the suffering and exalted righteous one who will judge his persecutors. This notion of exaltation reappears in the Book of Revelation, where the martyrs are raised from the dead to "rule" with Christ for a thousand years (20:4–6). Thus, Revelation 2:10 promises "a crown of life" to those who endure tribulation and are faithful unto death. A similar notion appears to lie behind James 1:12 and 1 Peter 5:4, where trial and suffering are part of the context of these writings. However, 1 Corinthians 9:24–25 indicates another possible context for such reward, namely, the athletic contest in which the victor is crowned with a garland. Since much Jewish and Christian exhortative literature of this period, whether it is apocalyptic or written in a wisdom or philosophic mode, describes the virtuous life as an athletic contest, it is difficult to know whether a particular passage reflects the one set of images or the other, or both. *See also* SERVANT OF THE LORD.

crucifixion a cruel and torturous form of execution by binding or nailing a person to a stake or cross. The particular forms of crucifixion, usually preceded by flogging, depended on the sadistic imagination of the executioners. The Persians, the Greeks, and especially the Romans used crucifixion extensively to punish with gruesome cruelty the peoples they conquered, rebels against the Pax Romana, brigands, and even ordinary criminals. Crucifixion thus also served to terrorize the rest of the subject populations. The Romans used crucifixion above all as a painful punishment for disobedient slaves. Crassus had six thousand slaves crucified along a well-traveled route to Rome following the slave rebellion led by Spartacus in 71 B.C.E. In a unique event in Judean history, high priest–king Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.) crucified eight hundred of his opponents (perhaps Pharisees) and had their wives and children slaughtered before them as they were slowly dying (*War* 1.4.1, no. 97; *Ant.* 13.14.2, no. 380). Roman officials and their troops used crucifixion extensively in their conquests and reconquests of Judea and other districts of Palestine. In the suppression of the rebellions in 4 B.C.E., for example, Varus crucified two thousand in Judea (*War* 2.5.1, no. 75; *Ant.* 17.10.10, no. 295). In the first century, Roman governors ordered both brigands and their sympathizers crucified in their periodic repressive measures to maintain social order. Archaeological evidence for crucifixion in the first century has come from a tomb at Gib at haMibtar just northeast of Jerusalem, in which a man's skeleton was found with the lower legs broken and the heels pierced by an iron nail. According to the Christian Gospels, Jesus of Nazareth was crucified between two brigands after being condemned to death by Pontius Pilate (Mark 15:22–27; Matt. 27:33–38; Luke 23:33–34). Thousands of Judean rebels were crucified as both punishment and as a terrorizing spectacle for the remaining defenders of Jerusalem in 70 (*War* 5.11.1, no. 446–51).

Ctesiphon city on the west bank of the Tigris, 25 miles southeast of modern Baghdad. Ctesiphon had a large Jewish community and was a commercial center for Jews in the area. In 41 B.C.E., Jews of Seleucia took refuge there (Josephus, *Ant.* 18:374ff.). B. Yoma 10a identifies Ctesiphon with Resen (Gen. 10:12). The Amoraic authorities Ḥiyya b. Abba and Rabba b. Ḥiyya resided there. The city quickly declined after the founding of Baghdad in 762 C.E.

cubit measure of length in the ancient Near East generally, as well as in ancient Israel. It was usually defined as the distance between the elbow and the tips of the outstretched hand, making it roughly 17–18 inches (45 cm), though it varied from region to region. The great cubit was a cubit plus a handbreadth (c. 50 cm).

cult set of ceremonies and practices through which people offer worship to their god(s); in Judaism, primarily the acts of worship performed at the Temple in Jerusalem. The religious practices of ancient Israel, which centered on sacrifices, resembled those of their neighbors in many respects. While there seems to have been a time when anyone, not just priests, was permitted to offer sacrifices, later, especially when temples became important, the role of officiating at the altar fell to priests alone. The priests traced their ancestry to Aaron, the brother of Moses; all of them are supposed to have belonged to the larger tribe of Levi. The Bible presents detailed legislation about worship. There were daily sacrifices, offered in the morning and evening; sacrifices that fit individual cases (sin offerings, thank offerings, peace offerings); and many prescribed sacrifices for the different festivals of the sacred calendar. These are enumerated in Numbers 28–29. Numbers 16 specifies the ritual acts involving two symbolic goats on the Day of Atonement. When King Solomon dedicated his temple, the ceremony included a procession of the ark to the temple, the slaughter of many sacrificial animals, and a lengthy prayer. It is also very likely that some psalms were used in temple worship. The Books of Chronicles attribute to David the project of organizing temple personnel—priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers. When the nation of Israel split into a northern and a southern state (around 930 or 920 B.C.E.), other state temples were constructed at Dan and Bethel. The prophets at times were critical of the kind of worship offered in the temples. Amos, for example, expressed the Lord's contempt for cultic acts done by people who violated the fundamental stipulations of the covenant to care for the poor and to do justice. The prophets and the historical books also report that cults of other gods were conducted in the Jerusalem temple.

The First Temple at Jerusalem was destroyed in 587 or 586 B.C.E.; the Second Temple, which was completed in 515 B.C.E., stood until the Romans burned it in 70 C.E. (a long-lived remodeling project, begun by King Herod in 20 B.C.E., had been completed just before this date). There, the sacrificial cult was reinstated, under the control of the priests. It appears to have been during the time of the Second Temple that the types of Temple personnel described in Chronicles assumed their roles. The Temple in Jerusalem was the most famous one and was regarded by many Jews as the only legitimate one, but the Jewish military colony in Elephantine, Egypt, also had a temple, where they worshiped Yahu (YHWH) and, for a time at least, engaged in animal sacrifice. The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira (c. 180–175 B.C.E.) describes the ceremonies that the high priest Simon led at the temple on a festival that is often identified as the Day of Atonement (chap. 50). In the Books of Maccabees, one reads about the celebration of the festival of Hanukkah which was instituted as an annual eight-day holiday to celebrate the rededication of the Jerusalem Temple to the service of God; the cult had been suppressed a few years earlier (in 167 B.C.E.) by decree of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (for this festival, see also John 10). The Dead Sea Scrolls provide information about the group's worship and understanding of it. They had removed themselves from the temple-centered cult in Jerusalem, and it appears almost certain that they did not have an altar for animal sacrifice at Qumran. However, they did worship in other ways. Numerous psalms and hymns have been found there; in them it is clear that the group worshiped through them and that the worshipers understood that their actions were done in harmony and fellowship with the angels or with the liturgy that is conducted in heaven. The festivals (with some new ones, such as a festival for bringing wood to the temple and more firstfruits holidays) also occupy a prominent place in their writings.

cult, ruler a cult established in honor of kings and emperors in the Graeco-Roman world, similar to cults for the gods. The origin of the ruler cult is most directly associated with Alexander (though there were some pre-Alexandrian Greek precedents). The peoples of the East would often honor Alexander by obeisance (*proskynesis*) and with rites accorded to Persian kings that were unusual for Macedonian rulers. In Egypt it had long been

customary to regard the pharaoh as the son of the sun god. Alexander accepted these honors, despite criticisms from his fellow Macedonians. In the next decades and centuries, the practice became standard for the Hellenistic rulers and, later, the Roman emperor. This dynastic cult was adopted by most rulers, who established regular sacrifices and sometimes appointed their own priests, though some simply added their own celebrations to preexisting cults and temples. Although the cult was parallel to that for deities, the living (or dead) ruler was not necessarily regarded as actually divine, though different people may have interpreted it in different ways. A regular festival might be established as well, though this varied from a monthly festival to one observed every four years.

Cumanus Ventidius Roman procurator of Palestine (48–52 C.E.). During his term of office, a number of inflammatory incidents exacerbated relations with the Jewish population. An armed conflict between Jews and Samaritans led to his recall to Rome and banishment by the emperor Claudius.

cumin aromatic herb. Its seeds were mixed in bread flour and its oil used as a disinfectant. As part of his broadside against Pharisaic "hypocrisy," Matthew contrasts their tithing of cumin seed with their alleged ignoring of "the weightier matters of the law" (23:23).

cup In about half of its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, the word "cup" is a symbol of God's blessing (Ps. 23:5, 116:13; cf. Ps. 16:5) or, more frequently, of God's wrath (Ps. 11:6; Jer. 49:12) poured out on humans. The other occurrences are divided between literal uses and a symbol of one's fate. The cup of God's wrath is the cup of divine judgment (Ps. 75:7–8), which can cause one to reel as if drunk (Isa. 51:17, 22; Jer. 25:15–16; Ezek. 23:31–33; Hab. 2:15–16). In Revelation, both Babylon and the worshipers of the beast will drink the cup of God's wrath, equivalent to eternal damnation (14:10, 16:19; cf. 18:6). Revelation transforms Jeremiah's image of Babylon as the cup of God's wrath (Jer. 51:7) into one of Babylon holding a golden cup (Rev. 17:4; cf. 14:8, 17:2, 18:3) full of abominations and fornication.

In the Gospels, the cup symbolizes Jesus' suffering (Mark 10:38–39), which he prays to avoid (14:36). "Cup" is also used of the eucharistic cup (Mark 14:23; 1 Cor. 11:25–26). Paul's contrast of the eucharistic "cup of blessing" with the "cup of demons" (1 Cor. 10:16, 21), through which he insists that one cannot engage in both idolatrous ceremonies and Christian Eucharist, uses language reflecting the Jewish "cup of blessing" offered at meals. Similar language is used in Joseph and Asenath 8:5 when Joseph compares Judaism—characterized as drinking "a blessed cup of immortality"—to the worship of idols, where one drinks "from their libation a cup of insidiousness."

curse expression of a wish that evil may befall someone. The English word "curse" encompasses a variety of Hebrew and Greek words that express a wide range of meanings (Heb.: primarily *alah, arar, kalah,* and *ḥerem*; Gr.: principally *kataraomai* and *anathematizo*). A curse can predict or wish trouble for another, someone or something can be said to be accursed (i.e., banned and off-limits), or a curse can be used to back up a statement. Curses, in these traditional cultures, have a visceral and a mutually acknowledged power to bring about misfortune on the person who is cursed. In the Hellenistic as in earlier biblical literature, curses can be used in any situation in which one party feels aggrieved, as, for example, a borrower against his creditor (Ecclus. 29:6). To be effective, a curse must be backed up with power, and a curse invoking the divine power is especially effective. Thus, a foreigner would curse by his gods (Ps. 151:6). Ben Sira warns his readers not to give anyone a reason to curse them (Ecclus. 4:5), for God could bring about the desired evil. Curses by prophets (2 Kings 2:24; Mark 11:21) and mothers (Ecclus. 3:9) are particularly effective. However, one should not be too ready to curse (Ps. 109:17; Ecclus. 27:14; 1 En 95:4), for a curse might be invoked against a curser. As in other Near Eastern treaties, the covenant between Israel and God was framed in terms of stipulations which, if broken, would bring down evil upon the people (Deut. 11:26–28; Dan. 9:11). The covenantal setting for blessings and curses is seen clearly in the initiation ceremony of the Qumran covenanters (1 QS 1:16–2:18) whereby those who enter the Qumran covenant bind themselves to be faithful to God's demands.

Whoever attacks the covenantal relationship between God and Israel is accursed (11QTemple 64:9–12). Tobit predicts the restoration of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and nations who try to harm Jerusalem shall be accursed (Tob. 13:10–12). For the author of Revelation, when the new Jerusalem descends, all accursed things shall disappear (Rev. 22:3). The belief in the power of the covenantal curse is so strong that one can predict that judgment and disaster will fall on those who attack Israel and its faithful people. Such predictions find expression in what is called a woe oracle, which can be against nations, against classes of people,

and against individuals. 2 Esdras contains woes against Assyria (2:8), and Babylon, Asia, Egypt, and Syria (16:1). The Sibylline Oracles contain woes against Babylonia, Ethiopia, and Libya (3:295–334), against Phoenicia, Crete, and Thrace (3:492–511), against Lycia (5:126), and against Greece (11:183–184). Woes are pronounced against the rich who oppress the poor and sinners in general in 1 Enoch 94:6–95:7 and also in Luke 6:24–26. In both Matthew (23:13–33) and Luke (11:42–48), woes are spoken against the Pharisees and against Judas, Jesus' betrayer (Matt. 26:24). Paul held that anyone who preached a gospel different from Paul was accursed (Gal. 1:8)

One special case within this frame of curses and blessings is when someone within the covenant would wish evil on him/herself so that blessings might come on others. So, in Paul's view, Jesus became accursed at his crucifixion, but God changed that curse into a blessing (Gal. 3:13–15). Paul could even pray to become an outcast, accursed of God's covenant, if it would result in his natural kinsfolk, the Jews, being blessed by believing in Jesus (Rom. 9:3).

curtain, ark a minor motif in ancient Jewish art. In the mosaic from Beth Alpha, the panel that shows the Torah shrine or ark flanked by two seven-branched menorahs displays a curtain to the right and to the left. There is sufficient detail to indicate that they hung from rings attached to a curtain rod that extended across the entire scene. These specific curtains or "veils" (*parokhet*), decorated with flowers, were pulled back to reveal the entire space in which the shrine stood. The same scene in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias shows a single curtain hanging from three rings attached to a rod. The curtain is rolled and tied in a single knot in front of the Torah shrine or ark. The mosaic floor in the first synagogue found at Beth Shean shows a Torah shrine with a decorated curtain hanging from rings on a rod between the two pillars in front, completely concealing the ark behind.

curtain, temple one of two drapes or curtains that hung in the sanctuary of the First and Second Temples, according to Josephus (*War* 5.5.4–5). The main curtain in front of the inner door (not the Holy of Holies), according to tradition, was sewn or woven by eighty-two young virgins who were paid from the Temple treasury (Y. Berakot 2:5, 4d). Upon this curtain they embroidered lions and eagles, which may explain how these two symbols entered Jewish art. Josephus insists that the first curtain was a "Babylonian" curtain with mystical symbols on it, including zodiacal signs, though no animals. He does not describe the inner curtain.

Cynics Graeco-Roman philosophical school (though perhaps more a broad movement than a unified school of thought), characterized by independence from material possessions and refusal to accept conventional sexual morality. Cynics lived off the charity of those who would give them gifts, often bedding down in the public baths or buildings. The founder is usually regarded as Diogenes of Sinope (c. 400–325 B.C.E.), who rejected accepted societal conventions and lived without wife, home, or possessions; hence, he was given the nickname "Kynos" (dog), which gave rise to the popular etymology of "Cynic." Behind the Cynic lifestyle lay a radical critique of conventional morality and civilization. In preaching about the evils of society—delivering moral sermons known as diatribes—Cynics clearly had many characteristics of a religious movement in which adherents live in poverty as wandering preachers. Since they also became associated with the Stoics, some of their institutions are labeled Cynic-Stoic. Among the Jewish groups they might be compared most closely to the Essenes.

Cyprian, Pseudo- Several Latin writings in the name of the patristic writer Cyprian (c. 200–258 C.E.) are thought not to be written by him and thus carry the attribution "Pseudo-Cyprian." One such work is the *Adversus Iudaeos* (Against the Jews), dating from around 200 C.E.; some think this work is aimed at Jewish-Christians rather than Jews. By yet a different author is *De montibus Sina et Sion,* which compares Mount Sinai to the Old Testament and Mount Zion to the New Testament. It also probably dates from around 200 C.E. and may have been written by a converted Jew, since it shows knowledge of various Jewish traditions. The work includes etymologies of Hebrew names.

Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–258 C.E.) rhetorician who became a Christian in 246 and bishop of Carthage in North Africa about 250. His letters and treatises mostly concern the treatment of Christians who had lapsed during persecutions. In his collection of biblical testimonies entitled *To Quirinus* (c. 248), the first book contains twenty-four theses against the Jews with scriptural verses offered as proofs. His arguments are similar to those of Tertullian's second-century treatise against the Jews and to those found in a sermon against the Jews incorrectly attributed to him.

Cyprus, Jews in A Jewish community on the island of Cyprus is referred to in a letter said to have been sent in the mid-second century B.C.E. (1

Macc. 15:23), in Philo's writings (*Leg.* 282), and in Acts of the Apostles (11:19; late first century C.E.). During the uprisings of diaspora Jews against Trajan from 115 to 117 C.E., the Jews on Cyprus, led by Artemion, massacred almost a quarter-million Gentile inhabitants and destroyed the capital, Salamis, according to the exaggerated account of the Greek historian Dio. When Roman control was restored, many Jews were killed, and all Jews were banned from the island. A couple of inscriptions suggest that Jews were back on the island in the third and fourth centuries. *See also* TRAJAN, WAR OF.

Cyrean Jews, revolt of (115–117 C.E.) a revolt that seems to have been the culmination of a long period of tense relationships between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities in North Africa, which probably began as a local struggle. During the last years of Trajan's reign, while he was occupied with his wars against Parthia, the emperor faced Jewish revolts in Cyrene (the capital of Cyrenaica on the coast of North Africa), Egypt, and Cyprus. Eusebius contains the fullest account of the uprisings in North Africa. He states that in 115 the Jews in Alexandria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica revolted against the Greeks and initially were successful. The Greeks returned to Alexandria where they were able to defeat the Jews, killing some and imprisoning others. At this point the Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica joined forces and plundered the rest of the country. Eusebius claims that in 116 the situation developed into a war with Rome, and he describes the Jewish leader, Lucus, as a "king" (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.1–2). Whether or not this is meant to imply that the uprising had taken on a messianic tone is unclear. Marcius Turbo, who had been serving in Parthia under Trajan, was sent to quell the rebellion. That Trajan would send one of his most able generals underscores the extent and gravity of the revolt. After a significant amount of time and many military encounters, Turbo prevailed. Turbo must have been totally successful in Cyrenaica by the time of Trajan's death in 117 because the new emperor, Hadrian, sent Turbo to Maurentania to put down another revolt.

The Greek historian Dio Cassius views the situation as a Jewish uprising against their non-Jewish neighbors, not as a political revolt against Roman rule. Dio goes into gory detail about the atrocities that the Jews perpetrated against the Greeks and Romans in Cyrenaica. He records that the Jews ate their victims' flesh, made clothes and belts from their victims' skin and entrails, painted their own bodies with their victims' blood, sawed some in half lengthwise, and fed some to wild animals. He claims that 220,000 were massacred by the Jews. With regard to the situation in Egypt, Dio merely states that the Jews did similar things there. Dio identifies Andreas as the leader of the Jews. Orosius, writing in the fifth century, agrees with Dio that this was not an uprising against Roman authority but a war in which the Jews sought to destroy their non-Jewish neighbors. Orosius claims that Cyrenaica was almost totally depopulated because the Jews murdered so many farmers. The archaeological evidence indicates that the center of the city of Cyrene was destroyed. Many public buildings were burned, the Caesareum (the complex that was dedicated to the worship of the emperor) was destroyed, and the temples of Zeus, Apollo, Demeter, Artemis, and Isis, among others, were destroyed or damaged. Milestones on the road between Cyrene and the port of Apollonia indicate that the road was destroyed during the Jewish disturbance, perhaps in an effort to slow the advancing Roman forces.

Cyrenaica North African coastal area and later Roman province in modern Libya. Cyrenaica was settled by Greek colonists from Thera in the course of the seventh century B.C.E., but peopled by Jews as early as Ptolemy I Soter, son of Lagus. In his role as expansionist ruler of Egypt in about 323 B.C.E., Ptolemy Soter sent Jews from Egypt to inhabit Cyrene, the leading city, and to other cities of Cyrenaica. The major coastal cities included Berenice, Arsinoe, Barca and its port city of Ptolemais, Cyrene (the capital) and its port city of Apollonia, Darnis, Antipyrgus, and Teucheira. According to a Roman letter quoted in 1 Maccabees 15:23, Jews were in Cyrene in 140–139 B.C.E. According to Greek inscriptions from Cyrene there was a Jewish presence in all levels of government and commerce during the Roman period. For example, according to one Greek inscription, a body of free Jewish citizens existed in the city of Berenice in Cyrenaica in the first century C.E. In the inscription of 55 C.E. the Jewish congregation voted to list the names of those who repaired the local synagogue on a marble inscription attached to the building. Ten of the donors listed bear the title archon, an honorary municipal title, and one bears the title priest, therefore a Cohen. Epitaphs in Greek from Teucheira in Cyrenaica also contain a substantial number of Jewish names, including their appearance on two seven-branched menorahs carved above the entrance to tombs. Jewish names also occur in similar epitaphs from Apollonia and Ptolemais. In Ptolemais, in a list of youths who reached manhood about 3 or 4 C.E., there are a few

clearly Jewish names, such as Barthubra (Bar Thubra), Iulios Iesoutos (Julios son of Ieshu or Joshua), and Elaszar Elazaros (Elazar son of Elazar). A list of Cyrenean city officials from 60–61 C.E. mentions Elazar son of Jason (perhaps Joshua). According to Josephus, Augustus issued a decree favorable to the Jews of Cyrene (*Ant.* 16.161).

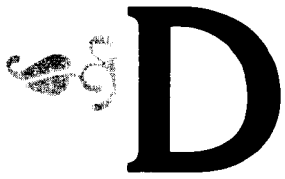
According to the New Testament, Jews of Cyrene were present in Jerusalem on certain occasions. For example, in Acts 2:10, Cyrenean Jews were present in Jerusalem at Passover. According to Acts 6:9, there were enough Cyrenean Jews in Jerusalem to build their own synagogue. At the time of the first revolt against Rome, several thousand Cyrenean Jews were killed because of their sympathies with the rebellion in Palestine. By 74 C.E., Rome had annexed Cyrenaica as one of its North African provinces. Rome ruled Cyrene and Crete as a single province until the third century C.E. From 115 to 117 C.E., there was a general rebellion in Cyrenaica against Rome by the Jewish population. This rebellion was put down at great cost to both parties to the conflict. *See also* CYREAN JEWS, REVOLT OF.

Cyril of Alexandria born in Alexandria between 370 and 380 C.E.; nephew of the Alexandrian Patriarch Theophilus (385–412) who had destroyed the most important Alexandrian sanctuary, the Serapeion, and its library in 391, persecuted Origen's admirers from 399 on, and deposed John Chrysostom in 403. As a monk, Cyril was trained as the successor to his uncle, whose harsh, ambitious character he inherited to the point of being depicted by modern critics as a "Christian pharaoh." Elected bishop of Alexandria in October 412, he encouraged violent campaigns against local minorities, pagan and heretic. One of these riots resulted in the death of the Platonist philosopher Hypathia, murdered by a gang of fanatical monks. When Nestorius, a monk of the rival see of Antioch, became patriarch of Constantinople in 428, Cyril hastened to respond to protests in the imperial capital against the preaching of the new bishop. Within the year Cyril had engaged an offensive action with a series of letters to Nestorius in which he accused the latter of destroying the unity of Christ by separating the humanity from the divinity. Both parties appealed to Pope Celestine whose advisers favored Cyril's report, more immediately accessible to them because it was written in Latin. Hence in August 430, the Roman council asked Nestorius to confess his errors and nominated Cyril to execute its verdict. Only in November did Cyril transmit to Nestorius the Roman decree, in adding to it twelve anathemata that pretended to impose as common faith the most extreme peculiarities of Alexandrian Christology. The latter centered on the notion of the physical unity of the divine and the human in Christ. Termed as such, the statement was unacceptable in Antioch or in Constantinople. In the meantime, Nestorius had asked the emperor to call a council, which convened in Ephesus on 22 June 431. Cyril and his delegation hastily condemned and deposed Nestorius before the arrival of the Oriental bishops united under the Antiochenes and favorable to Nestorius. Soon after their arrival these bishops condemned and deposed Cyril. The Emperor Theodosius II approved the decision of both parties. Nestorius retired into a monastery and was replaced by Atticus, and Cyril recuperated his episcopal throne. He negotiated with the Oriental bishops and in April 433 convinced them to ratify the condemnation of Nestorius. In return he agreed to withdraw the twelve anathemata.

Cyril's doctrine laid a one-sided stress on the divinity of Christ, absorbing the human subject into the divine, even while maintaining the traditional distinction between the man and God in Jesus. The eloquent and zealous leader buttressed his position by attacking the memory of the two most famous Antiochene exegetes, Diodore, bishop of Tarsus (378–c. 394), and Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (392–428), both of whom he accused of having inspired Nestorius. He died 27 June 444.

Cyril wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the minor prophets, the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the Letter to the Romans, Hebrews, and others. Before the controversy with Nestorius he established himself as a theologian in benefiting from Athanasius' literary legacy. His *Thesaurus de Trinitate* and the dialogues *De Trinitate* are based on Athanasius's *Orations Against the Arians*. In the last decade of his life, Cyril refuted Julian the Apostate's pamphlet *Against the Galileans*.

Cyrus founder of the Persian Empire after the defeat of the Medes, the conquest of the kingdom of Lydia, and the occupation of Babylon in 539 B.C.E. His early successes brought hope of repatriation to Jewish deportees in Babylon (Isa. 44:28–45:7, where he is described as "YHWH's anointed"). The Cyrus cylinder, inscribed in 538 B.C.E., announced a magnanimous policy of repatriation for ethnic groups, including Jews, deported by the Babylonians; and the same policy is reflected in the imperial decrees quoted in Ezra 1:1–4 and 6:1–5. Cyrus died fighting the Massagetai tribe in the summer of 530 B.C.E.



Dabar haLamed meIniano a principle of exegesis of scripture that holds that the meaning of a verse of scripture may be established by the context in which the verse occurs; *see also* MIDRASH

Dabbura (Heb.: Dabura) ancient village and synagogue site in the northern Golan Heights. The site has been identified with ancient Seleucia, but this is uncertain. Many carved basalt stones, six with inscriptions, and now reused in the abandoned village, have long suggested the presence of an ancient synagogue, though its exact location is unknown. A broken lintel stone displays an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. Below one wing are two fish, which may represent Pisces. In a narrow band above the eagle, the remains of an Aramaic inscription—". . . made this gate"—are visible. A second, larger lintel bears two eagles with outstretched wings who are holding snakes in their beaks. The snakes intertwine and form a plaited wreath tied in a Hercules knot at the bottom. The lintel bears a Hebrew inscription: "Eliezer haQappar. This is the school (beit midrash) of the rabbi." An architrave bears an Aramaic inscription: "Elazar bar Eliezer the Great made the columns above the arches and beams." Then in Greek: "Rusticus built [it]." Yet another fragmentary Aramaic inscription reads, "They made the house of . . . . May he be blessed." Rabbi Eliezer haQappar was a sage of the fifth generation of Tannaim mentioned in the Mishnah, but he is from ancient Lydda (Lod or Diospolis) in Judah (M. Abot 4, 21). He is also called Rabbi Elazar bar Rabbi Eliezer haKapar (T. Betza 1,7; y Betza 1,3).

Dabiyye ancient Jewish village and synagogue site in the eastern Golan Heights. The evidence for the presence of the synagogue here are the remains of a rectangular building, entered from the south and paved with large basalt slabs. A second doorway let through the western wall. Inside the building, which had been reused in the modern period, were architectural fragments such as column bases, capitals, and lintels. A lintel stone decorated with two incised seven-branched menorahs and a second stone with a Hercules knot and a rosette were found elsewhere on the site. In general, the cutting of the building stones and architectural members and the carving of the menoroth resemble the cutting of stones and carvings in synagogues of the third or fourth centuries C.E.

Dabyra Synagogue *see* DABBURA

Dagobert I king of the Franks (r. 628–638 C.E.) Sometime between 631 and 639, following the lead of the kings of Neustria and of Byzantium and reflecting the general anti-Jewish atmosphere of the region, Dagobert decreed that the Jews under his control were to be baptized or expelled.

daimön (Gr., spirit, minor deity, or demon) The term had a wide variety of meanings, though they all center around the idea of spiritual power. The word could refer to the mind, to the spirit of a dead person, or to angelic or demonic beings (the term *daimonion* is often used for the latter).

Daisios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew

month of Iyyar (April/May) and sometimes to the month of Sivan (May/June).

Dalmanutha village or other locality mentioned in the Gospel of Mark 7:31; it remains as yet without a secure identification. The parallel text in Matthew 15:39 is Magdala, so either Dalmanutha is another name for Magdala or it is an unknown place name. It seems to be a genuine Aramaic place name ending in *-tha,* as Canatha in the territory of Tyre. The noun appears in y Kil 32d meaning "wall," so it is linguistically possible that this is a real place name. There is an anchorage visible when the waters are low on the northwest shores of the sea of Galilee west of Capernaum. Dalmanutha may have been simply an anchorage with no attached village, or Mark did not understand the tradition he was using and coined a place name from an Aramaic phrase meaning "which belongs to the territory of. . . ."

Dalton (Arab.: Kafr Dallata) ancient village site in Upper Galilee that has traces of an ancient synagogue. There is architectural evidence of a large building that faces south and lies beneath the modern mosque. Architectural elements from the earlier, possibly third- or fourth-century-C.E. building include a double "heart-shaped" column (often used at the corner of two lines of columns joining at a right angle), a capital, and a threshold. A stone inscribed with a sixteen-line Hebrew inscription on one side and five lines on the other has been judged to be early medieval. Parts of the inscription read "Mercy," "Seat," "His memory for good" (twice), and "Blessing, Amen, Selah [shalom?]."

damages money recoverable as compensation for a wrong or injury suffered through another individual's own negligence or through acts of his chattels. In the latter category, damages can be sought for losses suffered under four principal types of negligence: (1) leaving an open pit into which an animal falls and dies (Exod. 21:33–34); (2) igniting a fire that spreads to a neighbor's fields (Exod. 22:5); (3) possession of an ox that causes harm through goring (Exod. 21:28–32, 35–36); and (4) ownership of an animal that causes damage by trespassing on another's fields (Exod. 22:4). In rabbinic law, these primary categories yield derivative types of negligence for which damages also may be demanded. A knife or rock left where someone can be injured, for instance, yields liability under the category of the open pit; an animal's kicking, biting, or butting yields liability under the category of goring.

Under talmudic law, an individual is liable for damages only if the result of his actions could have been foreseen, for example, if he knew that his ox was a gorer or that he had left an open pit in an accessible area. But if an ordinary person would not have anticipated the damage, for example, if the ox had never before caused harm or if a properly covered pit had somehow been unsealed, the occurrence is treated not as negligence (*peshi ah*) but as a mishap or accident (*ones*). In such a case, no liability is incurred. Under this same theory, minors and people who are deaf, mute, or mentally incompetent are exempted from payment of damages under the laws of negligence, for they are deemed incapable of foreseeing the consequences of their actions.

In most instances, rabbinic law treats an agent as equivalent to the one who appoints him. The case of an agent commissioned to commit a tort is different, since, while the agent could foresee the damage to be caused by his actions, the one who commissioned him could not know that the agent actually would carry out the wrongful deed. Accordingly, an agent alone is liable for damage he causes; the one who appointed him is exempt. This applies unless the agent, for instance, a minor, could not himself know the implications of his actions. Then the one who commissioned him is liable for damages, the agent's having been nothing more than a tool in his hand.

The amount of damages to be paid is determined on the basis of (1) the permanent loss caused by the injury (*nezek*); (2) the temporary loss due to recovery time (*shebet*); (3) the amount of pain and suffering caused by the injury (*zaar*); (4) the cost of restoring health, for example, medical expenses (*ripui*); and (5) the degree of embarrassment felt by the injured (*bosbet*). In establishing appropriate compensation, rabbinic law rejects the literal meaning of Leviticus 24:19, which states: "When a man harms his neighbor, as he has done, so shall it be done to him." Talmudic law holds that the verse refers only to monetary compensation, not to mutilation of the body of the offender.

Damascus Document The only document from Qumran considered to be sectarian that was known before the discoveries at Qumran, the Damascus Document (also called Damascus Covenant or Zadokite Fragments; abbreviated CD) was first discovered in the late nineteenth century in the *geniza* (storeroom) of an old Karaite synagogue in Cairo by Solomon Schechter and subsequently published by him (1910). The *geniza* fragments consisted of two Hebrew manuscripts: Manuscript A, dating from the tenth century C.E., contains sixteen text columns, while Manuscript B,

dating from the twelfth century C.E., contains two text columns (numbered by Schechter as XIX and XX) that partially overlap columns VII and VIII of Manuscript A. The text consists of a hortatory introduction and conclusion and contains rules and regulations governing the life of a Jewish sect in the Second Temple period. It takes its name, Damascus Document, from the fact that the name Damascus, as a place of exile (not yet satisfactorily identified), is mentioned several times throughout the text.

Scholars wrestled with the question of the origins and purpose of the Damascus Document, some considering it to be Sadducaic in origin; others, Pharisaic; still others, Essene. This problem appeared to be resolved by the discovery in 1952 at Qumran of Caves 4, 5, and 6, all of which contained fragments of the Damascus Document (4QD^{a-e}, 5QD, 6QD). The text as a product of, or at least belonging to, the Qumran community seems assured.

The document itself is important for illuminating the history of the group that produced it and for recounting some of their legal precepts. Since the text is considered by most scholars to be a product of the group at Qumran or its ancestors, the discussion of the text is usually carried on in the light of other texts from Qumran. The document begins with a history of the sect's origins (col. 1), claiming that the sect arose 390 years (Ezek. 4:5) after the exile to Babylon, and that after twenty years of groping, God raised up for the sect a "Teacher of Righteousness" (a title that recurs in several Qumran texts), who instructed it in the true way. If these figures are taken more or less literally, it places the sect's origins in the first half of the second century B.C.E. Since the oldest manuscript from Cave 4 dates from c. 100 B.C.E., this places the composition of the Damascus Document sometime in the second half of the second century B.C.E., around the period of the first settlement at Qumran (150–135 B.C.E.).

The introduction (cols. 2–8 [19–20]) goes on to emphasize the need for repentance and entry into the New Covenant (the sect). The sect names its members both "the Repenters of Israel" and "those who enter the New Covenant," so the two activities go hand in hand. The sect believes, according to the document, that they are living in the time of the reign of Satan, and that Israel at large is sinful, caught in "the three nets of Belial" (4:5). Therefore, contact with nonsectarians is to be avoided. In order to maintain their purity and righteousness, the group had special laws, derived from a strict interpretation of the Torah, that were designed to keep the sectaries from transgression and impurity. So, for example, the laws concerning Sabbath observance (cols. 10–11), are particularly strict, with a man forbidden to draw water for a drink on the Sabbath.

An important problem not yet satisfactorily resolved is the relation of the Damascus Document to other rule books found at Qumran, particularly the Community Rule. The similarities are strong: adherence to a special (and strict) set of rules, a strong sense of difference vis-à-vis the rest of the Jews, and the following of a special leader or leaders within a hierarchical community. However, differences also exist: women and children are mentioned in the Damascus Document, but not in the Community Rule; the sectaries in the Damascus Document appear to be living in "camps" throughout Judah, where they hold private property, unlike the participants in communal life in one location envisioned in the Community Rule; and there is much more interest in the Damascus Document in laws pertaining to nonsectaries, while the Community Rule emphasizes rules for the common life of the members. These differences are usually explained by supposing that the Community Rule was written specifically for the group of sectaries living in relative isolation in the desert community at Qumran, while the Damascus Document was written for that larger group of sectaries living within the towns and settlements of Judah. *See also* CAIRO GENIZA; COMMUNITY RULE; DEAD SEA SCROLLS; MASKIL; QUMRAN.

damnation (Gr.: *katakrisis, krisis*) condemnation, a negative decision by God the judge; the opposite of vindication. In eschatologically oriented Jewish and Christian literature, one is condemned to eternal punishment. In John 3:16–19, eternal life and condemnation are present realities based on one's faith in, or rejection of Jesus. *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE; VINDICATION.

Dan city in Upper Galilee, at the foot of Mount Hermon, modern Tel Dan. Previously named Laish, it became the territorial center for the tribe of Dan. Judges 17–18 suggests it was a sacred site from the time of the judges. In the tenth century B.C.E., Jeroboam selected Dan (along with Bethel) as the location for one of his golden calves (1 Kings 12:30). 1 Enoch 13:7 mentions "the waters of Dan," one of the headwaters of the Jordan River that rises near and on Tel Dan, as the site of Enoch's heavenly revelation about the fallen watchers' condemnation and probably implies a wordplay on "Dan" (Aram., for he has judged).

Daniel hero of the biblical book that bears his name. He is described as an exile from Judah who rose to prominence at the Babylonian court because of his ability to interpret dreams. Despite his position, he does not compromise his fidelity to Judaism. Consequently, he is thrown into the lions' den but is miraculously preserved. The second half of the book recounts revelations Daniel received. The apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel contain further, in part contradictory, traditions. According to Bel and the Dragon, Daniel is a priest who is thrown into the lions' den because he destroyed the idols of the Babylonians. In Susanna, he is an unknown young man among the exiles in Babylon.

It is the consensus of modern scholarship that this Daniel never existed. The earliest allusion to him, outside the Book of Daniel, is in 1 Maccabees 2:60 (c. 100 B.C.E.). There is mention of a priest named Daniel in Ezra 8:2, but this individual lived a century after the exile. Two passages in the Book of Ezekiel suggest that Daniel was already a legendary figure at the time of the exile. Ezekiel 14:14 says that when a land sins, "even if these three, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they would deliver but their own lives by their righteousness." Ezekiel 28:3 taunts the king of Tyre: "Are you wiser than Daniel?" In fact the name Daniel occurs in a text from Ugarit (modern Ros Shamra in Syria) in the second millenium B.C.E. There, a king named Daniel appears as the father of Aqhat, a young man who is killed by the goddess Anat. In that story, Daniel is a righteous man who supplicates the gods and, as king, gives judgment for widows and orphans. He is not portrayed as exceptionally wise and even his righteousness is incidental to the story. The Ugaritic Daniel can not have been the model for the biblical Daniel. It seems, however, that Daniel was the name of a legendary wise man, and that new stories were attached to this name in the Second Temple period. The name Daniel means "my judge is God," but judgment appears as a motif only in the story of Susanna.

A number of fragmentary texts related to the Daniel traditions have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Prayer of Nabonidus is closely related to the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Daniel 4, but the name Daniel does not occur in the extant fragments of the Prayer. The name is found in a fragmentary pseudo-Daniel text, which apparently reports a prophecy by Daniel in the presence of a king. This text is very fragmentary, and it is not clear whether it is dependent on the biblical book of Daniel.

Daniel was regarded as a prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls (in the Florilegium [4Q174]), and in the New Testament. Josephus regarded him as the greatest of the prophets, because he not only prophesied future things but fixed the time at which they would come to pass (*Ant.* 10.266–267). According to Josephus, Daniel had built a fortress at Ecbatana in Media, in which the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia were buried and which was entrusted to a Jewish priest "to this very day" (*Ant.* 10.264–265). There is no other corroboration for this story, however.

Daniel, Book of found among the Writings in the Hebrew Bible but placed with the Prophets in the versions and in modern Christian editions. As found in the Hebrew Bible, it is a book of twelve chapters. Chapters 1:1–2:4a, and chapters 8–12 are in Hebrew. Chapters 2:4b–7:28 are in Aramaic. While no fully satisfactory explanation of the two languages has been found, it probably reflects the fact that the book was not composed all at once but grew over a period of time. Eight manuscripts of Daniel have been identified in the Dead Sea Scrolls. All twelve chapters are represented, including the two points of transition between Hebrew and Aramaic. (Chap. 12 is only represented in quotations in the Florilegium [4Q174]). The Greek and other versions have a significantly larger text. Two long liturgical pieces, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, are inserted in chapter 3, and there are two additional stories, Bel and the Dragon and Susanna. Besides, there are two Greek forms of chapters 4–6. The Old Greek translation of these chapters is significantly different from the Aramaic text. The translation attributed to Theodotion, which is a faithful rendering of the Aramaic and Hebrew text, became the standard translation of Daniel in the Greek Bible.

The first six chapters purport to describe the adventures of Daniel and three companions at the Babylonian court after they had been taken into exile. These chapters bristle with historical problems. They refer to a nonexistent king, Darius the Mede. Belshazzar, who did exist, is wrongly given the rank of king and said to be the son of Nebuchadnezzar (though he was actually the son of Nabonidus, the last Neo-Babylonian king). The stories are obviously legendary in character. Nebuchadnezzar is transformed into a beast in chapter 4. The three young men are unharmed in the fiery furnace and Daniel emerges unscathed from the lions' den. Nonetheless, the stories contain occasional historical reminiscences. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars suspected that the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness had its ori-

gin in a story about Nabonidus, who was absent from Babylon for ten years and lived in Teima in Arabia. This suspicion was confirmed by the discovery of the Prayer of Nabonidus at Qumran, which is obviously related to Daniel 4. The stories in Daniel, however, are not historical accounts, but legends that took shape over time and reached their present form in the late third or early second century B.C.E. They provide a model of Jewish life under Gentile rule. Daniel and his friends serve the kings faithfully, but they never compromise their Jewish religion.

Chapters 7–12 are quite different. They consist of apocalyptic visions, and clearly reflect the persecution of the Jewish people by Antiochus Epiphanes in 167–164 B.C.E. Daniel describes this persecution in vivid imagery. The Gentile kings are beasts that come up out of the sea, but they will be overcome by divine judgment, and the kingdom will be given to "one like a son of man" and the holy ones of the Most High. The "son of man" and the holy ones are often taken to be symbols of the Jewish people. They are better identified as the archangel Michael, patron angel of Israel, and the heavenly host. The logic of Daniel's vision is that the earthly conflict is only a reflection of a struggle between the angelic powers that represent the various peoples. In the end, Michael will arise in victory (12:1) and the dead will be raised for judgment. Then the wise people who have withstood the persecution will shine like the stars, which means that they will be exalted to the angelic host. The Book of Daniel was presumably put together by one of these "wise" people.

Not all the writings associated with Daniel found a place in the Hebrew Bible. Besides the additions in the Greek Bible, we now have two apocalyptic compositions in the Dead Sea Scrolls that are related to Daniel. One, the pseudo-Daniel text, mentions Daniel explicitly. The other, the Son of God text (4Q246) envisages some figure who falls before a throne and utters a prophecy that draws some of its language from Daniel. The Book of Daniel had broad influence on the Scrolls and on other Jewish writings of the period (notably the Similitudes of Enoch in 1 Enoch 37–71). It also had profound influence on the New Testament, especially in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke (in the image of the Son of Man who will come on the clouds of heaven) and in the Book of Revelation.

Danqalle (Arab.: ad-Danqalla, ed-Danqale, Qadiriya, 'Edriya, Khan Bandak; Heb.: Dannikleh) ancient village and synagogue site in the northern Golan Heights. The evidence for the synagogue's presence is a set of decorated black basalt stones in reuse in a nearby village. A carved basalt lintel in secondary use bears two seven-branched menorahs. One menorah has a tripod base, but the other's base is missing. A fragment of a second lintel also displays a menorah. Further artistic motifs include a wreath tied in a Hercules knot, ivy leaves, and a spoked wheel or circle. A brief Aramaic inscription was discovered on a lintel fragment, perhaps part of one of the above lintels. It reads, "Blessed be . . . Halfo bar . . . bar . . ." Some assign these architectural fragments to the remains of what may have been a synagogue: two walls of an ancient building, oriented north-south, which measured about 14 by 19 meters and was built of finely cut basalt masonry. The architectural fragments are most reasonably assigned a date in the third century C.E.

Darius III Codommanus the last king of Persia (r. 336–331 B.C.E.). He was defeated by Alexander the Great at Issus, in northwestern Syria, in 333 B.C.E. Alexander's victory led to his conquest of the province of Judah and the satrapy of Egypt. Darius was defeated again at Gaugamela, in northern Mesopotamia, in 331 B.C.E. and assassinated by his own troops in 330 B.C.E. His death and the end of the Persian Empire began the Hellenistic rule in Israel and Babylon.

darkhei haAmori *see* WAYS OF THE AMORITES

darkhei noam (Heb.) ways of pleasantness

darkhei shalom (Heb.) ways of peace

Daroma (Aram., south; also Darom, Daromas). During the period immediately following the Bar Kokhba Revolt, the term Daroma referred to an area just south of Hebron in Judea, where many Jews who were fleeing from Roman persecution and forced desegregation resettled. The area is also often called Darom (Heb., south) or Daromas (Gr., south).

The area of Daroma needs to be understood historically as well as archaeologically. It developed as a phenomenon of the failed Bar Kokhba Revolt. The revolt lasted over three and a half years (132–135 C.E.), during which time the Jewish rebels succeeded in temporarily overthrowing Roman rule in many places, including Jerusalem. After the Romans regained control and defeated the rebels, the Roman emperor Hadrian undertook steps to wipe out major Jewish settlements and Jewish customs in Israel. Those Jews who survived the battle and ensuing slaughter in the Jerusalem area were expelled. The expulsion area included the Judean Hills to the south and north of Jerusalem. Over

seventy-five Jewish settlements have been identified archaeologically from the period before the Bar Kokhba Revolt, but there is no evidence of Jewish occupation in any of them in the period following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba rebels. Hadrian also decreed that circumcision, the teaching of the Torah, and ordination of rabbis would be punishable by death. The Jews who were not expelled from Palestine were forced to resettle among Gentiles (mainly Syrians and Arabs), making any hope of a revitalization of a Jewish state even more remote. Fortunately, the plans for resettlement of the Jews and the implementation of these repressive laws were not enforced systematically. Thus, when Hadrian died in 137 C.E., there was still hope in a few isolated areas of Israel for a Jewish community. Though a few communities were able to preserve their Jewish heritage, the resettlement and desegregation had been carried out to such an extent that there was no hope of reestablishing a Jewish state in the immediate future.

Daroma is one of these isolated pockets of Jewish settlement that remained following Hadrian's death in 137 C.E. The area was a actually a very thin slice of what was formally Judea. It stretched about 60 kilometers from En Gedi at the edge of the Dead Sea to the west at the edge of the Shephelah region. In most places, the dense settlement in Daroma was only about 10 kilometers wide from north to south. Several towns that contain archaeological remains include Horvat Susiya (probably Carmel during this period), Horvat Tilla (Thalla), Horvat Rimmon (En Rimmon), and Eshtemoa.

Horvat Susiya was in the heart of ancient Daroma. The name Susiya is actually an Arabic one, and it does not give any clue to the town's ancient identity. Most scholars believe that the site should be identified with Carmel of Daroma. There is another site identified with biblical Carmel a few kilometers away, but this site seems to have moved to Horvat Susiya during the period of Daroma.

The archaeological remains reveal that the town was able to construct a defensive building with a tower in the period following the Bar Kokhba defeat. The tower is 6 by 9 meters, and three courses are still intact. The defensive building functioned in place of a wall (which the Romans would not have permitted) and was used as a defensive installation. There are also remains of two caves and a synagogue that give clues to the extent and culture of the Jewish settlement in Daroma.

One cave is known as the Menorah Cave. The entrance to the cave contains a large lintel and doorposts that are hewn out of natural rock. A menorah figure is carved into the lintel. The function of this cave is uncertain, but it might have served as a storage place for the synagogue treasures. The second cave is known as the Wine Cellar Cave. It is larger, and its function is evident from its name. The synagogue at the site attests to the survival of Jewish culture and religion in Daroma. The remains attest to an elaborate building, and impressive mosaics are still preserved. Several of these mosaics contain complete and fragmentary Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions.

Horvat Tilla is located adjacent to Tel Halif and the modern settlement of Kibbutz Lahav. The site preserves eight caves from the late Roman period. These caves seem to be part of an ancient community in Daroma identified by Eusebius as Thalla. The town of Thalla seems to be located on part of Tel Halif where there were extensive signs of occupation during the late Roman period.

Horvat Rimmon is another site that exhibits extensive remains from the late Roman period. It is identified as an important site in Daroma by Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius, where it is called En Rimmon. Most of the town's remains from the second century have been destroyed by later settlements, but there are archaeological clues of settlement during the period following the Bar Kokhba Revolt and extensive remains, including a synagogue from the third and fourth centuries C.E.

Eshtemoa is located about 14 kilometers south of Hebron in the heart of Daroma. Eusebius states that it was "a very large Jewish village," and it remained settled until some time during the fourth century C.E. Like the other sites in Daroma, Eshtemoa also contains ruins from a synagogue, attesting to the survival of Jewish culture and religion in the days following the persecution by Hadrian. The synagogue contains remains of several mosaics with typical Jewish images and an Aramaic inscription mentioning Lazar the priest.

date's bulk (Heb.: *kotebet*) the bulk of a certain species of date; a measure of food volume. If one eats food on the Day of Atonement, when fasting is required, and the bulk is that of a date, one incurs liability; if one eats leaven (leavened grain) on Passover, which is forbidden, and the bulk is that of a date, one incurs liability.

David second king of Israel; son of Jesse of the tribe of Judah. After being anointed by Samuel (c. 1000 B.C.E.), he reigned over Israel in Hebron for either seven years (1 Kings 2:11) or seven years and six months (2 Sam. 2:11) and then in Israel for

thirty-three years. According to Deuteronomic history, David united the Israelite tribes into a centralized kingdom with Jerusalem as its capital, brought the ark to Jerusalem, and received an eternal covenant (2 Sam. 7; Ps. 89:4). He was succeeded by Solomon, his son by Bathsheba.

By the Hellenistic era, David, YHWH's special chosen one, was thought of as set apart from other Israelites. David was known for his mercy; because of this quality, YHWH had established a covenant with him whereby David inherited the throne of the kingdom of the Israelites forever. The royal patrimony would pass from son to son without deviation. The family line would never be destroyed, and at the end-time, the Messiah will be from David's house. Consequently, even when there were only a few Israelites, their ruler was from David's house. As a result, David became an eschatological figure.

David was considered the psalmist par excellence, and the Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) attributes 4,050 psalms to him. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah accords David special status along with Enoch, Elijah, and the patriarchs in heaven (9:5); he appears exonerated in 4 Ezra 3:23–24 and 2 Baruch 61. *See also* DAVID, KEY OF; DAVID, SON OF.

David, key of Isaiah 22:22 states that he who possesses the "key of the house of David . . . shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." Revelation 3:7 applies Isaiah's words to Jesus; here they clearly refer to messianic authority. The "keys of the kingdom" (Matt. 16:19) entrust this authority to church leaders (see also Matt. 18:18).

David, son of According to 2 Samuel 7 and Psalms 89:4, David received an eternal covenant; such statements contributed to speculation on the political and eschatological roles of David's descendants, especially following the end of Davidic rule under Zerubbabel and the subsequent confusion, if not loss, of Davidic genealogies. The Psalms of Solomon 17 explicitly predicts a Davidic savior, as does Patriarchal Blessings; 4 Ezra 12:32; Targ. Jon. on Isaiah 11:1 and Hosea 3:5. In the Gospels, Jesus does not unequivocally claim Davidic descent (Mark 12:35–37 and parallels; see also John 7:41–42). As a title for Jesus used by some in Jerusalem (Matt. 21:9), "son of David" may hold political connotations: Jesus is the new king who would replace Roman rule. According to Hegesippus, Davidic descendants were executed by Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, but such claims may well be apologetic fictions. *See also* DAVID; GENEALOGY.

David's Tomb Synagogue building on modern Mount Zion in Jerusalem that today is called David's Tomb; the medieval room that in the Christian tradition is called the Cenacle is on top of this building. This lower room may have been a synagogue of the fourth century C.E. The building's main hall is rectangular in plan with a large, high apse, or niche, in the north wall, positioned to point directly at the Temple Mount, or 10 degrees east of north. Two other niches on either side of the large niche remind one of the niches in the north wall of the Eshtemoa synagogue. Beneath the modern pavement of David's Tomb lies a colored mosaic pavement in geometric patterns. Beneath this pavement is perhaps another, earlier pavement. Some of the plaster fragments from the walls of the first phase of the building have traces of Greek letters. It has been suggested that this structure was built during the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363 C.E.).

Day of Atonement *see* YOM KIPPUR

day of the Lord phrase common in the prophets to refer to the anticipated time of judgment and redemption; also "that day" and "day of YHWH." The major events expected on the day of the Lord are judgment of the nations and of the superhuman powers of evil, punishment of Israel (or Judah), and restoration of God's chastised people. The prophets predict that God will punish his people by subjecting them to foreign nations (Isa. 5:26–30) or through disasters such as a locust plague (Joel 2:1–11). The prophet Amos corrects his contemporaries' expectation: "Alas for you who desire the day of the Lord! . . . It is darkness and not light" (Amos 5:18). While his hearers look forward to the "day" as the time when God will punish their enemies, Amos predicts that the day will bring punishment on the inhabitants of Judah for their lack of justice.

The apocalypses speak of the "day of judgment" when the righteous will be rewarded and the sinners punished (1 Enoch 94:9, 96:2–8, 98:8–10; cf. "that day" and "this fated day" in Sib. Or. 3:55, 741). In 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 7:26–44, the "day of judgment" follows the four-hundred-year kingdom of the messiah. On this day the dead will be raised and assigned to the places of reward and punishment (paradise and Gehenna); sun and moon, times and seasons will cease to exist (cf. Gen. 8:22).

The expectation of the day of the Lord plays a key role in the eschatological teaching of the New Testament (1 Cor. 5:5, Acts 2:20, 2 Pet. 3:10), where it is usually identified with the expectation of the

parousia, or second coming of Jesus. This identification is possible because the Greek word for "Lord" (*kyrios*) can refer either to YHWH (as in the Septuagint) or to Jesus. The final day is called by a variety of names: the "day of judgment" (Matt. 10:15, 1 John 4:17); the "day of wrath" (Rom. 2:5, Rev. 6:17); the "day of Christ" (Phil. 1:10); the "day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 1:8); the "last day" (John 6:39); the "day of God" (2 Pet. 3:12); and the "day" (Rom. 2:16, 1 Cor. 3:13). The day is pictured primarly as the last judgment, when all people will be tested (1 Cor. 3:13) and either rewarded (1 Cor. 1:8) or punished (Rom 2:16). Paul describes the day as imminent: "the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night" (1 Thess. 5:2). Other New Testament authors reckon with a longer period before the end (cf. 2 Pet. 3, where the author responds to "scoffers" who complain of God's slowness in bringing the "day").

Days of Awe (Heb.: Yamim Noraim) ten-day period beginning on Rosh Hashanah (the New Year) and extending through Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). On these days, God judges all humanity, individuals and nations, for the coming year. On the New Year, the first of Tishrei, the decree is written; on the Day of Atonement, the tenth of Tishrei, the decree is sealed. It is a season of repentance, remembrance, and acts of contrition.

dayyan judge in a Jewish court

De Abrahamo the tractate *On Abraham* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Abr.* This work is one of two tractates on Abraham and allegorizes various events in Abraham's life. The tractate's main image is the soul's journey from godless astrology to self-knowledge and, finally, to knowledge of God. *See also* DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI.

Dead Sea Caves specifically, the eleven caves near Qumran, at the northwest shores of the Dead Sea, where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. Four other caves are included under this rubric near En Gedi, where other ancient documents were found. Qumran Cave 1 (designated 1Q in the standard terminology) was really a simple cleft or crevice in the cliff high above the plateau of the ruins of Qumran, about one kilometer north of Qumran. It is about eight meters deep, four meters high, and varies in width from 75 centimeters to about two meters. This cave contained a large quantity of scrolls that were removed by their Bedouin discoverers. About forty-five scrolls from this cave have been published. Other finds included many scraps of linen cloth, fragments of a wooden comb, olive and date stones, palm fiber, leather phylactery cases, and quantities of pottery sherds. The pottery, when mended, proved to be three cylindrical jars of Qumran, lids, bowls, a cooking pot, a juglet, two Hellenistic lamps, and two early Roman lamps. The two types of lamps correspond to the occupation of Qumran from the second century B.C.E. to 68 C.E., when Qumran was destroyed in the Great Revolt. A carbon 14 date on the cloth yielded the date 33 C.E., plus or minus two hundred years.

Cave 2 (2Q) lies about 100 meters south of Cave 1. It contained only fragments of scrolls rather than any intact scrolls, and its robbers left behind eight cylindrical jars, one lid, and three bowls. This cave was very uneven and was formed in two levels. About thirty-six fragments of scrolls have been published from this cave.

Cave 3 (3Q) lies about two kilometers north of Qumran. In it were found the famous copper scroll and also about fourteen fragments of leather and papyrus. A huge quantity of pottery was found: thirty-five cylindrical jars, twenty-six lids, two jugs, and a lamp.

Cave 4 (4Q) lies just west of Qumran in the finger of a marl terrace that, like Qumran itself, extends southward. Marl is a dense calcinate desert soil; this cave was cut wholly by hand in a marl layer that proved to be hard and suited to such cutting. Originally access was from a narrow entrance cut high above the floor, though later excavation revealed clues that there may have been yet another entrance near the floor level. This cave yielded parts of several jars, several lids and bowls, two jugs, a cooking pot, a juglet, and a lamp. Simply thousands of manuscript fragments were recovered from Cave 4. So far about three hundred titles are known from Cave 4.

Cave 5 (5Q) is about 15 meters immediately north of Cave 4 and cut into the same marl terrace. This cave was a simple chamber with rounded corners. It contained scraps of manuscripts but not artifacts. About twenty-five fragments from this cave have been published.

Cave 6 (6Q) is a natural cavity 300 meters west of Cave 4 at Qumran. It contained one cylindrical jar and a bowl in addition to fragments of manuscripts. About thirty-one scroll fragments from 6Q have been published.

Caves 7, 8, and 9 (7Q, 8Q, 9Q) lie at the end of the finger of the marl terrace and extend southward from Qumran. There are only traces of caves today, as massive slides and erosion have carried away most of the remains. In the erosion in Wadi Qumran, however, were found manuscript fragments, phylactery cases, date stones, scraps of

ropes and leather, and some pottery. The pottery consisted of eight cylindrical jars, six lids, one bowl and two large bowls, one goblet, and two lamps. About nineteen tiny fragments of scroll material are known from 7Q, five from 8Q, and one papyrus fragment from 9Q.

Cave 10 (10Q) was cut into the west side of the finger of the marl terrace into which Cave 4 had been cut. Only half of cave 10 survived erosion, and its floor had been covered with a mat. Its interior proved to contain a Hebrew ostracon, date stones, desiccated dates, fragments of a lamp, and fragments of two jars. No scroll fragments are known from this cave.

Cave 11 (11Q) is a low natural cave in the bedrock about 1.8 kilometers north of Qumran. Its entrance was blocked by erosion, but it contained two pottery lids and a juglet and several artifacts, including fragments of cord and basketry, an iron knife, a pair of iron shears, and an iron adze or pick. Twenty-one major scrolls are known from this cave.

Five caves in Wadi Murabbaat 18 kilometers south of Qumran delivered up a cache of documents of the early second century C.E. The main cave, Cave 2, was high up in a cliff face where apparently Jews had fled to hide from the Romans during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, about 135 C.E. Nearly ninety manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean were found by Taamireh tribesmen in Cave 2, including actual letters of Bar Kokhba to his lieutenants at En Gedi. Two documents were found in Cave 1, and one was found in Cave 5. These finds inspired more searches on the Israeli side of the armistice line, which resulted in the find of fourteen documents in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean in a cave in the Naḥal Ḥeber (Wadi Khabra). One group of documents evidently formed the personal archive of a woman named Babathra. The cave, called the Cave of Letters by the excavators, had two entrances high up on a cliff of the wadi, but it was accessible only from above by rope. The cave was some 150 meters deep and was divided naturally into three chambers. During the same search of caves in the vicinity, three documents were found in a cave in Naḥal Seelim (Wadi Seiyal). All of these finds were to be associated with the Bar Kokhba Revolt. All the inhabitants of the Cave of Horror on the south side of the Nahal Hever died in the cave, evidently by their own hand. Their remains were found, along with their clothing and belongings, such as knives, wooden bowls, spindle whorls, door keys, glass vessels, coins, leather water bags, pottery storage jars and lamps, and food and grain remains. *See also* DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Dead Sea Scrolls name given to deposits of ancient texts found in caves along the western shore of the Dead Sea, written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The Dead Sea Scrolls are without doubt the most famous archaeological discovery of the twentieth century and are also one of the most important finds relating to biblical studies in the modern period. The broadest sense of the term encompasses all the scrolls found at Qumran, Masada, Wadi Murabbaat, Naḥal Ḥeber, Naḥal Seelim, and Naḥal Mishmar. In the narrow sense it refers only to those documents found in eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran; this is the definition we will use in the following discussion.

The discovery of the scrolls began in 1947, when a Taamireh Bedouin shepherd, tending his flock near the shores of the Dead Sea near the Wadi Qumran, discovered in a cave several old leather scrolls wrapped in linen and stored in jars. The news of the discovery of these seven scrolls electrified the scholarly community, leading to further discoveries in ten more caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran. The largest cache of manuscripts, in Cave 4, was discovered in 1952, yielding thousands of fragments from more than five hundred manuscripts. The final cave, Cave 11, was discovered in 1956. The larger, more intact scrolls were published relatively quickly, and the fragments from the minor caves (2–3, 5–10) have also been published in the series Discoveries in the Judean Desert (DJD). The Cave 4 material was assigned to an international team of scholars, but their slow pace of decipherment and publication prompted the addition of more members to the team in the late 1980s, and as of this writing, final publication of all the fragments is anticipated in the year 2000.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are considered by most scholars to be the library of a Jewish community (usually identified with the Essenes) that inhabited the settlement at Qumran from the mid-second century B.C.E. until its destruction by the Romans in 68 C.E. The settlement's date was fixed according to archaeological criteria by the excavator, Roland de Vaux; the scrolls can be dated paleographically from the middle of the third century B.C.E. to the middle of the first century C.E., thus overlapping with the dates of the settlement. Further evidence also points to a relationship between the scrolls and the settlement: the same type of pottery was used in the caves and at the site, and inkwells and scraps of leather were found at the site that match the material of the scrolls in the caves. Therefore,

most scholars accept a common community in the caves and at the settlement.

For modern readers, the scrolls can be conveniently divided into three categories: biblical texts, previously known nonbiblical texts, and not previously known nonbiblical texts (although it must be understood that these are not categories used by the Essenes of Qumran themselves). In the first category, fragments of every book of the Hebrew Bible were found, with the exception of the Book of Esther (which may exist in an Aramaic prototype). The question of what canon, if any, existed at Qumran, however, is more difficult. The five books of the Pentateuch were without doubt authoritative; they form the backbone of the halakhic teaching of the sect. The prophets also must have been considered authoritative; several commentaries on their books were found (Isaiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Micah, and Zephaniah) as well as one on the Psalms. Many of the biblical books are cited in the sectarian documents with the formulas "it is written" or "it is said," indicating authority. Therefore, the canon at Qumran appears to be generally the same as that of the later Hebrew Bible, but a few qualifications are in order. First, other books, such as Jubilees, are cited as authoritative in sectarian documents, indicating a larger canon. Second, some texts, such as Enoch, appear in multiple copies, indicating at least a great deal of study. Finally, books such as Chronicles and Song of Songs do not seem to have played much of a role in the sect's ideology at all, calling these books' authoritative status at Qumran into question.

In a subcategory of the biblical material are those texts that rewrite, comment on, or otherwise use the canonical Bible. The genre "rewritten Bible" occurs most frequently in the Pentateuch, in compositions such as the Genesis Apocryphon, an Aramaic expansion of the Abraham story in the Book of Genesis; the Book of Jubilees, a retelling of Genesis 1:1–Exodus 15:22 with a particular halakhic point of view (a composition previously known in Ethiopic but now preserved in Hebrew at Qumran); the Temple Scroll, a representation of the Torah purportedly given by God speaking in the first person; and 4Q Reworked Pentateuch, a full Pentateuchal text with additions and rearrangements of material. It is difficult to ascertain when and by whom these texts were composed; there is nothing overtly sectarian about them, but many of their ideas reappear in compositions labeled sectarian.

A particular form of biblical interpretation, the *pesher*, is found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The *pesher* takes the following form: citation of a biblical verse, followed by some form of the word *pesher* (its interpretation is), finishing with an interpretation involving characters or events associated with the Qumran Community. A *pesher* can be a whole commentary on a biblical book (continuous *pesher*), for example, the Habakkuk Commentary or the Nahum Commentary; a collection of biblical texts gathered around a common theme (thematic *pesher*), for example, the Florilegium or the Pesher on Melchizedek; or an isolated interpretation of a biblical verse within a larger composition (isolated *pesharim*), for example, the pesher on Amos 5:26–27 in the Damascus Document. These *pesharim* are products of the Qumran Community, being replete with sectarian ideas and language.

A final group of texts closely related to the biblical texts might be labeled "biblical paraphrases," since they are related to a particular biblical book, but are not necessarily bound to it. Examples are the Prayer of Nabonidus, related to the Book of Daniel; 4Q Pseudo Ezekiel, related to the Book of Ezekiel; and 4Q Proto Esther, which may be an Aramaic precursor to the canonical Book of Esther.

Growing out of the Qumran Community's interest in the biblical text and its interpretation are the halakhic works and rule books found among the scrolls. One of these halakhic works, 4QMMT, may give the clue for the reasons for the founding of the Qumran Community. Identified by its editors as "a letter from a leader of the Qumran sect (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness himself) to the leader of its opponents," 4QMMT sets out the legal issues concerning which the sect differs from its opponents. These include the calendar, ritual purity, and laws on marital status, which are all stated as the reasons for the sect's separation from the rest of Judaism.

The Damascus Document and the Community Rule are the two major rule books found among the scrolls. The Damascus Document was known before the discovery of the scrolls, having been found in the Cairo Geniza in the late nineteenth century. It is aimed at a sectarian group of Jews, probably the Essenes, who live in camps in the towns and villages of Judah. It falls into two parts: an Admonition, which outlines the history of the sect in figurative language and discusses the nature of membership in the group; and the Laws, which give the specific sectarian rules. These are severe, involving a strict interpretation of the halakhah, designed to enforce a strict separation from "the sons of the Pit" (all other Jews and Gentiles).

The Community Rule, on the other hand, is a rule book for the life of the Community at Qumran. It presupposes a fairly large, isolated community, sharing meals, pooling their property, and governing themselves under the leadership of priests and certain lay officials. The Rule, a composite text, contains the procedure for admission into the sect, as well as a special set of precepts for the *maskil,* the chief lay official of the Community, and the Treatise on the Two Spirits, an exemplar of the sect's dualistic doctrine. The halakhah of the Rule, like the Damascus Document, imposes strict rules of purity and conduct, and makes it virtually impossible for members of the sect to mix with outsiders.

Many liturgical works exist among the Dead Sea Scrolls, some sectarian, others of uncertain provenance. One, the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11, contains most of the last third of the biblical Psalter, but in a different order, plus several noncanonical psalms, all of which are attributed to David. None are specifically sectarian. Other liturgical works lacking distinctive sectarian traits are a collection of noncanonical psalms (4Q380–381) and the Words of the Heavenly Lights, a prayer for deliverance based on the covenant relationship. Other liturgical texts also occur, too fragmentary to enumerate.

There are also liturgical compositions that are clearly sectarian in nature, using language of community and separation, dualism, and covenant, in addition to embracing a strict halakhah. The best known of these is the Hodayot, of which copies were found in Caves 1 and 4. The majority of these hymns begin with the formula "I give thanks to thee, O Lord," and continue with thanks for deliverance from sin and knowledge of the way of the sect. Several hymns may have been composed by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. Other sectarian liturgical works include the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb), the Benedictions ($1QS^b$), and several other fragmentary works. We do not know how or if any of these compositions were used by the Community.

Many of the works from the Qumran library, both sectarian and nonsectarian, have strong eschatological overtones. It is clear that the sect believed itself to be living at the end of days and, further, believed itself to be at the center of events leading up to the end. This eschatological orientation is most strikingly illustrated by the War Scroll, a composition that relates the events to take place in the final battle between the armies of God, which include the members of the sect under their sobriquet "the Sons of Light," and the armies of Belial, including "the Sons of Darkness," all those outside the sect. The War Scroll envisions a conflict in which the forces of Light and Darkness alternately prevail, with the final victory being wrought by God. Another eschatological text concerned with the conflict between good and evil is the Aramaic Testament of Amram (4QAmram), in which the good and evil archangels battle for possession of humanity.

Several nonsectarian apocalyptic works were also found among the documents at Qumran. The best known, 1 Enoch, was found in eleven (Aramaic) copies in Cave 4 (with the exception of chaps. 37–71), along with the related Book of the Giants. Also among these discoveries, fragmentary texts relating to Noah and Lamech may be apocalyptic, and several testamentary texts (Testament of Naphtali, Apocryphon of Levi) are apocalyptic in nature. However, no apocalypses that were previously unknown and certainly composed by the sect have been discovered.

Despite occasional arguments to the contrary, the identification of the manuscripts found in the eleven caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran as the library of a community of Essenes who lived at Qumran (with roots going back to a larger group or movement in the 4th and 3rd cs. B.C.E.) is well established. This library is not merely a collection of miscellaneous religious texts, but is a fairly coherent collection with common themes: a reverence for the biblical text supported by interpretation (which took a written form) and reading of related texts, a strict interpretation of the law leading to a separation from the rest of Judaism (bolstered by a strong dualism and sense of predestination), and a strong eschatological hope in which their cause would be vindicated by God. Far from being vindicated, these Essenes, as far as we know, perished in the Roman attack on Qumran. However, the accidental discovery of their library causes them to live again by offering us a unique chance to discover the ideology of a particular strand of Judaism from the late Second Temple period, and to follow that strand into rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity. *See also* COMMUNITY RULE; DAMASCUS DOCUMENT; HABAKKUK COMMENTARY; HODAYOT; NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF; NAHUM COMMENTARY; TEMPLE SCROLL; WAR SCROLL; WORDS OF THE HEAVENLY LIGHTS.

De Aeternitate Mundi the tractate *On the Eternity of the World,* generally thought to be by Philo of Alexandria, though there is not complete agreement on this attribution; its title is abbreviated as *Aet.* This work discusses the questions of whether

the cosmos was created and whether it is indestructible and presents detailed arguments of various philosophers.

deaf-mute In the Mishnah and Talmuds, the deaf-mute is classified together with the imbecile and the minor and is deemed to have no independent will. Accordingly, the deaf-mute is unable to perform religious obligations requiring the formulation of intention, for example, the designation of agricultural offerings (M. Terumot 1:1) or the preparing of foods in a state of cultic cleanness (T. Terumot 1:1). Those known to be of sound mind who become deaf and mute, or who are either deaf or mute alone, are exempt from these restrictions.

De Agricultura the tractate *On Husbandry* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Agr.* This work gives an allegorical exegesis of Genesis 9:20, in which Noah is said to be a "husbandman," an identification that is interpreted as a symbol of the cultivation of the soul to produce the fruit of virtue. Noah the husbandman is contrasted with Cain, who is a mere "worker of the earth" (i.e., one who serves pleasure).

death Views of death in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Jewish texts, and the New Testament vary widely. Death is seen as both natural and a result of sin. The tension appears already in Genesis 2–3. God warns the first humans that if they transgress the commandment they will die (2:17). Nonetheless, their exclusion from the immortality that the tree of life could give them indicates that they were mortal at the time they sinned (3:22–24). However one resolves that tension, the Hebrew Bible as a whole accepts death as a fact of life from which only Enoch and Elijah were exempted (Gen. 5:24; 2 Kings 2:1–12). Nonetheless, certain kinds of death were viewed as evil. If one died at a young age, as a result of illness or violence, or if one died without a good number of children, this was interpreted as an evil occurrence that might even be evidence of divine punishment for one's sins.

The term "death" developed a moral dimension, particularly in the wisdom literature in the concept of the two ways of life and death. To sin was to walk in the way of death, in two senses. One's sins could lead to premature death. The person who lived an unrighteous life, apart from God, was already walking in the realm of death.

In time, reflection on the problem of unjust death, especially the violent death of the righteous in times of persecution, led to beliefs in resurrection, immorality, and eternal life. The earliest attestations of these beliefs are in Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2, although Psalms 16:10–11, 49:15, and 73:24 may intimate some such belief. As these beliefs develop and postmortem retribution is seen not just as the vindication of those who die unjustly but as reward and punishment for everyone, death itself is perceived to be a wrong that must be righted. The wicked, of course, will perish eternally, and words like "death" and "destruction," which previously referred to physical death and its result, describe the fate of the wicked. However, the righteous will inherit eternal life, or at least an extraordinarily long life like that of the patriarchs (1 Enoch 25:4–6).

In the New Testament death is generally seen to be unnatural and the ultimate enemy. For Paul the sin of the first humans brought death into the world, and the righteous life, the unjust death, and the resurrection of Jesus reverse that situation and bring life to all who believe (Rom. 5; cf. 6:23). Death, the last enemy, is overcome through the resurrection of Jesus, whose appearance will transform mortality to immortality and corruptibility to incorruptibility (1 Cor. 15).

Conservative sectors in Judaism (e.g., the Sadducees) rejected a belief in resurrection, following the biblical notion that a good and full life was ample reward for one's deeds. However, the development of a belief in resurrection and eternal life changed for many the valuation of this life and the understanding of death as its end.

Among the 903 forms of death that the rabbis of the Talmuds enumerated, some were more favorable predictors than others of one's future in the world to come; death from bowel disorders, for example, was a favorable omen. In the early rabbinic period, death was considered inevitable, a part of the natural order from the time of creation; a person's sins might hasten death but did not cause it; sinlessness enabled one to live out one's allotted years or to prolong one's lifespan. According to another view, without sin there would be no death; if the truly righteous did not request their own deaths, they would live forever. Some of the many rabbinic statements about death include assertions that it serves as an atoning process; that Adam brought it into the world by eating the forbidden fruit; that the Israelites had the opportunity to overcome the power of death by receiving the Torah but lost it by sinning with the golden calf; and that the wicked are considered dead even during life, while the righteous are considered living even after death. *See also* CORRUPTION; DESTRUCTION; IMMORTALITY, INCORRUPTION; LIFE, ETERNAL.

death, personified In the Testament of Abraham, when the patriarch refuses to surrender his soul to

Michael, God sends Death, a horrifying, many-faced creature (chaps. 16–17 [A]). The personification of death is attested in the Canaanite god Mot and is hinted at in Isaiah 25:8. The conception in the Testament of Abraham appears, however, to reflect contemporary Egyptian ideas, and the association of Death with a cup of poison suggests an identification of Death with Sammael, the poisoning angel of death. The text exemplifies the religious syncretism typical of Jewish texts in the Graeco-Roman period.

debt (Aram.: *ḥoḇ;* Gr.: *opheilēma*) metaphor for sin. The idea that sin incurs a debt with God is attested as early as the third or second century B.C.E. in 1 Enoch 6:3, and the noun is employed in the targums as a translation for "sin" (Heb.: *ḥatah*). This is sometimes seen as evidence of an increasing "legalism" in Jewish religion; however, the image occurs in the prayer of Jesus (Matt. 6:12), and the parable in Matthew 18:23–35 plays out in detail the notion of debt and forgiveness. The common notion that good deeds constitute a treasure at the time of judgment may be a reverse of this metaphor.

In light of the prohibition against loaning on interest, in rabbinic law the central concern regarding loans and other debts is the conditions under which repayment is to be made or can be demanded. A loan or credit sale is assumed to come due in thirty day (T. Baḇa Metzia 10:1). Where other terms for repayment have been established either orally or in a bond, the creditor cannot demand repayment prior to the set day. After the due date, the creditor may demand payment at any time, although he must leave the debtor with sufficient resources to return home. On the other hand, should the debtor offer repayment in an inconvenient setting, for example, a wilderness (M. Baḇa Kamma 10:6), the creditor may refuse it.

During the talmudic period, debts of decedents, including the sum owed a widow under the terms of her marriage contract (*ketuḇah*), were collectable only from immovables, that is, slaves and real estate, viewed as the only property that could secure a loan. In medieval times, when the majority of Jews became landless, it became necessary to alter this rule in order to allow collection of debts from goods, chattels, and money due the estate as well. *See also* SIN; TREASURE.

Decal. *see* DE DECALOGO

Decalogue term derived from the Greek words *deka logoi,* meaning "ten sayings." It is used as a synonym for the Ten Commandments, which are so important in the laws God gives to Moses on Mount Sinai in the biblical account. Different stories in Exodus and Deuteronomy, probably from different times and traditions, describe God's communicating these commandments to his people, Israel. In Exodus 20:1–17, when Moses returns from the mountain after God appeared there in the sight of all the people and they agreed to do "everything that the Lord has spoken" (Exod. 19:8), Moses reports to them what "God spoke": the Ten Commandments. Later in Exodus, when Moses returns to the mountain, it is these rules for the life of the covenant people that are written by God on the stone tablets and that Moses brings back from the mountaintop to the people below, "written upon both sides, front and back" (Exod. 32:15–16). On returning and finding the people of Israel engaged in worship of a golden calf, Moses becomes furious and smashes the stone tablets (Exod. 32:19).

After the people accept the Lord's rebuke of them and after Moses' plea to the Lord in their behalf, he returns with newly cut stone tablets to meet God again on the mountain (Exod. 34:1–9). Moses receives from God the summary of the law in ten parts, and is told to write them on the stone tablets during the forty days and nights he is alone with the Lord on the mountain. They are referred to as "the words of the covenant: the ten commandments" (34:28). The powerful acts of God in driving out the inhabitants of the land promised to Israel should serve as proof of the enduring quality of his covenant with his people (34:10–14). But they must obey these laws, or they will forfeit the covenant relationship with God. Later, as the people prepare to enter the promised land from east of the Jordan River, Moses convenes them and once more repeats the Ten Commandments to them (Deut. 5:1–21). He tells them that they are to hear "all the commandments, statutes and ordinances" that God has given them through Him, to teach these to their children after they settle in the land, and above all to obey them, doing exactly as the Lord commanded them if they are to live and prosper in their new land (5:28–33). When the Israelites began to settle in the land at Shechem, Joshua set up a large stone that was to be a constant reminder of the law given on the tablets of stone (Josh. 24:24–27).

Central to each report of God's laws for his people are the Ten Commandments. The wider implications of these mostly brief rules are spelled out in some detail in other parts of the Mosaic law. The basic thrust of these laws, which God's people are to obey, may be summarized as follows: (1) They

are to honor and reverence no other god more than ("before") Yahweh, the Lord (Exod. 20:3; Deut. 6:5). This commandment must have been formulated before Israel became strictly monotheistic and while the people still recognized the existence of other deities who were considered inferior to the Lord. (2) They were not to worship any idols or images of any deity, since nothing that humans can make can represent the creator of all that is (Exod. 20:4; Deut. 5:8–10). (3) They are not to use the power that is inherent in the very name of God by uttering an oath they do not intend to carry out, or by using God's name to curse someone (Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11). (4) They are to observe the Sabbath as the day of rest by abstaining from any work on the seventh day, and by avoiding any requirement that slaves, livestock, or visitors work on that sacred day of rest (Exod. 24:8–11; Deut. 5:12–15). (5) They are to honor their parents; not merely children obeying father and mother, but adults honoring and treating their elderly parents properly. By doing so, they will see their own lives extended as they live in the land (Exod. 20:12; Deut. 5:16). (6) They are not to commit murder, although killing enemies in warfare and executing convicted criminals are not prohibited (Exod. 20:13; Deut. 5:17). (7) They are not to commit adultery, which is to have sexual relationships with a partner other than one's spouse, or to violate a woman sexually who is part of another family. Men could have multiple wives and concubines, but were not to have sex with other women (Exod. 20:14; Deut. 5:18). (8) The commandment against stealing included not only taking someone else's property but "stealing" a person by selling them into slavery (Exod. 20:15; Deut. 5:19). (9) They are to give truthful testimony concerning their neighbors, both Israelite and Gentile (Exod. 20:16; Deut. 5:20). (10) They are not to covet anything that belongs to a neighbor, either property or spouse, slave or domestic animal (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21).

These moral demands are all placed in the context of reminders that God set Israel free from slavery in Egypt (Exod. 20:2; Deut. 5:15), that God has made a covenant with Israel (Exod. 34:10, 27), that punishment is certain for those who disobey and loving support is sure for those who show their love of God by keeping these commandments (Exod. 20:5–6). They are called to love and obey God, to instruct their children in these laws, and to keep a copy of the commandments in a small container (phylactery) on their foreheads as a sign to others and as a reminder to themselves (Deut. 6:1–9). The enduring power of these laws is evident in the teachings of the prophets of Israel (Hos. 4:1; Jer. 7:9) and in the discovery of such phylacteries among the remains of the Dead Sea community at Qumran.

Decapolis refers to a group of ten cities in Transjordan. These cities may have formed a loose confederacy after the restoration of their autonomy by Pompey, after his intervention in Jewish affairs in 67 B.C. Alternatively, the name is applied loosely to the whole territory east of the Jordan and opposite Galilee, as in Mark 5:20; 7:31. The region had previously been incorporated into the Hasmonean kingdom by Alexander Jannaeus. Pliny is our most reliable authority on the names of the cities, but even he notes that not everybody agreed on which cities were included among the ten (*Natural History V,* 15:22–23). He notes that most include Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphia, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Galasa (Gerasa), and Canatha. Of this list only Scythopolis (Beth Shean) was located west of the Jordan, but the inclusion of Damascus and Philadelphia shows that the territory covered a large area. These cities, which date from the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, were centers of Greek culture and commerce in the region, but this did not preclude Jewish inhabitants even after Pompey's liberation. Christian communities with episcopal sees were found in many of these cities during the Byzantine period.

De Cherubim the tractate *On the Cherubim* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Cher.* This treatise is an allegorical explanation of Genesis 3:24 and 4:1; the first citation describes the cherubim set at the entrance of the Garden of Eden, and the second passage relates the birth of Cain. The cherubim represent the "powers" of God, and the sword of the cherubim represents the Logos.

Decius, Trajan (c. 201–251 C.E.) Roman emperor (r. 249–251); born in Pannonia. He was a firm upholder of the old Roman traditions and supported the Senate. In 250, he demanded that his subjects offer sacrifices to the emperor under pain of death for refusal. This led to persecution of Christians. There is no record that the demand was pressed on the Jews or that they were persecuted for refusing to worship the emperor. He is the last emperor under whom the coins of Aleia Capitolina, Jerusalem, were especially plentiful. Coins from Caesarea also were minted under his reign.

De Confusione Linguarum the treatise *On the Confusion of Tongues* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Conf.* This treatise is an allegorical commentary on Genesis 11:1–9, the story of

the Tower of Babel. The "one speech and one tongue" of the biblical text are interpreted as a symphony of evils, which especially include the passions that attack the soul.

De Congressu quaerendae Eruditionis gratia the treatise *On the Preliminary Studies* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Congr.* This work is an allegorical commentary on Genesis 16:1–6, in which Sarah gives Hagar to Abraham to have a child. Hagar represents the *encyclia,* or lower school of instruction, whereas Sarah stands for philosophy.

De Decalogo the treatise *On the Decalogue* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Decal.* The work is an allegorical discourse on the giving of the Decalogue. After discussing why the Ten Commandments were given in the desert and why there are ten of them, Philo devotes much of his treatise to an examination of the Commandments themselves, in two groups of five.

Dedication, Feast of *see* HANUKKAH

De Ebrietate the treatise *On Drunkenness* (abbreviated as *Ebr.*) by Philo of Alexandria that together with *On Agriculture* and *On Planting* forms an allegorical commentary on Genesis 9:20–29. *De Ebrietate* focuses on Noah's becoming drunk and considers the various qualities that wine symbolizes, such as foolish talk, stupor, and greed.

deeds, works translates several Hebrew words and the Greek *erga,* a term of broad application that has assumed a special sense in Christian theology because of Paul's polemical use of the phrase "works of the law." In the Tanakh (Old Testament), "work(s)" refers to God's action in creation (Gen. 2:2, 3; Ps. 8:3) and in the history of Israel (Exod. 34:10, Deut. 3:24). It also describes human labor in a general sense (Exod. 20:9), as well as moral or immoral action (Ps. 62:12: "For you repay all according to their works"; cf. Ps. 28:3–4).

The contrast between the "works" of the righteous and those of the sinners is frequent in the literature of early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E.–2d c. C.E.): "Our works are in the choice and power of our souls, to do right and wrong" (Ps. Sol. 9:4). God is a righteous judge, who will repay each person according to his works (2 Bar. 48:38–40). The identification of righteous works with the actions required by the law—a point generally presupposed in the Tanakh—is made explicit: "the Lord is just in all the works that he has commanded us to do." (Bar. 2:9; cf. Test. Naph. 2:6, 2 Bar. 48:38–40). A recently published fragmentary letter found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q394–99; sometimes referred to as 4QMMT) contains the phrase "works of the law" (Heb.: *ma aseh baTorah*). The "works" in question here have to do with specific understandings of the laws about the purity of the Temple and the Temple offerings. The author promises his reader that, in the impending "end of days," his return to the law "will be reckoned to you for righteousness" (for this phrase, cf. Ps. 106:31, referring to the priest Phineas, and Gen. 15:6: "And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness"). David is presented as a model: a man of pious works (Heb.: *ḥasadim*) whose sins were forgiven when he sought the Torah.

Paul gives a very different evaluation of "works of the law": "We hold that a person is not justified by works of the law but by faith" (Rom. 3:28, cf. Gal. 2:16). In Romans 4, he argues on the basis of Gen. 15:6 that Abraham was "justified" before God by his faith, before he observed any of the "works of the law." The contrast between "faith" and "works of the law" is part of Paul's argument that God has acted in Jesus Christ to save all people, Jew and Gentile, and that salvation is offered as a free gift, which cannot be earned by any human "work." Although Paul's letters make clear the importance of "works" in the general sense of merciful and virtuous deeds (cf. Rom. 2:6, where he says that God will judge each person "according to his works"), his words were open to antinomian misinterpretation (cf. Rom. 6:1). The discussion in James 2:14–26 is probably directed against such misuse of Paul. Addressing Christians who are neglecting good works such as care for the poor, the author of this late-first-century text asserts: "faith without works is barren" (2:20). He, too, appeals to the example of Abraham: Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son shows that "his faith was perfected by his works" (2:22).

The debate about "faith" and "works" figures in later Christianity, for example in second-century debates between Gnostic and "orthodox" Christians and in disputes between Protestants and Roman Catholics. In addition, Paul's discussions of "works of the law" in Romans 3–4 and Galatians 2–3 have influenced Christian perception of Judaism. These texts have given rise to a one-sided view of Jewish religion at the time of Paul as a legalistic religion of "works righteousness," which attributed salvation to human effort and gave no place to divine grace. The Dead Sea Scrolls, among other texts, challenge this view. While they emphasize "works of the law," the Scrolls also exhibit an acute awareness of the need for divine grace (1QH11:29–31; cf. 4Q394–399). *See also* GRACE.

defile mouth expression that describes the consequences of eating forbidden food and, perhaps, of speaking blasphemy: one is in a state of cultic impurity. The early occurrence of this notion in Isaiah 6:5 is difficult to interpret, though it is related to Isaiah's inability to function as God's spokesman (cf. v. 7 with Jer. 1:9). Joseph and Asenath makes repeated reference to Asenath's impure mouth, which results from her consumption of food sacrificed to idols (8:5; 11:8–9, 16; 12:5), but the text also describes her blasphemous words against Joseph, "the son of God" (6:2–3, 7; 12:4; 13:13).

The use of the term in 1 Enoch 5:4 is ambiguous and is open to three interpretations. The sinners' mouths are impure because they have spoken arrogant words against God's majesty. The revisionist teaching about the Torah, implied throughout chapters 2–4 in the repeated reference to changing things, is tantamount to idolatry (cf. 98:9–99:9). The sinners are guilty of consuming blood or forbidden food (cf. 98:11).

Defter "The Book," written in Samaritan Aramaic, was the main Samaritan prayerbook until the fourteenth century C.E. and continues to be their common book of prayer. A series of *katafim* form the earliest part of the prayerbook; these are brief quotations, in biblical order, from each book of the Torah. Ninety-three liturgical poems were gradually added and are interspersed among the hymns and *katafim*. A majority of these poems are the work of the fourth-century poets Amram Darah, Markah, and Markah's son, Noneh. Several more poems were added in the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly those of Abul Hassan of Tyre and his son Ab Geluga. After the rise of Islam, Muslim religious devices, particularly the phrases "There is no God, but God" and "In the Name of God" find their way into the liturgy. The order in various manuscripts differs considerably. In the fourteenth century, many special services were developed for such times as Passover, Pentecost, the Day of Atonement, Sukkot, and other special celebrations, and the Defter became the prayerbook for weekly and Sabbath services. It encompasses almost a hundred pages of A. E. Cowley's work, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (1909), based on the manuscript Vatican 3. Earlier manuscripts are fragmentary.

De Fuga et Inventione the treatise *On Flight and Finding* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Fuga*. This work continues an allegorical treatment (begun by *De Congressu*) of Genesis 16:1–9, about the eviction of Hagar from Abraham's household. Genesis 16:1–9 serves as the focal point in a discussion that moves on to other passages where "flight" and "discovery" are mentioned.

De Gigantibus the treatise *On the Giants* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Gig*. This work is an allegorical exegesis of Genesis 6:1–4, which mentions the intercourse of the "angels of God" with women, and the resultant offspring who were giants. Much of the discussion concerns the "spirit of God" in verse 3.

De Iosepho the treatise *On Joseph* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Ios*. This work allegorizes the story of Joseph (Gen. 37, 39–50), who here represents the ideal of the statesman. Joseph's dream in prison serves as a meditation on the fact that life is a dream and that the statesman must find and set forth the dream's underlying truths.

deisidaimonia (Gr., pious respect, or superstition) In a negative or critical sense it was used to label those things one considered "superstition"; however, it could also convey the more positive sense of something deserving serious religious respect. Only the context clarified which meaning was intended.

delatio (Lat., denunciation, accusation) It came especially to be used as a technical term to refer to an accusation of treason against the Roman emperor. Those who engaged in *delatio* might do so out of genuine loyalty, but it was often a way to gain political advantage, settle old scores, or protect oneself.

De Legatione ad Gaium the treatise *On the Embassy to Gaius* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Leg.* or *Gaium*. This treatise describes the Jewish mission of 39–41 C.E., led by Philo, to present the Jews' case before the emperor Gaius, also known as Caligula. A mission from the Greek citizens had also gone to Rome to complain about the Jews before the emperor.

Delos Synagogue Roman period synagogue built by and for the local Jewish population on the Greek island of Delos in the Aegean Sea. Josephus mentions the Jewish community of Delos, and it is interesting to note that there was also a Samaritan community at Delos. The building identified as a synagogue is simply a hall in a house. The hall measures about 14.4 by 16.9 meters with three entrances on the east. The entrance was through a square courtyard with a covered portico or colonnaded porch in front of the three entrances. Inside the hall stood beautifully cut marble benches on the north half of the western wall opposite the entrances. Centered in these benches stood a finely

cut marble throne, recalling the stone seats found at Chorazin and Hammath-Tiberias. There is no niche for a Torah shrine, nor is there any sign of Jewish decorative art. On the other hand, four votive inscriptions in Greek give thanks to the "most high God" for healings. This is a common phrase for God among diaspora Jews. A fifth inscription indicates that something is done "for prayer," and the sixth evidently gives thanks for freedom from a freedman. On the other hand the spareness of the hall suggests that only one of its uses may have been prayer. The throne suggests that an Archisynagogos (head of a synagogue) sat with the elders in formal meetings.

Delta the predominantly Jewish district of Alexandria. The city was divided into five districts referred to by the first letters of the Greek alphabet. As Jews spread into other districts, friction with the Greek citizens increased; after a pogrom in 38 C.E., the Jews were temporarily restricted to that district.

demai (Heb.) doubtfully tithed produce

Demai Mishnah tractate on doubtfully tithed produce. The tractate discusses items subject to tithing as doubtfully tithed produce, how doubtfully tithed produce is handled and used, commercial and commensal relations between those who are trustworthy in tithing and outsiders, details of the tithing procedure, the rule that tithes must not be separated in behalf of produce liable to tithing out of produce that is exempt, and the extent to which, in a case of shared ownership of produce, one owner is responsible for tithing the portion that he gives to the other owner.

Demetrius I Soter of Syria (187–150 B.C.E.), Seleucid king (r. 162–150 B.C.E.); second son of Seleucus IV, sent as a hostage to Rome in 176/175. He escaped in 162, perhaps with the help of the historian Polybius, and had his cousin Antiochus V and Lysias executed. Alcimus, the Jerusalem high priest, instigated Demetrius against Judas Maccabeus, and the king sent first Bacchides, who recaptured Jerusalem, and then Nicanor against Judas. On Nicanor's defeat, Bacchides was again sent, Judas died in battle, and Judea was retaken. When Egypt and Pergamum conspired to send Alexander Balas as a rival claimant to the Seleucid throne, Jonathan Maccabeus (Judas's brother and successor) skillfully played Balas and Demetrius against each other to gain more power, eventually siding with Alexander Balas. Demetrius died in 150.

Demetrius II Nicator (161–126 B.C.E.) Seleucid king; son of Demetrius I. He succeeded with Egyptian help in defeating Alexander Balas (151–145 B.C.E.) and occupying the Seleucid throne his father had lost, ruling from 145 to 140 or 139 and from 129 to 126 B.C.E. In the dynastic struggle with the general Tryphon and Alexander Balas's minor son, Antiochus VI, Simon, son of Mattathias, sided with Demetrius II, who made him high priest and freed him from tribute (143/142 B.C.E.). Demetrius was captured by the Parthians in 138 B.C.E. He was released by them, and regained the throne from his brother, Antiochus VII Sidetes in 129 B.C.E. He was subsequently defeated by a son of Alexander Balas and Egyptian forces and was assassinated in 126 B.C.E.

Demetrius III Eukairos Seleucid ruler, son of Antiochus VIII; vied with his three brothers for the Seleucid throne. Demetrius was asked in 88 B.C.E. by a Jewish party for aid in deposing Alexander Jannaeus. He defeated Jannaeus but then withdrew. Later, Demetrius was blockaded by a force that included Arabs and Parthians, was forced to surrender, and was sent to Mithridates, king of Parthia, who held him in honorable captivity. Meanwhile, back in Jerusalem, Jannaeus regained control and had eight hundred of his enemies crucified alive while their wives and children were slaughtered before them. This incident and Demetrius's role are referred to in the Commentary on Nahum (4Q169) from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Demetrius the Alabarch Egyptian Jew of a prominent family of Alexandria in the first century C.E. Whether he was related to the family of Philo is not known. He held the office of alabarch from about 50 to 60 C.E. He married Mariamme, the daughter of Agrippa I, by whom he had a daughter named Agrippinus.

Demetrius the Chronographer one of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers in the late third century B.C.E. His work, preserved only in quotations in Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria, was apparently called *On the Kings of Judah,* though the extant fragments relate mainly to Jacob and the time of the Exodus. From what we know of his writing, it focused on reconciling interpretative difficulties in the text and it emphasized chronographic matters. For example, he gives exact dates for the births of each of Jacob's children; he makes Zipporah, the wife of Moses, a descendant of Abraham through Keturah and thus not a Gentile. In the same way, he tries to resolve the problem of how Moses, who was the seventh generation after Abraham, could have married Zipporah, who was only the sixth. She is also identified as the "Ethiopian" woman whom Moses had married (Num. 12:1). Demetrius is important for the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek. He used only

the Septuagint text and was one of the earliest writers to do so, thus indicating that the translation was already in existence in the latter half of the third century B.C.E.

De Migratione Abrahami the treatise *On the Migration of Abraham* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Migr.* This work is an allegorical exegesis of Genesis 12:1–6, and a considerable portion of the tractate discusses the five gifts or promises to Abraham, including land and descendants, that these verses in Genesis imply. *See also* DE ABRAHAMO.

demiurge (Gr., creator) The term is often used in Greek writings (e.g., by Plato) to describe a fashioner of the universe who is not necessarily the supreme deity and is often viewed as an artisan. In Jewish writings in Greek, such as those of Philo of Alexandria, the term is naturally used of the supreme and only God himself. In Gnosticism, the demiurge is the ignorant creator of the material world and is identified with the Jewish God, but is not the supreme God.

demons (Gr.: *daimonia*) incorporeal beings of various sorts. In Greek literature they are minor deities or divinities. In Jewish and Christian literature, the term has pejorative connotations. 1 Enoch 19:1 identifies demons as the spirit powers revered as the gods of the nations. Thus here, in 1 Enoch 99:7, and in 1 Corinthians 10:19–21 (cf. 8:4–5), they are associated with idols and idolatry. The word, however, is not a generic designation for spirits who tempt people to sin. Often it is applied to evil spirits who cause sickness, especially mental disorder (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.8.2:166; Luke 8:27). Josephus suggests that demons are the malevolent ghosts of wicked people (*War* 7.6.3:185).

The rabbinic literature offers a number of theories regarding the origin of demons: that they were created directly by God; that they are the offspring of Adam through Lilith or the children of Eve through male spirits; or that they are angels whom Satan led to rebel against God. Demons are seen primarily as workers of harm and are held responsible for diseases ranging from blindness to fever. Talmudic rabbis hold that the best protection against demons is observance of the law (B. Berakhot 5a) and, additionally, suggest as protection the wearing of phylacteries and fringes (*tzitzit*), affixing of a mezuzah to one's doorpost, and recitation of the daily prayers. In talmudic times, the common people used other talismans, in particular, pottery bowls on which were written magical formulas and which were buried in the corners or by the doorposts of homes.

De Mutatione Nominum the treatise *On the Change of Names* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Mut.* This work is an allegorical exegesis of Genesis 17:1–5 and 15–22. In this episode, Abram's and Sarai's names are changed; this account serves as the focus for a discussion of other name changes and their significance.

De Opificio Mundi the treatise *On the Creation of the World* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Opf.* This work is a version of Genesis 1–3, and especially of its creation accounts, but in Hellenistic terms. There are many parallels between Philo's treatise and the *Timaeus* of Plato.

De Plantatione the treatise *On Noah's Work as a Planter* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Plant.* The work's first part is a discussion of "planting" in a broad sense, including God's planting and mankind's imitation of it. The second part, relating to Noah's planting of a vineyard, looks at drunkenness as discussed by various philosophical schools.

De Posteritate Caini the treatise *On the Posterity and Exile of Cain* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Post.* This work provides an allegorical explanation of Genesis 4:16–25—the genealogy of Cain's descendants. The Hebrew etymology of the names is a key element in Philo's interpretation.

De Praemiis et Poenis the treatise *On Rewards and Punishments* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Praem.* Philo discusses his subject under the rubrics of individuals, houses, cities, countries, and larger regions. He also discourses on blessings and curses, following mainly those in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

De Providentia the treatise *On Providence* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Prov.* This work is laid out as a dialogue between Philo and his nephew Julius Tiberius Alexander. Answering his nephew's objections and doubts, Philo argues that the world is governed by providence.

derash amplification or exegesis; *see also* MIDRASH

derekh eretz *see* WAY OF THE LAND

Derekh Eretz Rabbah (Heb., moral conduct, major [version]) a minor tractate included in editions of the Babylonian Talmud. Its eleven chapters begin with a discussion of forbidden marriages, including some maxims on marriage in general. This material is late, distinct from what follows and, as Elijah Gaon suggested, may belong with the tractate Kallah, on marriage, which precedes it. Chapter 2 purports to contain Tannaitic material, describing twelve classes of good and twelve classes of bad people, and then listing misdeeds that cause misfor-

tune. It ends with mystical reflections on God and the 390 heavens. In the medieval period, chapter 3, concerning the origin and destiny of humankind, may have comprised the beginning of Derekh Eretz Rabbah, referred to under the title Perek Ben Azzai (see, e.g., Rashi on B. Berakhot 22a). Only in chapters 4 through 11, which cite only Tannaitic names, does the tractate turn exclusively to the theme of conduct. Chapters 4 and 5 contain rules of conduct for sages and their students, illustrated by events of the biblical and Tannaitic periods. Chapters 6 and 7 prove through several stories that one should never act differently from the people one is with. The same theme, focusing upon the individual's place in society, appears in chapters 8 and 9. Chapter 10 sets forth correct behavior for the bathhouse, and chapter 11 lists practices that are dangerous to human life and to the soul.

Derekh Eretz Zuta (Heb., moral conduct, minor [version]) a minor talmudic tractate, to be distinguished from Derekh Eretz Rabbah, comprising ethical teachings. The tractate contains nine chapters and a supplement, Perek haShalom (Section on peace). A different version appears in Halakhot Gedolot, in which the same material is divided into two sections, entitled Derekh Eretz Zuta (chaps. 5–8) and Derekh Eretz Rabbah (chaps. 1–4, 9). One of two manuscripts with the latter division designates chapters 1–4 as Yirat Ḥet (Fear of sin). A third division appears in the Maḥor Vitry, in which the first part of chapter 8 and all of chapter 9 have the title Darkan Shel Talmidei Ḥakhamim (the conduct of sages).

The text contains short maxims giving rules of conduct and exhortations to self-examination, piety, patience, and meekness. The organization appears to have been determined by the initial word of each maxim and by the number of maxims in each category. As a result, unrelated maxims often appear together, making it difficult to isolate the theme of each chapter. In general, the tractate begins with rules for the conduct of students of sages, continues with a series of admonitions directed at students, and concludes with diverse rules for the behavior of people in a range of professions. While the tractate may contain some old materials, especially in chapters 1–4, the work as a whole is clearly posttalmudic, probably deriving from the ninth century C.E.

De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini the treatise *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Sacr.* This work is an allegorical explanation of Genesis 4:2–4, which tells of the birth of Abel and the sacrifices of Cain and Abel.

De Sobrietate the treatise *On Sobriety* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Sobr.* This work is an allegorical exegesis of Genesis 9:24–27, in which Noah awakens from his drunkenness and curses Canaan. In Philo's interpretation, Ham represents potential evil; Canaan, evil in action; and Shem, generic good.

Desolating Sacrilege *see* ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION

De Somniis the treatise *On Dreams* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Somn.* This work is the second of Philo's two allegorical treatises on dreams, although the first work has evidently been lost. Philo discusses two dreams of Jacob and the many dreams in the Joseph story, including those of Joseph, the chief butler and baker, and Pharaoh.

De Specialibus Legibus the treatise *On the Special Laws* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Spec. Leg.* or *S.L.* In this treatise's four books Philo surveys much of the legal material of the Pentateuch in a somewhat systematic way. Because he also treats the Ten Commandments here, this work overlaps with his *De Decalogo.* Book 1 mentions the First and Second Commandments but is mainly about the Temple, its cult, and regulations concerning proper worship. Book 2 covers the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Commandments, and devotes much space to a discussion of the Fourth Commandment and its subsidiary topics—annual festivals and the Sabbath. Book 3 studies the Sixth and Seventh Commandments, which in the Septuagint concern adultery and murder, respectively. Under "adultery" Philo discusses a range of forbidden sexual acts, and under "murder" he considers such topics as the death penalty for particular sins, manslaughter, the cities of refuge, and violence in general. The first part of Book 4 covers the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Commandments, but then goes on to relate the four cardinal virtues to all of the commandments. The last part of Book 4 deals with the system of administering justice and, especially, with the appointment of judges. *See also* DE DECALOGO.

destruction (Heb. and Aram.: *aḇad, eḇad*; Gr.: *apollymi*) the destruction of the body at death or the punishment of the wicked after death. As Jewish beliefs in postmortem retribution developed, words that had described the disintegration of the human when the body died were applied to the ultimate destruction of the wicked. Thus, the term appears frequently in combination and contrast with "eternal life," a common expression for the ongoing reward of the righteous immediately after

death, after the resurrection, or even beginning in this life (Ps. Sol. 3:11–12, 13:11, 14:9–10, 15:12–13; cf. Gal. 6:8). In effect, the expression means damnation. In texts that see eternal life as the present possession of the righteous, the normal term to describe the present state of the wicked is "death" rather than "destruction." Thus in John 5:24 the believer has passed from death to life, while in John 3:16, to perish is the future fate of those who do not believe and have eternal life.

The translations "destruction, destroy, perish" are perhaps deceptive because they suggest annihilation of the person. Such a notion is present in the Wisdom of Solomon 2:1–5, 5:9–14, but other texts envision ongoing torment in the fires of hell (1 En. 103:7–8). *See also* CORRUPTION; DEATH; IMMORTALITY, INCORRUPTION; LIFE, ETERNAL.

Deutero-Canonical Books *see* APOCRYPHA

Deuteronomistic History *see* FORMER PROPHETS

Deuteronomy Rabbah a homiletical midrash on Deuteronomy, comprising twenty-seven sections corresponding to the divisions of the Book of Deuteronomy found in the Palestinian triennial lectionary cycle. Despite the compilation's underlying literary structure, in printed editions, it is divided according to the eleven sections of Deuteronomy found in the yearly system of pentateuchal readings. The text's twenty-seven sections mostly follow the pattern of the typical Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu midrash, beginning with a legal question, introduced by: "[What is] the correct practice for a person of Israel . . . ? Thus our rabbis taught. . . ." In the ensuing exposition, the legal inquiry ultimately leads into a homily, normally introduced by: "This [previous point reflects] that which Scripture said." As is common in this type of composition, the homilies generally end with a message of consolation or statement of hope for the future messianic redemption.

In the medieval period, Deuteronomy Rabbah was alternatively known as Haggadat Eleh haDebarim Rabbah and Debarim Rabbati, in which names the terms "Eleh haDebarim" and "Debarim" are the Hebrew equivalents of "Deuteronomy." In later usage, the designation Rabbah (great) distinguishes the compilation from Deuteronomy Zuta (a "minor," or "small," midrashic treatment of Deuteronomy).

Two different versions of Deuteronomy Rabbah exist, apparently deriving from distinct versions of Tanḥuma-Yelamedenu Midrashim. One, represented in Deuteronomy Rabbah's printed edition, was known to scholars in France and Germany. This text is homogeneous in structure and language. The other version, of a less homogeneous character, was known in the Middle Ages to Spanish scholars. It is extant in the truncated Munich manuscript of Deuteronomy Rabbah (written in 1295 and published by S. Buber in 1895), in the complete manuscript of A. Epstein, and in the Oxford manuscript (published by S. Lieberman in 1940). The textual situation is additionally confused by considerable divergences among these manuscripts and by the existence of medieval quotations purporting to cite Deuteronomy Rabbah but containing materials absent from any existing version. Further, some medieval citations in the name of Tanḥuma or Yelamedenu contain materials found in one or another of the texts of Deuteronomy Rabbah.

Deuteronomy Rabbah cites the Tannaitic literature, the Talmud of the Land of Israel, Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, and, in the printed edition, Lamentations Rabbah. While the text exclusively cites authorities who lived earlier than the fifth century C.E., it appears to contain anti-Karaite polemics and, in the printed edition, homilies typical of the period after the Muslim conquest. Redaction accordingly should be dated to the ninth century C.E.

Deuteronomy, Targum to *see* PALESTINIAN TARGUMS; ONKELOS, TARGUM

Devarim Rabbah *see* DEUTERONOMY RABBAH

devil the chief evil spirit. This generic English designation derives from the old German equivalent of the Greek *diabolos* and usually translates that word in the New Testament and modern translations of the Pseudepigrapha. *Diabolos* is the normal translation of *satan* in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible and carries the connotations of both adversarial activity and (false) accusation. In the Apocalypse of Moses and the related Life of Adam and Eve, the opponent and tempter of the first parents is identified as the *diabolos* (Lat.: *diabolus*), and in the fragments of the Assumption of Moses, this figure strives with Michael for the body of Moses, accusing Moses of his sins. In the New Testament he is the tempter of Jesus (Matt. 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13) and the accuser of the righteous (Rev. 12:7–12), and some passages define him with terms that emphasize his enmity and antagonism (Matt. 13:39; 1 Pet. 5:8–9). Remarkably, the Semitic *satan* occurs in the New Testament as often as *diabolos*.

Although common modern usage employs "the devil" as the normal term for the chief evil spirit, Jewish texts from the Graeco-Roman period employ a variety of expressions, which express different aspects of this figure, although in general

they highlight his opposition to God or God's high angel and his malevolence to human beings. Among these terms are the following, in addition to *satan* and *diabolos*: Asael; Azazel; Beelzebul; Belial (death, the swallower); the Prince of Mastema (hostility); Melchiresha (king of wickedness; opposed to Melchizedek, king of righteousness); the Ruler of this World; Sammael (the deceitful angel who blinds, or the angel of death who poisons); Satanael; Shemiḥazah; the Spirit of Error (opposed to the spirit of truth). *See also* DEATH, PERSONIFIED; DEMONS; DUALISM; EVIL, ORIGINS OF; *and various figures mentioned herein.*

De Virtutibus the treatise *On the Virtues* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Virt.* This work is organized around four main headings: courage; humanity (*philanthropia*), which is the twin of piety; repentence (*metanoia*); and nobility.

De Vita Contemplativa the treatise *On the Contemplative Life* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Vita Con.* A portion of this treatise is devoted to a group known as the Therapeutai and is our only source of knowledge about that community. *See also* THERAPEUTAI.

De Vita Mosis the treatise *On the Life of Moses* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Vita Mos.* This work is an allegorical presentation of the life of Moses. Its first book focuses on Moses' life and deeds, and the second looks at his character under the rubrics of legislator, high priest, and prophet.

Dhu-Nawas Jewish king of Himyar, and the last independent king of Himyar, located in South Arabia and controlling the Straits of Aden. He was converted to Judaism sometime after 516 C.E. One source claims that he executed Byzantine merchants, responding to Byzantium's persecuting Jews. The Christian stories of his extermination of the Christian community of Najran may be exaggerated, for they seem to have served as a pretext for the Ethiopian invasion of Himyar. His attack on Najran most likely occurred after 523, between the two Ethiopian invasions. It appears that the Christian communities in Zafar and Najran, Yemen, acted as an Ethiopian fifth column. In the 520s, Dhu-Nawas sought help from al-Mundhir of Persia against the Ethiopians, who were supporting Byzantium. The Persians refused to help, and this led to Dhu-Nawas's defeat. When Dhu-Nawas was defeated in battle in 525, Ethiopia gained control of the country.

diaspora (Gr., scattered abroad) term designating Babylonian Jewry and its areas of settlement from the period of the Babylonian exile of 586 B.C.E. and on (see, e.g., Jer. 28:6; 2 Chron. 36:20). The meaning expanded to include all places outside of Palestine in which Jews lived. In the period following the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.)—which marked the cessation of the sacrificial cult—and the failed Bar Kokhba Revolt (133–135 C.E.)—which marked the end of any Jewish hope for renewed political control over the promised land—rabbinic authorities grappled with the fact that Judaism in the foreseeable future would be a diaspora religion. The term *galut* (exiles) took on theological meaning. In the face of the devastating wars caused by attempts to regain Jewish political control, rabbinic leaders rejected the use of military means to effectuate a return to the promised land. At the same time, they continued to dream of an end to the exile, to be marked by the return of Israelite sovereignty over the Land of Israel, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the reinstitution of animal sacrifice. Unlike the prior political approach to these occurrences, seen, for instance, in the Bar Kokhba revolt, the rabbis increasingly envisioned these events in messianic terms, as brought about directly by God in response to the Jewish people's proving themselves worthy of redemption.

In line with this approach, the rabbis firmly expressed their larger view that the existence of the diaspora was undesirable, the result of the people's sin (see, e.g., Numb. Rabbah 7:10; M. Abot 5:9) and that the return of all Jews to the Land of Israel was the ultimate goal of Judaism (Gen. Rabbah 98:9). The Rabbis hold that the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian exile resulted from the people's engaging in idolatry, sexual licentiousness, and shedding innocent blood; the Second Temple was destroyed as a punishment for the people's increasing love of money and groundless hatred toward each other (B. Yoma 9b). Just as the diaspora was created as a divine punishment for the people's sins, so life in exile of itself constitutes an act of repentance (B. Berakhot 56a). In keeping with this negative attitude, the rabbis describe the suffering of life in exile as tantamount to all of the other suffering the people have endured combined (Sifrei Deut. 43). This suffering is so great that even God is understood to lament having had to respond to his people's sins by destroying the Temple and sending them into exile (B. Berakhot 3a).

The rabbis' negative attitude toward the diaspora is balanced by the creation of modes of piety and attitudes to allow the diaspora community to find meaning and closeness to God in their current life. Indeed, a central focus of the rabbinic movement

is the creation of a Judaism that can be carried out independently of priestly activities and nationalistic aspirations. Additionally, even as the rabbis defined ritual and communal practices appropriate to a diaspora religion, they legitimated diaspora life by arguing that the Temple had never been the only place in which God could be found. God, rather, was everywhere (see, e.g., Lev. Rabbah 4:8 and B. Berakhot 10a). Even the question of whether God's presence had dwelled in the Second Temple at all was subject to debate (Pesikta Rabbati 160a). In keeping with an approach that lessened the centrality of the Temple in Jewish life, the rabbis imputed to a wide range of human activities the power previously granted only to sacrifice. Along with daily prayers corresponding to the prior sacrificial worship, the rabbis saw in acts of loving kindness and study of Torah direct replacements for animal offerings (see, e.g., Deut. Rabbah 5:3; M. Abot 3:2; and B. Shabbat 127a).

The Rabbis accordingly assured that, even in the diaspora, the people could enjoy fulfilling and productive lives. They rejected the ascetic response to the destruction of the Temple, which reduced people to a continual state of mourning, abstaining from meat, wine, and even from procreation (B. Baba Batra 60b). Instead, the rabbis encouraged a moderate path of limited mourning, to recognize what was lost but also to allow enjoyment of all that life in the diaspora offered. The rabbis went so far as to identify positive reasons for and consequences of exile, for example, in increasing the number of converts to Judaism (B. Pesahim 87b) and in making the name of the people of Israel great throughout the world (Song of Songs Rabbah 1:4).

Rabbinic Judaism thus provided a multifaceted response to the condition of exile. On the one hand, as a punishment for the people's sin, exile was viewed as temporary and a source of great suffering and degradation. On the other hand, the rabbis saw in the Diaspora the likely home of the majority of Jews and of Jewish life for the foreseeable future. Accordingly, they defined modes of Jewish existence and established a theological foundation that allowed diaspora Jews to make sense of and find meaning in productive and happy lives far from the promised land. *See also* EXILE.

Diasporanovelle German expression coined by modern scholars meaning "novel/romance of the diaspora [Jews]." A number of biblical and Jewish writings fall into this category. The theme is usually of a Jew in a Gentile environment, often with a high position in government, who falls into adversity but succeeds by faithfulness to God's law and divine help. Daniel is a classical example of this pattern. The Joseph story follows a somewhat different sequence of events, but the themes of obedience in an alien environment, adversity, and success are also there.

diatribe technical name of a rhetorical form (it became a loanword into English with a somewhat different meaning) derived originally from the Cynics. A diatribe was essentially a moral sermon, the aim of which was to convince its hearers to the point of changing their behavior. It was essentially dialogical in form, and it included such characteristics as rhetorical questions as well as answers to the objections of imaginary opponents. The oral form influenced some literary compositions, allegedly including those of Philo of Alexandria.

dictator (Lat., chief magistrate, leader [hence the English "dictator"]) In the Roman Republic the office of dictator was given to a leader in time of crisis. Originally, only a temporary authority was given to the dictator until the crisis was past; however, Julius Caesar was voted dictator for life.

dietary laws rules about food one may or may not eat and how certain foods are to be prepared. These derive from the Torah, which permits only fish that have fins and scales and animals that part the hoof and chew the cud (e.g., sheep and cows, but not camels or pigs). Animals must be ritually slaughtered (Heb.: *shehitah*), which involves a humane method of slaughter accompanied by a blessing of thanks. The Torah prohibits the eating of shellfish, worms, snails, flesh torn from a living animal, and certain other foods. Blood must be drained from meat before the meat may be eaten. Any mixture of meat and milk is forbidden; after eating meat, one may not eat dairy products for a period of time (one to six hours, depending on custom). Fish are neutral (Heb.: *pareve*). *See also* FOOD TABOOS; KOSHER.

dikaiosynē (Gr., righteousness, or justice) term widely used in religious literature. In the Graeco-Roman world, it was one of the four cardinal virtues. In Jewish compositions and translations in Greek, *dikaiosynē* was frequently the Greek equivalent of Hebrew and Aramaic *tzdk*.

Dikke (Arab.: ed-Dikke) ancient Jewish village and synagogue site just east of the Jordan and 4 kilometers north of the Sea of Galilee. A synagogue building made of fine limestone masonry once stood on a platform or raised terrace (the meaning of the site's name). The building faces west rather than south toward Jerusalem, which is

explained by its location across the Jordan. It measured about 16 by 12 meters and was carefully finished and decorated on the exterior. A narrow porch stood in front. The interior space of the synagogue was divided into two side aisles and a rear aisle by six columns with debased Corinthian and Ionic capitals. Three doorways in the facade—a large central portal and two smaller doors on either side—gave entry to the worship space. One could also exit to the outside through a doorway in the synagogue's south wall. Five engaged pillars decorated the inner side of the facade and could support arches between the wall and columns or intercolumnar arches. Two tiers of benches were found on three walls of the interior space (the two sides and the back wall). External decorations in relief include vine motifs, but the central portal was surmounted by a pair of genii or victories holding a wreath. There also appears a second wreath behind the genii. Other patterns include egg and dart, grapevines, and meanders, especially on window fragments. The usual suggested date for the building is third century C.E.

Dimi Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E., known as "the traveler to Babylonia." He ultimately settled in Babylonia, where, at Pumbedita, he transmitted Palestinian traditions. He is known also as Abudimi and Abdimi.

Dimi of Nehardea frequently cited Babylonian amora of the fourth century C.E.; head of the academy at Pumbedita in 385–388. Besides his status as a scholar, he appears to have been a produce merchant (B. Baba Batra 22a).

din (Heb.) a law or a lawsuit

dina de-malkuta dina (Aram., the law of the state is the law) legal edict attributed to the talmudic rabbi Samuel in the third century C.E., requiring that Jews accept the law of their Persian host nation at points where Persian law conflicts with Jewish civil or criminal practice (but not religious duties). In the Babylonian Talmud, Samuel's pronouncement is applied in particular to real estate law. Rabbah (Babli Baba Batra 55a) reports that, in line with Samuel's dictum, land may be acquired only through a deed; the rabbinic practice of gaining ownership through tenancy is deemed inoperative since, following Persian law, such acquisition would be complete only after forty years.

Dinah daughter of Jacob and Leah, raped by Shechem (Gen. 34). In the Book of Judith she symbolizes Israel ravaged by Assyria. The Testament of Job has her married to Job. According to several midrashim, Asenath, the Egyptian priest's daughter who married Joseph (Gen. 41:45), is identified as Dinah's daughter by Shechem, but a Jew by virtue of her maternal lineage.

Diocaesarea *see* SEPPHORIS

Dio Cassius (c. 160–230 C.E.) Roman writer (in Greek); wrote a *History of Rome* from its beginnings to 229 C.E. Although not of the first rank among ancient historians, his work is nonetheless valuable in that he made use of such authors as Tacitus, whose writings have been partially lost; however, Dio's own work survives only in part or in a medieval epitome (summary). He is especially important for events of the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. His references to Jewish history and religion are an important supplement to Josephus. He shows no particular hostility to the Jews or their customs, even though he sometimes finds their actions inexplicable (e.g., allowing Jerusalem to be captured because of refusal to fight on the Sabbath). He does not accuse the Jews of misanthropy, which many writers do, even though he sees their customs as the opposite of those of most other peoples. He tells us that Archelaus had the name Herod, as coins confirm. Jewish attempts at proselytization in Rome during the reign of Tiberius are mentioned. His account of the siege of Jerusalem notes that some Roman soldiers actually deserted to the Jewish side. Many other details of value for Jewish history are also given by him.

Diocletian Roman emperor (r. 284–305 C.E.). While serving as the commander of Emperor Numerian's bodyguards, he was chosen by the army to be emperor upon Numerian's death. Diocletian devoted a good deal of his time leading battles on the empire's frontiers and putting down revolts. In 293 he established the tetrarchy by which he ruled in the East, with Galerius's help, and Maximian was emperor in the West with the aid of Constantius Chlorus. The tetrarchy provided both parts of the empire with a strong ruler and created a system of nonhereditary succession. To enhance the emperor's stature, Diocletian adopted many of the trappings of the eastern rulers. In order to create a better mechanism for managing the empire, Diocletian divided many of the provinces into smaller administrative units. Also, he separated the military from the civil authorities by removing control of the army from the civil rulers. He introduced a new system of taxation, based on a unit of land and a human unit, which was revised every fifteen years. Diocletian supported the old Roman religion and traditions, and he worked hard to ensure that Roman law was followed in the provinces. He oversaw a persecution of the Christians in 303.

Unlike many of the other provinces, Palestine was enlarged, rather than divided. The area between Idumea and the Red Sea and Moab south of the Arnon River were removed from Arabia and joined to Palestine. This change allowed the defense of the southern border to be under the jurisdiction of one province instead of two. While we have little information about the civil administration of Palestine, we do know more about Diocletian's fiscal policies in the province. Boundary stones of a number of villages in the Galilee indicate that a land survey was carried out. It was necessitated by Diocletian's reform, which converted the *annona* into a regularly collected tax in kind. Diocletian visited Palestine at least twice while he was emperor, the first to do so since Caracalla. In 286 he stayed in Tiberias long enough to issue several decrees, and this visit may be the basis for stories in the Palestinian Talmud about the emperor. One story claims that late one Friday, Diocletian sent a message ordering the patriarch and another rabbi to appear before him early on Sunday. The rabbis were miraculously transported before the emperor, so that they avoided desecrating the Sabbath or angering the ruler. While he was oppressing Paneas, according to another rabbinic account, the people threatened to leave the province, but their threat was discounted by one of the emperor's advisers. In another passage Yoḥanan fails to condemn a member of a priestly family who was so anxious to see the emperor that he took a short cut and knowingly became ritually impure. Finally, one reference in the Palestinian Talmud, reflecting on Diocletian's persecution of the Christians, claims that the Jews were the only nation that the emperor did not force to pour out libations to the Roman deities.

Diodorus Siculus Greek historian and compiler of the first century B.C.E. (fl. c. 60–30 B.C.E.). He wrote a universal history to the time of Caesar's Gallic wars. Although he was more of a compiler than a critical historian, his work is sometimes the main source for the history of certain periods. The quality varies considerably, of course, depending on his source at any one time. His work is especially important as general background for history in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. He makes a number of references to Jews and Judaism, especially in Hasmonean times and at the time of Pompey's conquest. Unfortunately, it is often not possible to identify the source of his statements about the Jews. Some of them come from Hecataeus of Abdera, but others are unidentified. He ascribes the origins of the Jews to colonizing by the Egyptians (pointing to the common practice of circumcision). Moses took his laws from the god known as Iao. The wonders of the Dead Sea are described. He also relates that when Antiochus IV entered the Temple, he found a statue of a man seated on an ass with a book in his arms, a story that recurs in other writers.

dioikētēs (Gr., governor, administrator) Under the Ptolemies, the term was especially used to refer to the finance minister, who was the overall financial director of the entire Ptolemaic Empire. Very well known from the Zenon Papyri is Apollonius, who was *dioikētēs* about the middle of the third century B.C.E.; Zenon was one of his agents.

Dionysus worship, Judaism associated with Dionysus was a Greek god of emotion and fertility, as well as wine; his Roman equivalent was Bacchus. Dionysus was worshiped with orgiastic rituals, including uncontrolled and lawless behavior. This is vividly described in *The Bacchae,* a play by Euripides in which a man is torn apart alive by a frenzied group of female worshipers. Judaism is described as Dionysus worship by several Graeco-Roman writers. The exact reason is unclear but seems to be connected to Jupiter Sabazios, who was identified with Dionysus. Perhaps the name Sabazios was associated with the epithet Sabaoth, which was associated with God; possibly it was even associated with the word "sabbath." Especially important is the discussion by Plutarch in his *Convivial Questions,* where he describes the procession at the Feast of Tabernacles as a celebration in honor of Dionysus. He points especially to the parading with the *thyrsus,* to the dress of the high priest, and to the blowing of small trumpets. Plutarch also connects "sabbath" with the name Sabi, which referred to worshipers of Dionysus and points to the use of wine on the Sabbath. Tacitus, however, denies rather indignantly any connection. *See also* THYRSUS.

Dios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Tishri (September/October) and sometimes to Ḥeshvan (October/November).

Diospolis *see* LOD

disciple of a sage (Heb.: *talmid ḥakham*) member of the rabbinical aristocracy, characterized by comprehensive knowledge of the Bible and all of rabbinic law, by proper deportment learned by serving under a sage (B. Berakhot 47b), and by piety in all behaviors (B. Yoma 72b). The *talmid ḥakham* was exempt from taxation and received

preferential treatment in the allocation of communal benefits, for example, having precedence in being redeemed should he be taken captive. So long as the *talmid ḥakham* devoted himself to study, the community held him in the highest respect and provided for his personal needs.

disciples of Jesus those who follow Jesus; the broad category includes such figures as the women who supported him (Luke 8:1–3) and even crowds (Luke 6:17). Luke distinguishes from these many twelve "apostles," who witnessed Jesus' activities from the beginning of his ministry. Matthew 10:2–4, Mark 3:16–19, Luke 6:13–16, and Acts 1:13 list twelve special disciples, but the names vary. Among these are Galilean fishermen (Peter, Andrew, James, John), a tax collector (Matthew in the First Gospel; Levi in Mark); a Zealot (Simon the Cananaean); and Judas Iscariot. The number twelve recollects the twelve tribes of Israel. Mark's disciples frequently misunderstand Jesus; rehabilitated in the other Synoptics, they become models of higher righteousness and the expediters of the Gentile mission. Only John includes the "beloved disciple" (variously identified as the evangelist; a composite; ideal follower; or, less likely, Lazarus) and Nathanael. Jesus' disciples in all the Gospels serve as foils to other groups of disciples: of John the Baptist, of the Pharisees, and even of Moses (Matthew 9:14, 11:2; Luke 11:1; John 1:35). Paul indicates that Peter and John, along with Jesus' brother James, became pillars of the Jerusalem church (Gal. 2:9); the Acts of the Apostles offers some details on these figures as well as on the death of James, the son of Zebedee (Acts 12:2). Fanciful accounts in the Apocryphal Acts portray the fates of the other disciples.

discipline to reprove someone for the purpose of correcting them. Jewish literature, especially texts in the wisdom tradition, describes that activity by which God afflicts Israel or individuals in order to get them to change their ways that they may receive God's blessing. The two principle verbs in the Hebrew Bible are *yasar* and *nakkah* (smite), which are generally translated in the Septuagint by Greek *paideuō* (teach, hence discipline) and *mastigoō* (to scourge). The verbs "chasten" and "chastise," which derive from the Latin meaning to cleanse or correct, appear in some English versions.

Proverbs 3:11 likens God's chastening to the action of a father, who reproves the child in whom he delights; the Septuagint employs both Greek verbs. The Book of Tobit pairs the verbs "scourge" and "have mercy" to explain how and why God smites Tobit, the righteous one (who, however, is not perfect) and afflicts Israel, whose sin has resulted in exile (3:9; 11:15; 13:2, 5, 9). The Psalms of Solomon convey the same idea by means of the Greek noun *paideia* (7:9, 10:2, 13:9, 14:1) but also uses the verb "cleanse" (Gr.: *katharizō*), a term with cultic connotations, to describe the chastening function of God's scourging of the righteous (10:1–2).

The notion of divine discipline and chastisement is also used to distinguish between the divine Judge's dealings with Israel (or the righteous) and the nations. God disciplines so that Israel or the righteous will not pile up sins, but seek forgiveness. Conversely, God withholds punishment from the nations so that they increase the measure of their sins and hence earn terrible and final punishment (Ps. Sol. 13:7; 2 Macc. 6:12–16; 2 Bar. 13:10–12).

A number of New Testament passages employ the notion of divine discipline or chastisement (1 Cor. 11:32; 2 Cor. 6:9; Titus 2:12; Heb. 12:5–7, quoting Prov. 3:11–12).

disease and sickness In the law, historical books, and Prophets, disease and sickness are regarded as being sent by God on those of his people who are guilty of moral failure or ritual impurity and on those non-Israelites who seek to thwart God's purpose for his people. Disobedience on the part of Israel will result in their being afflicted with incurable "boils, ulcers, scurvy, itch," in "madness, blindness, and confusion of mind." Their exposed corpses will serve as food for vultures and wild animals (Deut. 28:15–29). Any members of the covenant community who rebel against God and his rules for his people are warned to "end their complaints, or else they will die" (Num. 17:10–13).

The prophet Zechariah sees the coming day of judgment that is to fall on disobedient Jerusalem as including panic that will overtake horses and madness that will seize the riders (Zech. 12:3–5). The day of doom that Ezekiel foretells will fall on Israel "because of their iniquity" (Ezek. 13–16) will result in military attack from without ("the sword is outside") and "famine and pestilence" for those within the city of Jerusalem. A similar warning about death of the disobedient through "sword, famine, and pestilence" is given in Jeremiah 21:1–7, although now the prediction of exile in Babylonia is also included as part of God's judgment on disobedient Israel.

On the other hand, if God's people are fully obedient to his will and laws, then God will remove from them "every illness." The diseases

will be laid instead "on all who hate" his people (Deut. 7:15). In the story in Exodus of Israel's escape from slavery in Egypt, one of the ten plagues that God sends on the Egyptians for their refusal to free the people of Israel is "festering boils on humans and animals" (Exod. 9:10). A prime example of this divine punitive action against the enemies of Israel or those who violate Israel's special relationship with God appears in 1 Samuel 5:6–6:19, where the account is given of the Philistines' capture of the ark of God and their placing it at Ashdod in the shrine of one of their local deities, Dagon. God's action was to smite the people of Ashdod with tumors, as well as the people of the other Philistine cities where the ark was taken. Only when they sent the ark back into Israelite territory, complete with golden images of the tumors as a guilt offering, was the plague relieved.

The fullest presentation of the links between moral failure, ritual impurity, and disease is offered in Leviticus 13–15. There the disease and its symptoms, described in detail in Leviticus 13–14, indicate some kind of skin ailment—inaccurately identified in most translations as leprosy. Whatever the disease is, the priests who examine its victims look for various symptoms by which they can pronounce whether the afflicted person is "clean" or "unclean" (13:13–14). For example, if the color of the hair changes or if baldness occurs, these are signs of uncleanness, but if black hair has grown back, then the individual is clean (13:30–42). The bodily discharges described in Leviticus 15 are sex-related and may be symptoms of gonorrhea or some other venereal disease. In any case, the link between moral behavior and punishment in the form of bodily affliction is clear.

The jealousy toward Moses on the part of his brother, Aaron, and his sister, Miriam, is punished by God's sending a skin disease (leprosy?) on her (Num. 12:1–10). A similar catastrophe falls on King Azariah of Judah (2 Kings 15), who is punished by God for his failure to remove the high places where Israelites are worshiping other gods and to prohibit the people from sacrificing to these false deities. Because he did not stop these idolatrous practices, Azariah is stricken with some kind of skin disease and must live "in a separate house" in order to avoid polluting the royal residence and those who would have contact with him there. 2 Chronicles 26:16–21 gives an even more vivid report of God's striking Uzziah (Azariah) with this dread skin disease as a consequence of his having entered the temple of Yahweh and made an offering there—a role that only priests should carry out. During the reign of an unnamed king of Israel, the king of Aram (Syria) sends the commander of his army, Naaman, to the king of Israel so that he might be cured of his "leprosy" (2 Kings 5:1–19). The king is shocked at the suggestion that he could perform the cure, since he believes only God can "give death or life." However, Elisha the prophet instructs Naaman to wash in the Jordan, which he does with great reluctance, and he is indeed cured.

The one who suffers from sickness and death sent by God is not always the one who committed the wicked act. After David committed adultery with Bathsheba and she was pregnant with his child, he arranged for her husband, Uriah the Hittite, to be killed (2 Sam. 11) and then took her as one of his wives. Denounced by the prophet Nathan for what he had done, David confessed his sin, but when the child was born to Bathsheba, it was gravely ill. The child died within a week despite David's contrition and petitions to God to spare his son (2 Sam. 12).

In Israel's prophetic tradition, especially in Jeremiah, sickness is used as a metaphor for the people's failure to maintain a right relationship with God through full obedience to the law. The perverse nation looks for "healing, but there is terror instead" (Jer. 8:15, 14:19). The coming of the exile to Babylon evokes the cry, "My wound is severe" (Jer. 10:19); "my pain is unceasing, my wound incurable, refusing to be healed" (15:18). "Your hurt is incurable; there is no medicine for your wound, no healing for you" (30:12–13, 46:11). While there is hope for the healing of God's people through an agent whom he will send (Mal. 4:2), Babylon is beyond healing (Jer. 51:9). The prophet Hosea (5:13) tells his people that the vain attempt of the northern tribes of Israel to strengthen their position ("sickness") by an alliance with the Assyrians had shown that the Assyrian king "was not able to cure you or heal your wound." Likewise, the prophet Nahum informs Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, that "there is no assuaging your hurt: your wound is mortal" (Nah. 3:19).

In 1 Samuel 15–16, God punishes the disobedience of Israel's first king, Saul, who had encouraged the people to offer sacrifices to him rather than to God alone; God sends an "evil spirit" that seizes and torments him (16:14). When David plays his lyre in Saul's hearing, the king is temporarily relieved and the evil spirit departs for a time (16:23). In the Book of Job, however, YHWH

allows Satan to afflict Job with "loathsome sores from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head" (2:1–8) in order to test Job's integrity and the firmness of his trust in God. The disease is not identified, but its symptoms are described. They include "flesh clothed with worms and dirt, skin that hardens and breaks out again" (Job 7:5). But Job also has terrifying visions (7:14), and his skin turns black and he is overcome by burning heat (30:30). Once Job has passed the test, however, his health is restored and he lives 120 more years (42:16–17).

The role of Satan as the one who actually causes the illnesses of humans, which is probably Iranian in origin, develops more fully in the Jewish literature of the second and first centuries B.C.E. as a major feature in accounting for ailments and in dealing with them. In Jubilees, where the story of Noah is being retold (10:1–6), it is the demons who are not only leading astray his children, but also blinding and killing them. Noah is taught how to heal these illnesses by the use of herbs. Similarly, when in 1 Enoch 6–11 the angels take wives from among earthly women, one of their first efforts is to teach these women "magical medicine, incantations, the cutting of roots, and . . . about plants" (7:1). These are the techniques through which diseases and sickness are to be overcome.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is evil spirits sent by God that cause human sickness. A prime example of this occurs when Pharaoh takes Sarai from Abraham and wants to kill him (1QapGen 20). In response to Abraham's prayer to God, "the Most High God sent an evil spirit to scourge" Pharaoh and "all his household." All the magicians and all the healers of Egypt are called in to remedy Pharaoh's ailment, but none of them can cure him. Instead, they also fall under the scourge and flee. Pharaoh is told that if he restores Sarai to Abraham, "this scourge and this spirit of festering will vanish from you." So Abraham prayed for him, laid his hands on Pharaoh's head, and the evil spirit departed from him and he regained his life and health. Similarly, in the Prayer of Nabonidus (4QPrNab), the king reports how, when he was stricken with an ulcer, an exorcist pardoned his sins and effected a cure.

In Philo's treatise *On the Contemplative Life* (chap. 2), he notes that the Essenes were famed for the cures of "souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures and desires and griefs and fears, by acts of covetousness, folly injustice and the countless host of other passions and vices." Josephus, in his *Antiquities* (8.136), notes that the Essenes combine several modes of cures for human diseases: "They display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients, singling out in a particular way those which make for the welfare of the soul and the body; with the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigation into medical roots and the properties of stones." Thus important features of medicine are present in the Essene methods of treating diseases.

It suits well the other evidence from Jewish sources that when Jesus performs healings and exorcisms in the Gospel accounts, he is accused by his critics of being in league with Beelzebul, one of the names for Satan or the prince of evil powers (Mark 3:22). To this accusation, Jesus responds by claiming that he expels demons "by the finger of God" (Luke 11:20), or that it is by the power of the Holy Spirit of God that he accomplishes his cures (Matt. 12:22–32). Sickness has become a metaphor not only for the disobedience of God's people and their alienation from God, but for the hidden yet powerful presence of the forces of evil in the life of humanity.

In some texts, the Talmudic rabbis follow the approach to sickness and disease familiar from the Hebrew scriptures and Hellenistic Judaism, holding that sickness represents divine punishment for sin. The Talmud states that a sick person cannot recover until all of his or her sins have been forgiven. Such recovery is a greater miracle than Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah being saved from the furnace (Dan. 3), since, while they were saved from a human fire, illness is a fire made by God (B. Nedarim 41a). God brings suffering on those who can study Torah but do not (B. Berakhot 5a); observance of the law and study of Torah, by contrast, lead to health (Mekhilta Vayassa 1; B. Ketubot 103a).

Alongside these theological explanations for disease, rabbinic texts much more frequently view illness as the consequence of natural processes or the result of people's failure to take proper care of themselves. The rabbis hold that, on account of communicable diseases, one should not share a drinking cup or take a bite from a piece of bread and return it to the serving plate (T. Berakhot 5:8–9). Similarly, numerous rabbinic texts list folk remedies appropriate for specific ailments (see, e.g., B. Shabbat 109b; Pesikta deRab Kahana 18:4; B. Baba Metzia 107b). In line with this understanding of disease, the rabbis insist upon the importance of visiting the sick (B. Gittin 61a; B. Nedarim 41a), which God himself is understood to have done when he appeared to Abraham at the oaks of

Mamre (Gen. 18:1; B. Sotah 14a). Rather than being condemned as sinners, those who are ill require and deserve the sympathy and comfort that will help relieve their suffering.

Diskarta Babylonian town on the river Diala, northeast of Baghdad. The city was home to two rabbis, Judah and Ḥuna of Diskarta, suggesting that a fair-sized Jewish community existed there in Sassanid times. The name Diskarta is from the Persian *das* (district) and the Aramaic *karta* (town). In the Talmud the term sometimes means a town in general. In nontalmudic sources, the place-name is given as Daskara.

dispersion *see* DIASPORA

dissimulation the use of lying or deception as a means of protecting oneself from religious persecution. When their Judaism has been persecuted, often the only worthwhile defense for Jews has been to practice dissimulation. For example, under extreme duress some Jewish communities converted to Christianity outwardly but continued to carry on their Judaism secretly. The justification for religious dissimulation can already be found in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 1 Sam. 16:1–2). Because Judaism was normally tolerated in the Graeco-Roman period, there are few, if any, examples of Jewish dissimulation before the Christian dominance of the Roman Empire. The only early true persecution of Judaism took place briefly under Antiochus IV, but the stories preserved emphasize the Jews' faithfulness to God even to death, and not their dissimulation. Under Christianity, we know of examples of Jews who converted or denied their Judaism publicly but maintained it privately; the Marranos of Spain and Portugal are a well-known example of this behavior (beginning in the fourteenth century).

divination the attempt to gain knowledge of the future by the use of certain mechanical and often secret techniques. It was widely practiced in the ancient Near East and in the Graeco-Roman world. In Mesopotamia a major form of divination was the inspection of the internal organs generally (*ectispicy*) or the liver particularly (*hepatoscopy*) of a sacrificial animal. Despite official opposition to divination in Judaism in such passages as Deuteronomy 18, various forms of it were found. The one recognized form was the priestly manipulation of the Urim and Thummim. Although the precise form of these is nowhere defined, they seem to have functioned as some sort of casting of lots. On the popular level, other forms of divination seem to have been widespread. Although Saul had theoretically rid the country of witches, he had no problem finding one when required (1 Sam. 28). David consulted the ephod, which also seems to have given a "yes" or "no" answer to questions. The long list of practices prohibited in Deuteronomy 18 suggests that most or all of these types of divination were in fact used. Even Joseph was said to have used his cup for divination purposes (Gen. 44:5).

divorce Deuteronomy 24:1–4 states that a man can divorce his wife for "something shameful" (see Josephus, *Ant.* 4.253 and *Life* 76, on his own divorce). The Elephantine Papyri include women's right to sue for divorce (see also Mark 10:12). Limiting these various rights, the Qumran scrolls (e.g., CD 13.17; 4QDb18.2.5) appear to eliminate remarriage after divorce. Mark 10:2–12 (followed by Luke 16:18) records Jesus' forbidding divorce on the basis of Genesis 2:22–24 and in contradistinction to Deuteronomy. Matthew 5:31–32 and 19:3–9 permit divorce only in cases of *porneia* (indecent acts or, more likely, Gentile marriages that would under Jewish law be considered incestuous). The Gospels add that a divorced individual could not remarry. The effect of the Gospel legislation remains debated: some argue that it prevented the abuse of women; others that it trapped women in abusive relationships; still others that it was originally meant to be a temporary condition ended by the eschaton. Paul permits separation only if both partners agree (1 Cor. 7:10–11, 15, 17).

In rabbinic Judaism divorce is effected through a writ, called a *get,* which the husband transmits to his wife. Both husband and wife must be of sound mind for the transaction to be valid and must act of their own free will. In cases where there is not mutual consent to the divorce, a rabbinic court may recommend or compel one in response to a demand by either the wife or husband. Grounds for divorce typically include physical problems that prevent a conjugal life, the claim that one party or the other is the cause of childlessness, either party's failure to engage in sexual relations, infidelity, or conduct against the commandments. *See also* GITTIN; INCEST; MARRIAGE.

dog As a metaphor, "dog" is a humiliating label for those apart from or enemies of the covenant community (1 Sam. 17:43; Ps. 22:16; Prov. 26:11, cited by 2 Pet. 2:33; Matt. 7:6; 15:26; Mark 7:27). However, dogs are portrayed positively in the Book of Tobit (6:2; 11:4); in Joseph and Asenath 10:13 (Asenath is concerned that her pets also eat kosher food); and in the domestic analogy presented in Matthew 15:27 and Mark 7:28.

dolphin minor motif in Roman and Byzantine Jewish art. Generally the dolphin is depicted with a

beak, so it is not confused with other sea creatures. More than two dozen dolphins are depicted on ceiling tiles in the Dura Europas synagogue in Mesopotamia, and both pairs of dolphins and individual dolphins appear in Palestinian Jewish art of the Roman period. For example, in the Jewish catacombs of Beth Shearim two dolphins flank a wreath and shell on two sarcophagi. In the mosaic floor at Beth Shearim catacomb 11, four dolphins are used to fill the corners of a square. Since the dolphin is so popular a motif in Graeco-Roman art, including coins of Caesarea Maritima, it is no surprise that it appears in Jewish art of the period.

domain, public or private publicly or privately owned areas. The distinction between these types of property is important in rabbinic law, which, on the Sabbath, prohibits carrying anything except the clothing one wears between private and public domains or from one person's domain into that of another (T. Shabbat 1:3). The distinction also has importance under the laws of damages, since one's actions on his own private property in many instances are shielded from claims of negligence. For instance, unless his property is open to public domain, an individual is not liable for damage caused by a pit he digs on it.

Domitian (51–96 C.E.) Roman emperor (r. 81–96 C.E.). Vespasian's younger son, he became emperor upon the death of his elder brother Titus, whom some claimed he had poisoned. For the first eight years of his reign, he was a firm but fair ruler; however, from Lucius Antonius Saturninus's rebellion in 88, Domitian progressively became more harsh and ruthless. Domitian gathered sufficient power to eventually determine the composition of the Senate. He rarely sought the advice of the Senate, preferring instead to consult with his body of advisers composed of both senators and wealthy non-senators, *equites*. He was an able administrator of the empire, selecting competent governors and dismissing bad ones. His system of taxation was harsh, but fair. He worked diligently to improve the level of public morality by strictly enforcing the laws against immorality. However, Domitian received a good deal of criticism during his reign for his licentious lifestyle, his suppression of the Senate, his attempt to impose Greek standards on the Romans, and his virtual assumption of divine honors by accepting the trappings of the oriental monarch for himself. By the end of his rule Domitian had instituted a reign of terror, which culminated in his murder; the conspirators included his wife and seem to have had the tacit approval of Nerva, his successor.

Suetonius states that Domitian rigorously administered the Jewish tax, prosecuting those who followed the Jewish way of life without formally converting or those who concealed their Judaism in order to avoid paying the levy. It appears that while Vespasian had taxed only practicing Jews and converts, Domitian extended the tax to those who practiced Judaism without being circumcised or otherwise converting, perhaps a reference to Jewish Christians. Dio reports that in 95 Domitian executed his cousin Flavius Clemens and in 91 his consul Glabrio, both for atheism, a charge that Dio claims was made against those of the Roman nobility who favored Judaism. If we accept Dio's comment, it seems that by the end of Domitian's reign atheism was equivalent to treason, and converting to Judaism was a form of atheism. Any rejection of the state religion was regarded as treason because it challenged Domitian's claim to be a deity. While the Jews were still allowed to practice their own customs and were not forced into the state cult, converts were a different matter. The matter is unclear, however, because Suetonius refers to the executions of Clemens and Glabrio without referring to atheism or Judaism. Some later Christian writers have claimed that there was an organized Jewish disturbance in Palestine during Domitian's reign, but there is virtually no evidence to support this. According to Christian sources, Domitian's desire to limit the spread of Judaism led to his resentment of Christianity. According to Christian sources, Domitian is compared to Nero in his persecutions of the early Church. However, contemporary Christian sources provide little evidence for persecutions under Domitian.

Domitianus bishop of Melitene (582–602 C.E.) and brother of the Byzantine emperor Mauricius. He forcibly baptized the Jews and Samaritans in his diocese from 590 to 592. John of Nikiu, the Egyptian who informs us of this event, complained that these Jews were only Christian hypocrites. Nevertheless, Domitianus continued to force the clergy under his control to admit them to ecclesiastical functions. Domitianus's activity may be part of Mauricius's general policy toward the Jews. An ancient source reports that a Jew of Antioch insulted an image of the Virgin, whereupon Mauricius expelled all the Jews from the city.

Domitilla, Flavia niece of the Roman emperor Domitian and wife of Flavius Clemens, the emperor's cousin. In 95 C.E., Domitian executed Clemens and exiled Domitilla to Pandateria on charges of atheism. Dio Cassius claims that the charge against both of them was related to their

adoption of Judaism, implying that conversion to Judaism was a criminal offense, for which the penalty was death or confiscation of property. He also pictures Domitilla and Clemens as two of many who were condemned for practicing Judaism. Some fourth-century Christian writers claim that Domitilla converted to Christianity, but these assertions are unfounded.

Dor biblical city on the coast of Israel and south of Mount Carmel, also known as Dora. During the Persian period, a Phoenician inscription attests to Phoenician rule at Dor. The Greek writers thought Dor was founded by Sidonians, but there may indeed have been a Greek colony at Dor, a Greek trading center. Dor was a strong city in the Hellenistic period, since it withstood an attack of the Seleucid army under the command of Antiochus III (the Great). It was also a major commercial center, as excavations reveal a shopping strip or emporium at the sea shore. In the archaeological remains there are many pieces of Attic red-figured wares, indicating that Dor was a major entry point for such wares into Palestine. The Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus took Dor near the beginning of his reign about 103 B.C.E. At the arrival of Rome in 63 B.C.E., Dor was awarded autonomy and the right to mint its own coins. Portions of a major Roman theater have been excavated in the northern part of the city. A strong Jewish community was present at Dor in the second half of the first century C.E. In the Byzantine period at least one church was built at Dor, which has been excavated, but no synagogue ruins are yet known. The city declined until the Arab conquest of Palestine in 640 C.E.

Dor, Cliff of location on the Mediterranean coast, north of Kisrin, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Dora site referred to at B. Berakhot 31a: "R. Mordecai accompanied R. Shimi b. Ashi from Hageronia to Be-Kipi, and some say, to Dora" (some manuscripts read Be-Dura). The town's location is unknown. *For the coastal city of Dora, see* DOR.

Dosa Palestinian amora, also known as Dosai, apparently of the fourth century C.E. He is infrequently cited in the Jerusalem Talmud and midrashic literature.

Dositheans group of separatists within Samaritanism beginning in the first century B.C.E. and continuing until the fourteenth century C.E. Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian sources speak of the Dositheans in very contradictory ways, creating confusion in the dating of their origins, raising the possibility of more than one Dositheus, and describing alternative beliefs and practices.

The destruction of the Samaritan holy place on Mount Gerizim in 128 B.C.E. created conditions favorable to separatism, particularly a schism between a lay oriented and a priestly oriented Samaritanism that some liken to the split between the Pharisees and the Sadducees within Judaism. The lay movement was focused in the first century C.E. by Dositheus. There are no clear details of his life. Many traditions decribe him as an associate of Simon Magus who appears in Acts 8 in the New Testament. Some traditions affirm that Dositheus did not die, but went directly to heaven, and most groups of Dositheans affirmed resurrection earlier than other forms of Samaritanism. The Dositheans used water extensively in their worship, both for ritual immersion and as a significant place to pray. They modified the dietary laws, and later Dositheans were vegetarians. They accepted the same calendar as the Qumran sect, with twelve thirty-day months to restore the "original" solar calendar, so their feast dates differed from orthodox Samaritanism. Removed from Mount Gerizim, the Dositheans discontinued blood sacrifices. They resisted the orthodox move to avoid pronouncing the divine name, YHWH. Periodic serious quarrels broke out between Dositheans and orthodox Samaritans.

Shared adversity worked toward the healing of the schism between the Dositheans and the orthodox Samaritans. In the fourth century C.E., when the Samaritan community was in serious decline both in numbers and in spirit, Baba Rabbah (whom many regard as a Dosithean) arose to fire the will of the community, mend its fractures and inspire the writing of its liturgy and theology. The work of Amram Darah and Markah ensued. A parallel movement took place in the fourteenth century when the community was dwindling in the wake of the Crusader onslaughts. The high priest, Pinḥas, healed the schism between the orthodox Samaritans and the Dositheans, thus inspiring a new surge in liturgical writing and a recording of Samaritan history represented in the work of Abul Fath.

Dositheus b. Judah *see* DOSTAI B. JUDAH

Dositheus b. Yannai *see* DOSTAI B. YANNAI

Dositheus of Kefar Yatma *see* DOSTAI OF KEFAR YATMA

Dostai b. Judah Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch in the late second century C.E. He transmitted statements of Simeon b. Yoḥai.

Dostai b. Yannai Tannaitic authority of the second half of the second century C.E.; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch. He transmitted statements of Meir, Yose b. Ḥalafta, and Eleazar. The Talmud reports on a mission to Babylonia that he took with Yose b. Kiper (see, e.g., B. Gittin 14a–b).

Dostai of Kefar Yatma Tannaitic authority, referred to at M. Orlah 2:5 as a student of the House of Shammai who had heard a ruling directly from Shammai himself. Nothing else is known about him.

dough offering (Heb.: *ḥallah*) an offering from dough while it is being prepared for baking, consisting of one twenty-fourth part given to the priest. *See also* ḤALLAH (*Mishnah tractate*).

dove a small species of pigeon. Doves are mentioned in literal and figurative senses in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish and Christian literature. In the Hebrew Bible, the dove stands for various attributes: mourning (Isa. 59:11; Ezek. 7:16); freedom through flight (Ps. 55:6); and endearment (Cant. 2:14, 5:2). The dove was also used in the Jewish sacrificial cult (Lev. 1:14; cf. Luke 2:24).

Early Jewish literature (e.g., 4 Ezra 5:26; Pseudo-Philo 39:5) uses the dove as a figure for Israel. In early Christian literature, the dove symbolizes the Holy Spirit at the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:10 and parallels; cf. Odes of Sol. 24:1–4). Matthew 10:16 employs the dove as a figure for innocence.

dowry (Heb.: *nedunyah*) property brought by a wife to husband at marriage

doxology statement ascribing praise, honor, and glory to God. The term is sometimes used in a very general sense to designate any statement of praise of God. More precisely, it is restricted to statements that specifically mention God's glory (Gr.: *doxa*). A doxology explicitly fulfills the injunction of Psalm 29:2 "Give to the Lord the glory of his name." Often mention is made of God's eternity with such expressions as "forever and ever" or "from everlasting to everlasting." In contrast to other types of praise of God for specific acts of deliverance and beneficence, a doxology is more general, more concerned with God's being and qualities. In the final arrangement of the Psalter, a doxological verse is appended at the end of each section (Ps. 41:13, 72:19, 89:52, 106:48), and the book as a whole ends with Psalm 150, which functions as a final statement of praise.

In most of the earlier prayers of the Hebrew Bible, praise and petition were kept distinct as two separate forms of prayer. However, in the postexilic period, extended doxological statements came to form the introduction to petition, for example, the praise of David in 1 Chronicles 29:10–19: "To you, Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty" (v. 11). Often the doxology takes the specific form of a blessing, for example, 1 Enoch 84:2: "Blessed are you, O Great King" (cf. Genesis Apocryphon 20:12; Tobit 3:11). Sometimes a doxological statement serves to conclude a prayer (e.g., Prayer of Manasseh, v. 15: "And yours is the glory forever"). This Jewish practice is probably reflected in the doxology that came to be added to the Lord's Prayer in certain Christian circles: "For the kingdom and the power and the glory are yours, forever. Amen" (see the Didache and some manuscripts of Matt. 6:13c). Occasionally doxological-type statements are added at the conclusion of narratives (3 Macc. 7:23; 4 Macc. 18:24; Tob. 14:15).

dragon sea monster representing forces of chaos, common in ancient Near Eastern myths. In Enuma Elish, the Babylonian creation myth, Marduk defeats the dragon Tiamat to bring about creation and become head of the pantheon. In Canaanite mythology, Baal fights Yam, the sea god, and becomes king. Traces of such myths appear in the Bible, where the dragon is called Leviathan or Rahab. In Psalms 74:12–14, God's kingly victory over the sea is synonymous with breaking the dragons' heads and crushing Leviathan's heads and is seen in the context of creation. God gives the dragon to the animals to eat (cf. 4 Ezra 6:52; 2 Bar. 29:4; Test. Asher 7:3 for eschatological versions of this banquet). God's victory over sea, dragon, and Leviathan illustrates creative power and control over creation (e.g., Job 7:12, 9:5–14, 26:5–14, 38:8–11, 41; Ps. 65:6–7, 89:10–15, 104:1–9; Nah. 1:4). Isaiah 51:9–11 unites themes of creation and exodus, juxtaposing God's piercing of the dragon with drying the sea for Israel. The dragon also represents historical entities such as Pharaoh (Ezek. 29:3, 32:2), Egypt (Isa. 30:7; Ps. 87:4), or Babylon (Jer. 51:34). Isaiah 27:1 looks forward to the day when God will kill the dragon.

Revelation focuses on the dragon's eschatological aspects. The dragon is Satan, God's enemy, who is thrown out of heaven by Michael and, using the Roman Empire as an instrument (Rev. 12–13; 16:13), makes war on Christians. In Revelation 20:2, an angel imprisons the dragon for a thousand years, at the end of which he is thrown into the fiery lake.

Dream of Mordecai the first of the aprocryphal, Greek additions to the biblical Book of Esther. This addition describes a dream in which Israel is seen undergoing terrible calamities and evils. At the

end, the Israelites are saved from disaster. The text probably dates from the late second or early first century B.C.E. Neither Jews nor Protestants consider it part of the canonical Bible, but Catholics do accept it.

drunkenness Since the planting of the first vineyard by Noah (Gen. 9:18–25), drinking too much wine is pictured in the Bible as a sign of wicked self-indulgence. In ancient Israel, parents with a rebellious and stubborn son who refuses to obey them are told in Deuteronomy 21:18–21 to turn him over to the town authorities for execution. He is to be identified publicly as "a glutton and drunkard" and to be put to death by stoning at the hands of the whole community. Proverbs 23:20–21 warns all heavy drinkers of wine that they will end up in poverty, dressed in rags.

In both the wisdom literature and the writings of Israel's prophets, drunkenness is a common image for those who are interested only in personal gain and in sexual satisfaction. They will find themselves in a hopeless condition within society and under the judgment of God. God causes the fools of this earth to "wander in a pathless waste" and to "stagger like a drunkard" (Job 12:24–25). Those who find themselves in such a condition should "cry to the Lord in their trouble," so that they may be "brought out from their distress" (Ps. 108:27–28). The earth itself, as it awaits the final judgment of God, "will be utterly broken" and "stagger like a drunkard" (Isa. 24:19–20). Those who claim to be prophets but do not understand God's purpose for his people become so involved with their own foolish, misguided notions that they are compared with drunkards: "Stupefy yourselves and be in a stupor; blind yourselves and be blind. Be drunk, but not from wine; stagger, but not from strong drink! For the Lord has poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep; he has closed your eyes, you prophets, and covered your heads, you seers" (Isa. 29:9–10).

The prophet Jeremiah is discouraged by the self-serving religious leaders among his own people and is so certain of their being punished by God that he has "become like a drunkard, like one overcome with wine" (Jer. 23:9). In a similar way, the destruction of the leaders of the nations that have oppressed Israel is described in Jeremiah's prophecy to them from "the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: Drink, get drunk and vomit; fall and rise no more" (Jer. 25:17–27). When God's punishment has fallen on these "oppressors of Israel," the slaughter of them will be so extensive that they will become "drunk with their own blood as with wine." Similarly, in Ezekiel 39:17–20 Israel is told that, as a result of the slaughter of the great enemy of God's people, Gog, they will "eat the flesh of the mighty and drink the blood of the princes of the earth . . . until they are drunk." The prophet Nahum foretells that the enemies of Israel will become "entangled with thorns" and "drunk like drunkards." The uncontrolled excess of drunkenness is thus a common image for the fate of those who oppose God's purpose for his people.

The use of wine in moderation, however, was an important aspect of religious practice in Israel, as in the wine offering (Exod. 29:40; Lev. 23:3; Num. 15:7). In the Dead Sea community, a shared cup of wine was a central feature of the expectation of the two Messiahs who were to bring in the new age (1 QSa2), as the early Christians' cup of wine was "the symbol of the new covenant in [Jesus'] blood" (1 Cor. 11:25–26). The abundance of wine, water, and milk was a sign of the new relationship between God and his people, "the everlasting covenant" (Isa. 55:1–3).

Drusilla (c. 38–79 C.E.) daughter of King Agrippa I. She was married to Azizus, king of Emesa, by her brother, Agrippa II. Soon after this marriage, Antoninus Felix, procurator of Judea (52–60), persuaded her to leave Azizus and marry him (in 55?). Acts of the Apostles (24:24–26) reports that Drusilla and Felix met with Paul the Apostle to discuss virtue and the judgment (58 C.E.).

dualism a construct that divides reality into two opposing principles. One major form of dualism is cosmic in scope and pits gods against one another. Canaanite religion describes the conflicts of Baal with Yam (sea) and Mot (death), and some biblical texts reflect this mythic tradition, as well as a battle between Leviathan and an unnamed deity (YHWH in the Bible), perhaps to be associated with El's creation of the world. Iranian Zoroastrian texts present a more severe cosmic/ethical dualism, which posits the existence of an Evil Being coordinate and coeternal with primal Good. Although this religious tradition was put into written form only in the early centuries of the Common Era, it is of great antiquity, and it may have influenced Israelite thought from the exile onward.

However one solves this historical question, Jewish texts written after the exile in Babylon increasingly depict a cosmic conflict between God and the personified forces of evil, or God's angelic chieftain and his forces and a chief evil spirit and his forces. The former is often identified as Michael, while the evil spirit is called by a variety of names. The nature of the conflict varies from

text to text. One set of myths focuses on a heavenly revolt. According to 1 Enoch 6–16, Shemihazah and his hosts confound the distinction between heaven and earth by mating with women and spawning malevolent offspring, and Asael and other spirits reveal heavenly secrets. In Isaiah 14, Day Star (Heb.: *helel*), the son of Dawn, strives to sit on God's throne. Daniel 8–12 applies this myth to the battle between Michael and his hosts and the spirit powers behind Antiochus IV. Both 1 Enoch and Daniel employ primarily a military metaphor; generals and their armies clash on heavenly battlefields. The military conflict also has a judicial aspect. God's high angel executes judgment against the arrogant oppressive activity of Israel's enemies. The opposition of an accusing and a defending angel also appears in many texts apart from revolt myths and warfare imagery.

The Qumran Community Rule (1QS3–4) presents perhaps the starkest form of dualism in Jewish texts, maintaining that God has appointed two spirits, the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, to rule over humans by influencing them for good or evil. Although God is the sovereign creator and judge, aspects of the text and its imagery suggest influence from Iranian dualism, something not unambiguously evident in other Jewish texts, except perhaps 1 Enoch 108.

Thus many texts of the period explain the origins of evil and the causes of sin by positing a spirit realm that corresponds to the earthly realm. Battle between nations are functions of heavenly clashes; indeed, in the Qumran War Scroll, the two realms collapse as the Children of Light intermingle with Michael and his hosts in the eschatological battle against the Kittim and Belial and his hosts. In other cases, oppression, devastation, sickness, and sin are functions of evil spirits. Whatever the specific origins of the worldview, it reflects a deepened sense that the world is not right and that humans are victimized by forces they cannot see and cannot conquer with their own resources.

The principal locus for this dualism is in the apocalyptic literature of the Graeco-Roman period. Its thoroughgoing dualism also has spacial and temporal dimensions. Heaven is where God's will is done, while earth is the locus of devastation and injustice. The present unjust and evil time is contrasted with a future age on the other side of a final judgment that will make all things right. Although the seeds of these ideas are present in the exilic and postexilic prophets, the converging and highlighting of these dualisms of space and time emerge in the apocalyptic literature, which resolves the problems of the here-and-now present by positing the seer's revelations of the heavenly world and the future judgment and new age.

An anthropological dualism begins to emerge in some early Jewish texts. For the most part, the Hebrew Bible views human beings as holistic entities. Flesh, spirit, and nefesh (soul) denote what people are in one aspect or another but do not refer to separate components of their make-up. The beginnings of an anthropological dualism are evident in texts that posit a significant postmortem existence. Early texts are vague and do not indicate a sharp dualism, but some depict the continued existence and reward and punishment of the spirit or soul after death and apart from the body. Some later texts envision a restoration of the body-spirit/soul unity through a resurrection of the body, while others, influenced by some Greek thought and its dichotomy between the material and the spiritual, speak of the immortality of the souls of the righteous. None of these Jewish texts, however, make a distinction between a material world that is essentially inferior to the heavenly or spiritual realm. What is wrong with this world and human life is not due to defects in creation, but results from the activity of spirit powers gone awry and from human sin that results from this.

Although some Jewish and Christian texts describe the chief evil spirit as the ruler of this present age and the one who presides over a world that has been plunged into darkness (Gospel of John), they stop short of depicting the creation as evil. Gnosticism, however, deviates from Jewish and Christian tendency to resist an absolute dualism. Creation itself is the result of the heavenly revolt, the creator is identified as the evil spirit Sammael, and the created world is essentially evil. Salvation comes through revealed knowledge that facilitates the release of the divine element from its material embodiment and its return to its heavenly place of origin. This system synthesizes a radicalized apocalyptic world view with the sharp dualism typical of late Platonism, and justifies itself through an inverted exegesis of the Genesis creation accounts. Its creative matrix must have been an exceedingly dismal experience of the world and human existence. *See also* DEVIL; EVIL, ORIGINS OF; LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

dukhan *see* PLATFORM

Dukhenen medieval term for the synagogue priestly benediction. It is derived from the Hebrew term *dukhan,* the temple platform from which the benediction of the people is said to have been pronounced.

Dura Europos city in ancient Syria founded by Seleucus I c. 300 B.C.E. and destroyed in a Sassanid siege in 256 C.E. The Parthians, inheritors of the Persian realms, captured Dura in the middle of the second century B.C.E. It remained a successful Parthian commercial center and dominated east-west trade. Rome captured Dura during the course of the second century C.E. It remained in Roman hands until its destruction. Dura had many ethnic and religious groups within the city, as indicated by the sanctuaries unearthed there. Sanctuaries honoring the traditional Greek and Roman gods abounded, as did sanctuaries to lesser known deities. A church contemporaneous with the synagogue was also destroyed in 256 C.E. The synagogue was found in the west side of the city about a block from the city wall. It was a house converted to public use. In its first phase an entryway opened from the street on the west into a long hall that led to an open courtyard with porches on two sides. From the courtyard one could enter four rooms of the five in the building. The long hall against the west wall was the prayer hall. It contained benches on four walls which sat about forty people and had two doors in its east wall and a niche or Torah shrine in its west wall. The prayer hall was nearly 11 by 5 meters, which is not so large as a sanctuary, but understandable as part of a house. In its second phase, dedicated as a synagogue in 245 C.E., the next house to the east was incorporated into the synagogue complex. The main entrance was also relocated in the east. This purchase of new space gives an idea of the relative prosperity of the Jewish community in the middle of the third century. Two of the rooms off the open courtyard were incorporated into the enlarged courtyard with colonnaded porches on three sides.

The prayer hall was built to fit within the architecture so that worship focused on the shrine in the long, west wall. This is a broadhouse in terms of its architecture. The benches on all four walls give no hint that there was provision for separate seating for women. The prayer hall was expanded to extend the entire width of the building or about 13 meters internally. Now about sixty-seven could sit on the benches around the four walls. Next to the Torah shrine was an elder's seat.

The main importance of the Dura Synagogue is, however, its art. All four walls and the ceiling were covered with narrative art drawn from the Bible. These paintings depict biblical characters in Persian costume that was contemporary with those who came to worship: the Exodus, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the return of the ark from Philistia, Jerusalem and Solomon's Temple, the dedication of the tabernacle with Aaron and his sons, the Israelite camp in the Sinai, Pharaoh and the infancy of Moses, Mordecai and Esther, Elijah raises the widow's son, consecration of the Tabernacle, the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, Elijah and the widow of Sarepta, Jacob at Bethel, Hannah and Samuel at Shiloh, the battle of Ebenezer, Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones, David and Saul in the wilderness, and Belshazzar's Feast. Three of the panels elude identification. A total of six of these panels were destroyed in the siege.

The area above and around the Torah shrine, which is an aedicula crafted to extend into the prayer hall, is provided with more paintings of a more symbolic character. Here on the arch above the entry into the shrine one sees a depiction of the facade of the temple with a Torah shrine or Holy of Holies of the temple within the facade. To the left stands a menorah with lulab and etrog. To the right is the binding of Isaac. Above and behind this painting is possibly a tree of life, a table with a cushion, and two lions beside a stand. Biblical scenes were above and to the right and left of this symbolic set. Evidently these symbolic paintings were important to the Dura worshipers, but we no longer know their meaning. In any case, this is the most heavily decorated synagogue in either the diaspora or in Palestine. The painters copied neither Parthian narrative art nor Roman portraiture but developed compositions of their own style.

Dura Europos, Jews in The archaeological finds at a synagogue in Dura Europos allow some inferences to be made concerning a diaspora community otherwise unknown. The synagogue began in a small house in the late first century C.E., and then was enlarged with the renovation of a larger house in the third century, indicating that the Jewish community had grown. (The benches could seat about sixty-five worshipers.) Like Christian, Mithraic, and Graeco-Semitic installations, the synagogue was on a residential street and lacking in prominence. The synagogue paintings suggest acquaintance with complex Jewish traditions. An inscription mentions a synagogue member, Samuel the Priest. The presence of local gods in the paintings in place of the biblical Dagon testifies to attempts to preserve Jewish identity. The costumes of figures reflect Parthian and other local influences. This community in a fortress and trading post at the edge of the Roman Empire was open to multiple influences from East and West and represents one of the many local adaptations made by Jewish communities in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean region.

Durran a style of poetry named after Amram Darah, whose poetry is the earliest found in the Samaritan prayer book, the Defter. A regular feature of the common Samaritan liturgy is a reading of a Durran amid biblical readings and hymns.

Like free verse, these poems base their artistry and craft in the imagery and power of the words, rather than any set structure. Some consider Amram Darah's work as prose rather than poetry. It has been called less sophisticated than later Samaritan poetry because of the lack of formulae and the complete absence of acrostic poetry found in the Hebrew Bible and later Samaritan poetry.

The fervor of these poems reflects the intensity its author saw infused into the world by the Creator: "Praised be the One who lit for all the world a torch that never dies; it passes over the firmament and lights all the world . . . He lit for the world a torch that is never extinguished."

Other theological ideas are present in the Durran. For example, it offers glimpses into the Rautah, or Day of God's Favor: "Peace comes," "His mercies are spread forth," "misfortune is removed," "wickedness is withdrawn," and "protection is upon them." Belief in the coming end of the era of Divine Disfavor (Fanutah) and the inauguration of the Day of Favor (Rautah) and belief in an expected "messiah" (Taheb), a prophet like Moses, are found very early in Samaritan thought. The idea of the two eras could have its antecedent at Qumran or in general apocalyptic thought. Messianic notions are found in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and at Qumran. The Durran witnesses the fusion of these two ideas in a single eschatological event: "Happy is the Taheb and happy are his disciples who are like him, and happy is the world when he, who brings his peace with him, comes and reveals the Divine favor and purifies Mount Gerizim."

dwelling, God's *see* SHEKHINAH

dynameis (Gr., powers) term frequently used in reference to the attributes of God in Jewish writers in Greek, such as Philo of Alexandria. In Philo's writings, God's attributes are often treated as *hypostases*; that is, they are discussed and viewed as if they were separate divinities in their own right, alongside God. God's powers include his creative power and his ruling power, which Philo finds allegorized in a variety of biblical imagery. One graphic biblical model interprets the cherubim guarding the Garden of Eden as the two powers, while the sword is the Logos, their superior.

Dystros name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Shebat (January/February) and sometimes to the month Adar (February/March).

E

eagle **1.** motif that occurs frequently, largely in a metaphorical sense, in early Jewish and Christian literature. The eagle is noted mainly for its size, strength, majesty, and ability to fly at high altitudes. In the Hebrew Bible it is a predator (Deut. 28:49), a soaring flier (Prov. 23:5), and a symbol of kingship (Ezek. 17:3, 7). In the visions of Ezekiel (1:10) and John of Patmos (Rev. 4:7), it is connected with divinity. Revelation 8:13 cites the high-flying eagle as a messenger or agent of God, as do 2 Baruch 77:17–26, 4 Baruch 7:1–21, and Pseudo-Philo 48:1. In 4 Ezra 11–12, the eagle is a symbol of the evil Roman Empire.

2. important figurative motif in ancient Jewish art that is especially notable in synagogue art. The eagle is usually represented in the "Oriental" or "Syrian" tradition: wings outstretched, body rounded, legs stout, and head turned to one side. Feathers are usually not depicted realistically but resemble petals of flowers. Eagles sometimes have garlands in their beaks, but the eagles in the synagogue art of the Golan Heights often attack snakes or have snakes in their beaks, which may be a bow in the direction of "realism," since, in fact, the short-toed eagle in the Golan Heights feeds on snakes. Most eagles appear on the fronts of lintels in the main entrance, but they also appear on capitals and building stones. At least one eagle was "tucked away" on the bottom of the lintel of the major entrance at Gush Halav. An eagle with folded wings also appears on coins of Herod the Great, which may reflect Herod's attempt to erect a great golden eagle over the Temple's main gate. Eagles also appear in mosaic floors of synagogues and on lamps. We have at least eighteen eagles in Jewish synagogue art from the third to the sixth century, perhaps reflecting the statement in Midrash Rabbah Exodus 23:14, where the eagle is identified as the most exalted of the birds.

Early Judaism phrase coined by scholars to refer to the period from around 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E., the time after the last books of the Tanakh (Old Testament) were written and before the composition of the Mishnah, the earliest rabbinic writing. (The dates assigned to this period vary. Some scholars begin it in 300 B.C.E., or end it in 100 C.E.; there is an overlap between Early Judaism and the Second Temple period from around 520 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) The phrase "literature of Early Judaism" is used to designate the books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the writings of Josephus and Philo (but not the New Testament). Early Judaism replaces the previous designation of this period as Late Judaism (Spätjudentum), with its implication that this period represented a decline compared with the pure Judaism of the Bible and that Judaism effectively ended with the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. Scholars now use the term Early Judaism for the period because it was during this time that the terms "Jews" (to designate the people of Israel) and "Judaism" (to designate their religion) first became current. *See also* ISRAEL.

earth, inherit the expression that describes the earthly eschatological blessing that awaits the

righteous. Psalm 37, a formative text for the use of this expression, emphasizes that the righteous, who have suffered oppression from the wicked, will "possess the land" (vv. 3, 9, 11, 22, 29, 34). "Land" (Heb.: *aretz*) in this context refers not to the earth, as opposed to heaven, but to the Land of Israel, or parts of it from which the people have been disinherited or removed by force. The extant part of one of the Qumran commentaries on the Psalms is devoted mainly to an exposition of this Psalm that envisions the vindication of the community against their enemies (4QpPs^a 1–4). Following this line of interpretation, the Parables of Enoch make the point in negative form, "thereafter it will not be the mighty and the exalted who possess the land" (1 Enoch 38:4). The beatitude ascribed to Jesus in Matthew 5:5 is a veritable quotation of Psalm 37:11, declaring the meek as fortunate because they will inherit the land/earth. Common to all of these texts is the belief that the locus of eschatological blessing and salvation is not in heaven, but on the earth and, it would seem, in the Land of Israel.

earthquake of 31 B.C.E. In the spring of Herod the Great's seventh year of rule, an earthquake caused great destruction and loss of life among people (30,000 killed in Josephus's estimate) and cattle. Evidence of the earthquake can be seen in a cracked cistern and other destruction at Qumran. The earthquake demoralized Herod's army, which was fighting a war against the Nabatean Arabs in Transjordan, until Herod rallied them and successfully routed the Arabs.

Eastern Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, EASTERN

Ebel Rabbati *see* SEMAḤOT

eber min haḥai a limb [severed] from that which is alive, which, according to rabbinic law, is forbidden for consumption, the eating of which renders one culpable for forty lashes. The restriction applies to any amount of meat taken from a living domesticated animal, wild animal, or fowl (T. Zabim 5:12; B. Ḥullin 101b–102a). Flesh from a living human being is clean, while bone matter is unclean as though it were from a corpse (M. Ḥullin 9:8). Rabbinic Judaism understands the proscription against eating a limb severed from a living beast to be one of the seven obligations incumbent upon all humanity.

eber min hamet a limb from that which is dead. This category is of interest in a case in which a creature had a dangling limb while alive and then died (M. Ḥullin 9:8; B. Ḥullin 129b). At issue is whether or not, after the death, the dangling limb is treated under the category of a limb severed from a still-living creature (eber min haḥai). If it is, then in the case of an animal, it is forbidden for consumption but does not render unclean as carrion does. By contrast, if the limb is treated as separated after death, then if it is from an animal, it is carrion, and if it is from a human, it is corpse-matter, which is unclean in the minimum quantity of an olive's bulk.

Ebionites reference to Jewish Christians in early Christian literature. It is the Greek transliteration of the Aramaic "servant," or "poor." One finds the title "the poor" used at Qumran (Commentary on Ps. 37, 2.9; 3.10; Commentary on Habakkuk 12.3), in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament (Gal. 2:10; Rom. 15:26) with various positive religious overtones. The first Christian author to use the name Ebionites as a direct reference to Jewish Christians is Irenaeus of Lyon in his five-volume work *Adversus haereses* (I.26.2), written in the latter part of the second century. He notes that they reject Paul as an apostate from the law, and read only Matthew's gospel; they profess a special veneration for Jerusalem and keep true to the law, the observance of circumcision, and a Jewish way of life. In their beliefs they refuse the legend of Jesus' virgin birth; in their eucharistic liturgy they use unleavened bread and substitute water for wine. Soon after Irenaeus, Tertullian of Carthage (*De carne Christi* 14) reported that they recognized Jesus as a "mere man." Origen of Alexandria (c. 330–350) added that the Ebionites of Egypt observed the Passover; he knew of one group of Ebionites who accepted the virgin birth of Jesus. Tertullian (*De praescriptione haereticorum* IV.8) and Hippolytus of Rome spoke of a heretical leader, Ebion, and this allowed them to categorize the Ebionites as a sect. Their lead was followed by Latin antiheretical writers, such as Epiphanius of Salamis, who quoted excerpts from a gospel identified by modern scholars as the Gospel of the Ebionites (*Panarion* 30.3.7). Origen mentioned the same gospel several times and cites it in his commentary of the Gospel of John (*In Johannem* II.12). Epiphanius also knew of a book of the Ebionites called the *Periodoi* of Peter (*Panarion* 30.15.1) and a work entitled *Anabathmoi* of James (30.16.6–7). The last two writings were familiar to the anonymous authors of the so-called Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions,* which date from the third century. The Ebionites must have appropriated the *Homilies* at an early stage and interpolated them with additions that stressed Peter's prominence over Paul. Later in the third century the *Recognitions* corrected the anti-Pauline

bias in conformity with what was then orthodox dogma. But the leadership of Peter and James, of Ebionite origin, became a common tradition. Near the end of the third century, Eusebius of Caesarea theorized that the Ebionites were among the Christians who fled Jerusalem for Pella shortly before 70 C.E. (*Onomasticon* 138, 24–25).

Ebr. *see* DE EBRIETATE

Ecclesiastes, Targum to *see* KOHELET, TARGUM

Ecclesiasticus *see* SIRACH, WISDOM OF

ecstasy (from Gr.: *ekstasis,* astonishment) often used in a technical sense to mean a state of trance, especially when undergoing a mystical experience. It is thought that prophetic revelations sometimes or often came to the prophet in a condition of ecstasy.

Eden the garden that was the home of the first human beings (Gen. 2:15; 3:23, 24). The word has been traced back to the Sumerian *eden,* meaning "steppe." More likely the Hebrew *eden* has its regular meaning of delight or luxury and refers to the food in the Garden (Gen. 2:9). Thus, the Septuagint translators regularly render *eden* by the Greek *tryphē* (luxury). In Isaiah 51:3, Ezekiel 36:35, and Joel 2:3, Eden or the Garden of Eden symbolize fertility in contrast to desolation, and the first two of these passages anticipate a time in the future when God will turn the desolate land into a place of luxury and fertility. Ezekiel 28, which presents a variant form of the story in Genesis 2–3, identifies "Eden, the garden of God" as "the mountain of God" (Ezek. 28:13–14).

In its retelling of Genesis 2–3, Jubilees 3:9–35 employs the name "Garden of Eden" eight times. Jubilees 4:26 mentions it as one of God's four holy places on earth. Since the other three are mountains, the mountain identity of the place in Ezekiel 28 seems to be implied. According to Jubilees 4:23, the Garden of Eden is the place where Enoch permanently dwells (cf. 1 Enoch 106:8; 1QApGen 2:23). The mythic geography of 1 Enoch 20–32, in effect, divides Eden into two locales. According to chapters 24 and 25, the tree of life stands on a high mountain in the far northwest, where God will descend in the end-time, while, according to chapter 32, "the garden of righteousness" (32:3), the place of the first parents' sin, is located in the far northeast and contains "the tree of wisdom" (cf. Ezek. 28:2–7, 12, 17), which is identified with the tree of knowledge in Genesis 3:3–6. 2 Esdras 3:6 states that the garden to which the first human was brought had been created before the earth appeared. In time, the Septuagint translation *paradeisos tēs tryphēs* (garden of delight) gives way to the Jewish and Christian use of *paradeisos* as a proper name for the primordial home of the first humans and the place of eschatological bliss. *See also* PARADISE.

Edessa present-day Urfa, a city in the Euphrates Valley, in Asiatic Turkey. Until the first century C.E., it was a border area, frequently changing between Parthian and Roman control. The Palestinian Targum has Edessa for Erech at Genesis 10:10. Despite a paucity of references in Jewish sources, Jews appear to have lived in Edessa early on. In the second century C.E., Edessa was ruled by Abgar VII, son of the previously converted Izates of Adiabene. In this period, the apostle Addai is reported to have stayed there with a Jew named Tobias and to have converted him and other Jews to Christianity. The Syriac Edessa Chronicle reports an order of the emperor in 411 C.E. to build a convent on the site of a synagogue, though other sources suggest that the bishop of that period was friendly toward Jews. In the wars of 610–642 C.E., Edessan Jews supported the Persians against Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor.

Edom a land southeast of the Land of Israel, encompassing Mount Seir (Deut. 1:2) or "the land of Seir" (Gen. 36:30); in rabbinic writings, an enemy of the people of Israel, specifically, Rome. This may be because the Herodians were descended from converts to Judaism of Edomite origin. In scripture, Edom is described as having taken advantage of Israel's defeat to seize parts of the land (Ezra 25:12, Obad. 11:16) and also as having participated in the destruction of the Temple (Ps. 137:7). Edom is compared to a pig and to an eagle, as is Rome, and Edom, Seir, and Esau all are symbols for Rome.

Eduyot (Heb., testimonies) Mishnah tractate formed out of collections of testimonies in the names of major authorities. The tractate is organized in the following form: Shammai, Hillel, and their Houses (chap. 1); authorities of Yabneh (chaps. 1–2); the Houses of Hillel and Shammai, with the House of Hillel in the stricter position on the law (chaps. 4–5); authorities of Yabneh (chaps. 6–7); and unit organized around the use of a common form (chap. 8). Every composition in the tractate has a primary location in some other Mishnah tractate.

Efa amora of the fourth century C.E.; in the Jerusalem Talmud, also cited as Hefa. Little of his teaching is preserved, although at B. Sanhedrin 17b (which calls him Efa b. Raḥba) and at B. Menaḥot 17a he is referred to as one of "the ingenious scholars of Pumbedita."

Efes one of the last Tannaitic authorities, active in the third century C.E. Genesis Rabbah 75:5 reports of his serving as secretary to Judah the Patriarch. Later, he headed an academy in the south, leading to his designation as Efes Daromi (the southerner). B. Shabbat 59b and B. Ketubot 103b report the unusual circumstances surrounding his appointment as head of the academy at Sepphoris.

egg's bulk measure of volume equal to one-sixth of a *log; see also* LOG

eglah arufah rite of breaking a heifer's neck in atonement for the neglect of a corpse (Deut. 21:1–9); *see also* SOTAH

Egypt traditional independent state known from the biblical period as the country of the Exodus and in later times as a province with a very large Jewish population. Most of the Jewish population of Egypt was concentrated in Alexandria from about the middle of the sixth century B.C.E. For the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. a plethora of papyri and ostraca in Aramaic attest to a Jewish military settlement near the first cataract of the Nile at ancient Elephantine. These literary sources witness to a large and thriving Jewish community that first worked as mercenaries guarding the south of Persian Egypt from its southern neighbors. They built a temple to YHWH on the island of Elephantine in the Nile. It was rebuilt after being damaged or destroyed, by what agent we do not know. They maintained Aramaic as their language for everyday life and also for international correspondence in the Persian empire, which was normal for the time. After the rise of the Ptolemies in 305 B.C.E., Jews spread into many communities, particularly from the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.E.). Since the Ptolemies allowed them to live as observant Jews, they would quickly develop indigenous Jewish traditions and associations, particularly in Alexandria. Thus they maintained their own councils of elders precisely at a time when other ethnic groups were denied that privilege. Philo Judaeus, the philosopher of the first century C.E., says that Alexandria contained one million Jews in his day, though it is doubtful that the city as a whole contained that many citizens.

Jews also maintained their own burial societies and burial grounds. Hundreds of Jewish epitaphs, principally in Greek, are known from Alexandria, mainly from about 250 B.C.E. to about the second century C.E. Other sites with large Jewish populations include Leontopolis (modern Tell el-Yahoudiyeh) about 35 miles north of Cairo, where there seems to have been a Jewish temple or other worship center. Other towns and villages with a Jewish population, according to the papyri, include Pelusium and Daphne in the eastern Delta, Schedia near Alexandria, Athribis, Bubastis and Heliopolis near Leontopolis, Memphis, Philadelphia (south of Memphis) with its cloud of at least ten Jewish villages, Arsinoe, Tebtynis, and Heracleopolis (all three close together on the west bank of the Nile), and Oxyrhyncus. There is a gap of 300 kilometers from Oxyrhyncus to Abydos before Jews are again encountered, then we find Jews again at Thebes, Diospolis Magna, Apollonopolis Magna, Ombos, and Elephantine.

Jews were to be found at every level of society. Some of those who could afford it in Alexandria took advantage of their special status and were admitted to the gymnasia. They worked as soldiers, artisans, laborers, traders, and landowners. Many of them frequented Greek courts instead of Jewish courts, and most of them appear to have spoken solely Greek by the Roman period. Many have Greek names, but Hebrew or other Semitic names are recognizable in their epitaphs.

In 38 C.E. a bloody slaughter broke out against the Jews of Alexandria fed by the jealousies of Greeks and native Egyptians. Rival delegations of Jews and Greeks appealed to the emperor Caligula in Rome. Within a few months of his accession as the new emperor, Claudius in 41 C.E. was visited by similar delegations. He responded with an edict ordering both sides to live at peace and to preserve the status quo.

Certain Greek inscriptions from Egypt reveal that a synagogue was normally called a place of prayer or a *proseuchē*. For example, an inscription of 246–221 B.C.E. says, "On behalf of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice his sister and wife and their children, the Jews [dedicated] the proseuchē." A fragmented second century B.C.E. inscription from Alexandria reads ". . . to the highest God . . . the sacred precinct and the proseuchē and the appurtenances." This was evidently a dedicatory inscription.

After the two Jewish revolts of the first and second centuries C.E., Jewish privileges were curtailed in Egypt. It was ironic, however, that Vespasian was crowned emperor on 1 July 69 C.E. in Alexandria by the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander, a distinguished member of an old Jewish family that included Philo Judaeus. Vespasian had left the prosecution of the Jewish War against Rome to his adopted son Titus, while he traveled to Egypt to accept the acclamation as emperor.

In 115 C.E., a Jewish revolt against Rome erupted in Egypt and Cyrene and quickly found sympathy

among certain Jewish elements in Cyprus, Judaea, and Mesopotamia. It was not suppressed until shortly after the accession of the emperor Hadrian in 117. Thus for three years Egypt was locked in a ferocious struggle that ended in Roman victory. Nearly a century later, a letter from Oxyrhyncus reveals that this Roman victory was still being commemorated in Egyptian households and was looked upon as a time when native Egyptians and Romans fought side by side. About eighteen years later, the Bar Kokhba Revolt was broken in Judea, and by that time the Jewish community in Egypt may have been all but annihilated, though Jewish inscriptions of the third century C.E. are known.

The Jews of Egypt make an appearance again in the polemical writings of the Christian fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. By this time it appears that the Jews had made a comeback, for the Christian clergy issue warnings to the Christian population not to attend synagogues. Evidently some Christians found Jewish worship attractive and insisted on visiting synagogue worship. This resentment against the Jews came to a head in 391 C.E. and again in 412–415 C.E. On the first date, Christian mobs destroyed the Serapeum, the great temple devoted to the worship of Serapis. On the second date, another Christian mob murdered Hypatia, the pagan teacher of philosophy. On the latter occasion, the Christian mob first attacked the Jews in the theater on the Sabbath and then expanded their atrocities not only against Jews but also against Hypatia and other pagans. Monks streamed in from the desert to take part in the rioting and other disturbances. A few epitaphs from Jaffa in ancient Palestine are of Jews from Alexandria, all of whom had Greek forms of Hebrew names: Hezekiah, Isa (Jesse or Joshua), Thamoum (Tanhoum), Simonos (Shimon), Beniamin (Benjamin), and Aa (Aha). These could be refugees, though not all the Jews fled Egypt. When the Muslims first appeared to conquer Egypt in the early seventh century, Jewish communities were again well established. *See also* ALEXANDRIA, JEWS IN.

Eighteen Benedictions *see* AMIDAH

Ekah Rabbati *see* LAMENTATIONS RABBAH

ekpyrosis (from Gr., conflagration) technical term used for a belief important to Stoics and others. According to this belief, the universe followed a preordained cycle, leading up to a final conflagration, after which everything began anew. This belief is also found in some Jewish Sibylline Oracles.

el (pl., *elim;* Heb., god) *El* was the title of the chief god of the Canaanite pantheon and later of Israel's god YHWH. At its simplest level, *elim* just means "gods"; however, given Israel's tendency to monolatry, the *elim* early degenerate into lesser deities or angels, members of YHWH's heavenly court (cf. Ps. 29:1, Deut. 32:8 [NRSV]). A strange story in Genesis 6:1–4 relates how the "sons of God," the *elim,* mate with the daughters of men to produce a race of giants. In the Second Temple period, this story became the seed that germinated many stories about the fallen angels and their counterparts, the holy angels.

Many texts from the Second Temple period preserve speculation about the nature of the heavenly beings, and the finds from Qumran indicate how important this speculation was in this strand of Judaism. 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, all found at Qumran although not composed there, feature stories about the angels (especially the fallen angels) and their role in the divine plan. In Qumran texts such as the Testament of Amram, the angels are divided into two camps, good and evil, each governed by an archangel (Michael and Belial, respectively), and each encompassing humans as well. This notion of humanity being governed by the actions of angels passes later into certain speculative branches of Judaism and also into various groups in the early Christian community (cf. Revelation).

Ela Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; also cited in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds as Hela, Ila a, Ilai, Ili, and La. Ela is primarily referred to in legal contexts, and Zeira I refers to him as "builder of the law" (Y. Gittin 7:3, 48d).

Elagabalus *see* HELIOGABALUS

Elchasai, Book of apocalyptic work named for the angel in the writing who reveals the message of the book. According to recent study, the surviving fragments suggest that the book was written c. 117 C.E., at the time of the revolts under Trajan. A male angel and female angel of enormous proportions reveal that after three years, a war will break out among the wicked angels, which will affect the kingdoms of the world. The recipient is promised protection, however, and is called on to swear to sin no more before seven witnesses (heaven, water, holy spirits, various angels). Beyond this, the contents are debatable.

Elchesaites Christian group that flourished in the first few centuries C.E. It was allegedly a baptismal group, though this has recently been disputed. What is clear is that the group used the Book of Elchasai, though the book was probably adopted by them rather than being written by them. This

suggests that the idea of a founder named Elchasai or Elxai was only imagined by the antiheretical writers and that no such individual ever existed. Other beliefs are less certain, though they seem to have included the requirement of marriage and rebaptism for serious sins. *See also* ELCHASAI, BOOK OF.

Eleazar, son of Ananias first-century-C.E. captain of the Temple guard; grandson of Nedebaeus. His father had been high priest (47–59 C.E.). In 62–64, Eleazar had to ransom his secretary, who had been captured by the Sicarii. In the procurator Florus's last days in office, Eleazar instigated the suspension of the daily sacrifice for the emperor at the Temple, a clear act of rebellion. This led to the burning of the houses of the wealthy, including his father's house, and the siege of the Roman garrison. After Jerusalem had been secured in 66 C.E. he was sent with Jesus ben Sapphias, another high priest, as military commander in Idumea.

Eleazar b. Arak Tannaitic authority active at the end of the first century C.E. He was one of the five disciples of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, who called him "a surging spring" (M. Abot 2:8). He is known for a very few aphorisms reported in his name, including that found at M. Abot 2:14: "Be constant in learning of Torah; and know what to reply to an Epicurean; and know before whom you work, for your employer can be depended upon to pay your wages for what you can do." According to B. Ḥagigah 14b, he had expert knowledge of mystical speculation.

Eleazar b. Azariah Tannaitic authority of priestly descent, active at Yabneh in the first and second centuries C.E. While active in both legal and exegetical studies, he is cited much more frequently in the latter area. He is known particularly for the exegetical devices of juxtaposing biblical verses so that they illuminate each other and of *a fortiori* arguments. He is recalled for his great wealth (B. Berakhot 57b) and wisdom (B. Sotah 49b).

Eleazar b. Azariah served as patriarch during the period in which Gamaliel II was deposed. Talmudic tradition holds that he was only eighteen years old upon appointment but that overnight his hair turned gray, giving him an appearance appropriate to his position of authority. Upon Gamaliel's reinstatement, Eleazar b. Azariah served as *ab beit din*.

Eleazar b. Dinai first-century C.E. brigand described in rabbinic literature and referred to as son of Deinaeus by Josephus. He operated in the mountains for many years. During the governorship of Cumanus (48–52 C.E.), he led the Jewish people in a retaliatory raid against Samaritan villages after some Galilean pilgrims had been killed in Ginae (present-day Jenin). He was captured and sent to Rome by the procurator Felix. M. Sotah 9:9 describes him as having caused so many murders that the rite of breaking a heifer's neck when a corpse was found was discontinued. A late midrash (Song of Songs 2, 7, 1) uses Dinai as an example of someone attempting to hasten the end rather than wait for the Messiah.

Eleazar b. Eleazar haKappar *see* BAR KAPPARA

Eleazar b. Ḥarsum high priest listed at B. Yoma 9a. His mother reportedly made him a tunic worth 20,000 minas that the other priests would not allow him to wear, because in it, he looked as though he were naked (B. Yoma 35b; Y. Yoma 3:6, 40d). While Eleazar is mentioned numerous times in the rabbinic literature, it is impossible to determine when he lived.

Eleazar b. Judah Tannaitic authority of the beginning of the second century C.E., often referred to as "of Bartota," an unknown locality. He is remembered for his generosity (see M. Abot 3:7 and, e.g., B. Taanit 24a) and his admonition against neglecting the separation of dough offering (B. Shabbat 32b).

Eleazar b. Parta Tannaitic authority of the early second century C.E., arrested by the Romans for the capital offenses of publicly teaching Torah and observing Jewish law. The Talmud holds that he was saved because of his dedication to Torah (B. Abodah Zarah 17b).

Eleazar b. Pedat (d. 279 C.E.) Palestinian amora, referred to always without the patronymic. In the Palestinian Talmud, he generally is called Lazar. He was born in Babylonia, where he studied with Samuel (B. Erubin 66a) and Rab (B. Ḥullin 111b). According to the Babylonian Talmud, he was also Yoḥanan's student in Tiberias (B. Baba Batra 135b), although the Jerusalem Talmud presents the relationship more as that of associates. After Rab's death, Eleazar traveled to the Land of Israel, where he studied under Ḥanina in Sephoris (Y. Kilaim 9:4, 32c). Additionally, he studied in Caesaria under Hoshayah Rabbah, whom he calls "father of the Mishnah" (Y. Kiddushin 1:3, 60a). Y. Kiddushin 1:4 (60b) also refers to him as a student of Ḥiyya Rabbah.

Eleazar is a frequently cited authority whose approach to interpretation of the Mishnah had a significant impact upon talmudic study. He evaluated mishnaic passages in light of nonmishnaic Tannaitic statement (*beraitot*) and showed a particular concern for determining which authority

stands behind individual mishnaic rules. As an aspect of this approach, he often identified contradictory mishnaic statements and rejected rules whose source he could not determine (B. Baba Metzia 51a). In addition to his legal study, Eleazar is cited frequently in midrashic settings and is known for statements such as "Even when a sword rests on a man's neck, he should not give up hope of mercy" (B. Berakhot 10a).

Eleazar b. Shamua Tannaitic authority active in the mid-second century C.E., generally referred to without the patronymic. A priest, he was one of the last students of Akiba (B. Yebamot 62b) and, after the Bar Kokhba Revolt, was one of the scholars ordained by Judah b. Baba. The confusion between the names Eleazar and Eliezer makes it difficult to determine the extent or exact content of Eleazar b. Shamua's teachings. He was, however, highly regarded by early talmudic masters. Rab called him the happiest of the sages (B. Ketubot 40a), and Yohanan recalled him in similar terms (B. Erubin 53a). Eleazar b. Shamua is listed among the ten martyrs of the Hadrianic persecutions.

Eleazar b. Simeon b. Yohai Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E.; son and student of Simeon b. Yohai, with whom he is said to have hidden in a cave for thirteen years (B. Shabbat 33b). Later, Eleazar accepted a Roman administrative position (B. Pesahim 112a), which led to his being censured by Joshua b. Karhah, who referred to him as "vinegar, son of wine" (B. Baba Metzia 83b). After his death, however, he was praised as a master of scripture and Mishnah, a writer of liturgical supplications, and a poet (Lev. Rabbah 30:1).

Eleazar b. Tzadok I Tannaitic authority at the beginning of the second century C.E. Along with Abba Saul b. Batnit, he was a Jerusalem shopkeeper reputed for his honesty. He would fill measuring vessels with oil and wine, to be picked up on a festival (M. Betzah 3:8). T. Betzah 2:13–14 reports his activity at Yabneh in the house of the patriarch, Gamaliel II.

Eleazar b. Tzadok II Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E.; grandson of Eleazar b. Tzadok I. He appears in controversy with the later disciples of Akiba. He spent many years as a teacher in Babylonia, where his approaches to specific religious obligations served as legal precedents (see, e.g., B. Sukkah 44b).

Eleazar b. Yose **1.** Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E., known for his trip to Rome (with Simeon b. Yohai) to persuade the emperor to abolish edicts against Jewish religious practices (B. Meila 17a)

2. Palestinian amora of the early fourth century C.E.; perhaps the son of the head of the academy at Tiberias

Eleazar Hisma Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E. He was a student of Joshua b. Hananiah and Gamaliel II, in whose academy Eleazar reportedly held a post.

Eleazar of Modiim Tannaitic authority at the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries C.E. Except for one legal statement, he is known only for his exegetical comments, which were praised by Gamaliel II (see, e.g., B. Shabbat 55b). Y. Taanit 4:8, 68d, reports that Eleazar was Bar Kosiba's cousin and was in Betar during the final stages of the Roman siege. According to this story, as a result of a Samaritan's conspiring with the Roman enemy, Bar Kosiba was led to suspect Eleazar's loyalty and to strike and kill him. Based upon this story, some scholars conjecture that the Eleazar the priest referred to on coins from the revolt was Eleazar of Modiim. *See also* ELEAZAR THE PRIEST.

Eleazar the High Priest third-century-B.C.E. high priest mentioned in the Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates (1, 35, passim) as having been approached by an embassy from Ptolemy II Philadelphus requesting a translation of the Jewish law for the library in Alexandria. Josephus (*Ant.* 43) says that he succeeded Simon the Just, but the identity of Simon and the story are dubious. Eleazar, like Simon, is a common name for a Jewish hero and leader.

Eleazar the Priest mentioned on coins of the Bar Kosiba War (132–135 C.E.), either alone or with Bar Kosiba. Presumably Eleazar was a coleader, analogous to the high priest as leader while the Temple stood. Perhaps Eleazar's office and role imply a hope for the rebuilding of the Temple. Nothing else is known about him, though some try to identify him with Rabbi Eleazar of Modiim, described in some stories as the uncle of Bar Kosiba (B. Git. 57a), or with Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah. *See also* BAR KOSIBA, SIMON; BAR KOSIBA WAR; ELEAZAR OF MODIIM.

Eleazar the Scribe second-century-B.C.E. priest (4 Macc. 5–7) and heroic martyr during the Maccabean persecutions (2 Macc. 6). He is described as an old and respected community leader who refused to eat pork or even appear to do so at the command of Antiochus IV, endured cruel tortures, and gave exhortatory speeches, counseling loyalty to God and Judaism and pointing out the irrationality of his oppressors. The passages about him in 2 Maccabees stress the hope of immortality, and those in 4 Maccabees stress the strength of Stoic reason in the face of suffering.

election the act or result of selecting an individual or group to carry out a particular task. In the Bible and in later Jewish texts, the election intended is almost always God's choice of Abraham and his descendants to be his special people among all the nations. Genesis tells the story of how God selected Abra[ha]m and promised him the land of Canaan and numerous descendants. These promises were renewed to Abraham's son Isaac and his grandson Jacob. The twelve tribes who arose from Jacob's twelve sons became the people who fulfilled both promises when their population exploded in Egypt and the next generation gained the promised land. They are identified as the people whom the Lord chose from all the nations to be his prized, unique possession—the people whom he particularly loved, despite their modest size in comparison with other nationalities (Deut. 7:6–8). Israel, if it remained within the covenant with the electing God, would continue to be his treasured possession and serve as a kingdom of priests, a holy nation (Exod. 19:5–6). It would be set apart from other nations but also serve among them, just as was the case with priests in relation to the general populace. Later, Israel's unique status was called into question when the nation violated the laws of God (Amos 2 and 3:1–2), and eventually both the northern and southern kingdoms experienced defeat and exile. However, after some time, the anonymous prophet called Second Isaiah (Isa. 40–55) again used the language of election for the people who would return to the Land of Israel following their temporary displacement (Isa. 41:8–10, 44:1–2). The same prophet speaks of Israel's role as a light to the nations (51:4) and conduit of God's law to the peoples (42:1). In the last chapters of Isaiah (56–66), which are often attributed to a third prophet, it seems that a group within Israel is being called the chosen (e.g., 65:9).

The concept of election, whether for the larger group or an individual or both, remained alive in Early Judaism and in the New Testament. In the Apocalypse of Weeks found in 1 Enoch 93 and 91, the elect are pictured as arising in the last period of history, when they will receive special wisdom. The Dead Sea Scrolls, too, evidence the concept. The Manual of Discipline orders that the members of the group are to love all whom God has chosen and hate those He has rejected. God has elected the "sons of light" for an eternal covenant; others he did not choose. One text refers to an unknown individual as the elect of God. There is an interesting development of the theme of election in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71). There, a figure of the end-time is designated the Chosen One, and the ones whom he vindicates at the judgment are the elect.

The belief that God had elected some also plays an important role in the New Testament. Jesus himself, the Son of God, is called his Chosen One (Luke 9:35) and chosen Messiah (Luke 23:35), and his followers are designated as the ones whom God has selected. In the Gospel of John, Jesus says of his disciples that they have been chosen out of the world (15:19), and elsewhere, the members of the church are so addressed (1 Pet. 2:9). God's elect ones will endure throughout the final tribulation (e.g., Matt. 24:22–24), and eventually the Son of Man will come to gather them (24:30–31). Similar language is present in Revelation 17:14. The best-known presentation of election is found in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chapters 9–11 (8:28–39 treat related matters). There, he speaks of the divine election of Jacob (the ancestor of Israel) rather than Esau, defending it as having its own reason in God's plan. He rejects the idea that God has nullified the election of Israel by extending his call and grace to non-Israelites who believe in Christ. The purpose is to incite the Jewish people to jealousy so that they, the original recipients of God's promises and covenants, will finally be saved. The author of Ephesians writes that God has chosen believers to be holy, while the writer of James notes that he chose the poor so that they could become rich. *See also* CHOSEN ONE; CHOSEN ONES; CHOSEN PEOPLE.

Elephantine, Jews in A large batch of Aramaic papyri discovered in or near the island of Elephantine, on the upper Nile opposite Aswan, revealed the existence of a Jewish military colony on the island, settled there to defend the southern frontier of Egypt. The beginnings of the settlement antedate the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.E., and it continued in existence throughout the fifth and perhaps the early years of the fourth century B.C.E. The papyri consist of letters, including a batch written by Arsames, satrap of Egypt; contracts dealing with loans, sale of land, legacies, and marriage; a copy of the Bisitun (Behistun) inscription of Darius I; and an Aramaic version of the Words of Ahikar the Sage. The community was organized in military units and had its own temple, which was destroyed in 410 B.C.E. as a result of friction with the local Egyptian population. The temple was dedicated to the cult of YHW (Yahu?), God of Heaven, but the names of other deities—Anathbethel, Herembethel, Eshem, the Egyptian goddess Sati—appear in votive offerings and oaths,

attesting to a certain degree of syncretism, no doubt furthered by intermarriage. The contracts, including the archive of a much-married matron named Mibtahiah, throw considerable light on the daily social life of the community.

eleutheria (Gr., freedom) The term implied political rights, the difference between being a slave or a free person. In the Hellenistic age, debate centered on philosophical freedom, that is, the ability to control and master the self—rather than be a slave to passion. This concept was important to such Jewish writers as Philo.

Eleutheropolis *see* BETH GUVRIN

Eliashib fifth-century-B.C.E. high priest. He was the son of Joiakim and the grandson of Jeshua, the priest who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:10). He was high priest during the governorship of Nehemiah in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. (Neh. 3:1) and assisted in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem.

Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani a somewhat hebraized form in Matthew 27:46 of the Aramaic *elohi, elohi, lema shevaḥtani* ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me"), which is ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth during his crucifixion. The words are a quotation of Psalm 22:1, and the evangelists' use of the expression, along with other quotations and allusions to this Psalm and others, such as 34 and 69, identifies Jesus as a righteous sufferer who pleads for vindication. His use of the prayer suggests that, in the evangelists' view, Jesus believed that God would deliver him, as the psalmist had believed (Ps. 22:22–31).

Eliezer b. Hyrcanus Tannaitic authority at the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries C.E. He is generally referred to without the patronymic and sometimes is called Eliezer the Great. He wished to preserve early legal traditions (see Y. Yebamot 3:3) and hence stood in conflict with other authorities at Yabneh, who, in the face of the destruction of the Temple, worked to revise and revitalize the Jewish legal system. By contrast, Eliezer worked to limit the use of hermeneutical principles to derive new rules (see, e.g., T. Tebul Yom 1:8 and 1:10). He rejected the growing acceptance of intention as a factor in determining whether or not an individual has fulfilled his religious responsibilities. Eliezer held instead that only a physical action has legal weight (see, e.g., M. Keritot 4:3). Eliezer's conflict with his contemporaries is reflected in a story that describes the other sages' rejection of his position in an issue of cultic cleanness, a rejection they maintained despite Eliezar's demonstration of divine evidence that he was correct (B. Baba Metzia 59b). This argument led to Eliezer's excommunication, the decree being annulled only after his death (Y. Shabbat 2:6, 5b).

Eliezer reportedly was born of a wealthy family but left home in his twenties to enter the academy of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, where he quickly rose in stature. A different story suggests that he had studied and had been recognized for his potential since his youth. B. Gittin 56a reports that it was Eliezer, along with Joshua b. Ḥananiah, who carried Yoḥanan b. Zakkai in a coffin out of Jerusalem for his meeting with Vespasian during the war with Rome.

Eliezer b. Jacob I Tannaitic authority of the first century C.E., active in the period of the destruction of the Temple. He is known for his descriptions of the Temple and its rituals (see, e.g., M. Middot 1:9 and M. Arakhin 2:6). Later talmudic tradition credits him with the authorship of Mishnah Middot—on the structure and measurements of the Temple—in its entirety (B. Yoma 16a). It is difficult sometimes to differentiate the teachings of this Eliezer b. Jacob from those of Eliezer b. Jacob II.

Eliezer b. Jacob II Tannaitic authority of the second half of the second century C.E. Along with Judah b. Ilai, Meir, Simeon b. Yoḥai, and Yose the Galilean, he was among Akiba's younger students who survived the Hadrianic persecutions.

Eliezer b. Yose the Galilean Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E., a younger disciple of Akiba (B. Berakhot 63b). After the Bar Kokhba revolt, he had an important role in establishing the center of rabbinic learning in Usha (Song of Songs Rabbah 2:5). Eliezer was known for his exegetical sayings (B. Ḥullin 89a), which comprise the bulk of the materials found in his name in the talmudic literature. His expertise in this area resulted in the attribution to him of a posttalmudic compilation of exegetical principles known as the Beraita of the Thirty-two Rules. This text is known only from citations in medieval commentators, including Rashi.

Elijah (Heb.: Eliyahu; Gr.: Ēlias/Hēlias) Judean prophet during the reign of Ahab (1 Kings 17–19; 2 Kings 1–2), around whom traditions developed of his eschatological return (Mal. 4:5–6). The sequence of miraculous and agonistic episodes about Elijah in 1–2 Kings suggests that stories of the hero Elijah had already become a folklore cycle before their addition in the biblical texts. The association between Elijah's status as charismatic leader and his performance of miracles suggests further that the Elijah cycle reflected a model of ideal charismatic leadership in ancient Israelite society (cf. Deut. 18:15–22) based in traditions of Moses

(e.g., 2 Kings 2:8). Out of this model of ideal prophet evolved speculations about an eschatological prophet (Mal. 4:5) who would serve as restorer of the social order (Mal. 4:6; Ecclus. 48:10). By the Tannaitic period the eschatological Elijah was thus imagined as the ultimate arbiter of unsettled legal and ritual questions (M. Eduyyot 8:7; M. Baba Metzia 1:8, 2:8, 3:4–5; cf. 1 Macc. 4:46, 14:41); for whether scholastic, familial, or social, discord was viewed as an obstacle to the Messiah. As eschatological speculations developed during the Roman period and both Jewish and Christian scribes focused upon the signs of the end-times, Elijah assumed a more esoteric role as the revealer of the eschatological adversary, with whom (in some texts) he would engage in actual combat (usually in combination with Enoch; cf. Apoc. Elijah 4:7–19, 5:32–34).

Two other important traditions developed in connection with Elijah's eschatological return. Through the similarity of one form of his Greek name *Hēlias* to *hēlios* (sun), the image of Elijah in his heavenly chariot (2 Kings 2:11) came to be conceived after the traditional Greek image of the sun on its chariot (cf. Sib. Or. 2:187–189). Thus, it has been suggested, Elijah appears in the center of the zodiac on the floor of the sixth-century synagogue of Beth Alpha. In another tradition that probably developed to explain the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and John the Baptist, some early Christians came to fix Elijah as the precursor to the Messiah (Mark 9:11–13; Matt. 11:13–14) and even the one who annoints him (Justin, *Dial.* 8.4, 49.1).

In times of religious ferment the Elianic model of ideal prophet became actualized in prophetic movements led by Elijahs *redivivi* (cf. Mark 6:15). Historical prophet figures who have been recognized as expressing Elianic characteristics in dress, speech, and location vis-à-vis society include John the Baptist (Mark 1:4–6; Luke 3:7–9 [Q]) and Jesus ben Hananiah (Josephus, *War* 6.5.3, secs. 301–309), both of early Roman Palestine (cf. also Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 7.9). Jesus may also have been viewed at an early stage after the model of Elijah (Mark 6:15; cf. Luke 12:49; Mark 5:35–43 [after 1 Kings 17:17–24]).

Since he was translated to heaven alive, Elijah was believed in early Jewish (and some Christian) traditions to be a perennial representative for humans, both in his status as citizen of the heavenly paradise (1 Enoch 89:52, 90:31; B. Der. Er. Zut. 1:18) and as a heavenly mediator, helper, and revealer for mankind. He assumes different forms in order to instruct or help the righteous or to punish the wicked. He is the master interpreter of Torah and the revealer of its hidden meanings; and in this latter function he continued to be venerated in the Kabbalistic tradition.

Elijah, Apocrypha of including variously the following: Books of Elijah, Book of Elijah, Sefer Eliahu, Prophecy of Elijah, Apocalypse of Elijah. At least three individual texts framed as revelations of Elijah were in circulation in antiquity.

(1) A Christian eschatological discourse (perhaps based on prior Jewish and Egyptian oracular fragments) that is entitled Apocalypse of Elijah in one manuscript and cited as the Prophecy of Elijah in Didymus the Blind's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (235, 26–28; on Eccl. 8:4–5). It is preserved in four incomplete Coptic manuscripts (Sahidic[1] and Achmimic: Berlin staatl. Mus. P. 1862 + Paris Bibl. nat. copte 135; Sahidic[2]: B.M. 7594 colophon; Sahidic[3]: P. Chester Beatty 2018) and a Greek fragment (PSI 7), the latter implying a Greek original. Whereas the manuscripts derive from the fourth and fifth centuries, the contents of the text strongly suggest a date of composition in the second half of the third century; attempts at earlier, pre-Christian dates have been highly tendentious. Geographical details in the text and its early diversification into two Coptic recensions imply an Egyptian provenance of authorship. The text consists largely of a protracted narrative of the end-times, including deceptive leadership, social and political chaos, the advent and activities of an eschatological adversary, and the destruction and reconstitution of the world.

(2) A Hebrew Book of Elijah preserved in at least one manuscript and dated to the seventh century. Moses Buttenweiser (1897), its first serious student, argued for a third-century *Vorlage,* but this has not been generally accepted. Framing the revelation as part of the prophet Elijah's encounter with God on Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19:5–9), the book briefly describes Elijah's tour of the four directions (e.g., "a high place in flames such that no one could enter there") and then turns to a series of prophecies of eschatological events in Jerusalem.

(3) A lost book of revelations ascribed to Elijah that is cited by Didymus the Blind (*Commentary on Ecclesiastes* 92, 5, with respect to a vision of hell) and known by Origen (*Commentary on Matthew* 27:9). Its latest date of composition would be the beginning of the third century, and its language would almost certainly have been Greek. It apparently contained a tour of different heavenly regions.

There are also fragmentary narratives of Elijah's

tours of hell preserved in the Epistle of Pseudo-Titus (Latin) and the Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel (Hebrew; paralleled in Elijah de Vidas, *Reshit Ḥokhmah*). Whereas the three Elijah apocrypha above show no literary relation to each other, the details of infernal torments in Pseudo-Titus and Jeraḥmeel reflect the growth of a common tradition about measure-for-measure punishments in hell. These latter narratives may derive from a section of the lost Elijah apocryphon (3) cited by Origen and Didymus. The physiognomies of an antichrist figure in both Hebrew and Coptic Elijah texts, as well as another attributed to Elijah in a Greek fragment (Paris Grk 4, f. 228^{r}), suggest a general ascription of this kind of knowledge to a revelatory Elijah (the three physiognomies are too different to derive from a single original).

Traditions of Elijah's apocalyptic revelations undoubtedly arose in connection with his intimate encounters with God, his assumption to heaven, and the signs that would surround his eschatological return. Whereas the Hebrew Book of Elijah and the lost Elijah apocryphon seem to have crystallized around the first two motifs, the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, which concerns the signs of the end-times and of an eschatological adversary, probably developed in connection with the third. The eschatological concerns of both the Hebrew and the Coptic Elijah texts may also reflect a tendency in both Judaism and Christianity of the Roman period to associate times of historical and social stress with the appearance of Elijah. Josephus retrojects to the time of Joram (or Jehoram), the king of Judah, the notion that a vengeful "letter from Elijah" might appear in situations of gross misrule (*Ant.* 9, sec. 99). In the subsequent evolution of Elianic revelations that is evident in the Epistle of Pseudo-Titus and the Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel, Elijah's authority becomes particularly associated with tours of hell and physiognomies of an antichrist figure; and under his pseudonymous authority the specific details of these traditions continue to evolve.

The Egyptian Christian provenance of the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, the text's prophetic self-presentation, and its overall eschatological urgency together suggest a context among one of the many millennialist movements that arose in third-century Egypt (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.24), perhaps in connection with one of the many "prophetic" holy men in activity there (cf. Eusebius, *Martyrs in Palestine* [Syr.] 11.8; *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 7).

The continuing tradition of ascribing visions of hell or physiognomies of Antichrist to Elijah demonstrates the established nature of his pseudonymous authority from late antiquity through the Middle Ages in both Judaism and Christianity. There is no evidence in this continuing tradition, however, for the direct legacy of a particular Elijah apocalypse such as the lost Greek apocalypse of Elijah (3 above) that apparently contained a vision of hell.

The Coptic apocalypse of Elijah itself did achieve some renown in late antiquity. In Greek form the text was used approvingly by Didymus in Alexandria; by the Greek editor of the Tiburtine Sibyl (early sixth century) in Syria, who used it for composing details of the last days; and probably by the author of the Irish apocryphon, the Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven. In Coptic it provided eschatological details for a vision ascribed to the abbot Shenoute of Atripe in a seventh-century Arabic version of his life.

Elisha b. Abuyah Tannaitic authority born prior to the destruction of the Temple and active in the late first and early second centuries C.E.; an apostate, referred to as Aḥer (the other) to avoid explicit mention of his name. Talmudic sources report that he had a broad education both in Jewish learning and in Greek thought (B. Ḥagigah 15a–18b) and suggest that his heresy had its origin in a mystical experience, in which he, along with Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, and Akiba, entered paradise (B. Ḥagigah 14b).

Elohim *see* GOD, NAMES OF

El Shaddai *see* GOD, NAMES OF

Elul twelfth month of the Jewish calendar (August/September); season for repentance prior to the New Year, at the beginning of the next month, Tishrei

Elvira, Council of early-fourth-century synod. Elvira, the Roman Illiberis (modern Granada in southern Spain), was still a predominantly pagan city in the early fourth century C.E. Its Jewish community was ancient and outnumbered the local Christian church until the ninth century. Elvira was the site of a first national synod, dated between 295 C.E.—the ordination of Hosius of Cordoba, one of its most famous participants—and 314 C.E., the date of the Council of Ares that refers to it. There were nineteen bishops, twenty-six priests, some deacons, and laymen as delegates from thirty-seven Spanish church communities. A more precise dating would be between 306 and 314. The Council of Elvira's collection of eighty-seven disciplinary canons, handed down in its entirety, without any apparent order, is famous because it is the oldest

such collection known in the Western church. It also reflects the major problems faced by the earliest flourishing of Christianity in Spain. Rigorous measures, in the form of penalties excluding reception of the sacraments, were taken by the synod. The canons aim at a complete separation of church members from the pagan way of life. The regulation of the clergy was at the top of the synod's priorities: fornicators are excluded from communion, even on their deathbeds (canon 18); continence is imposed on married bishops, priests, or deacons (canon 33); trade is tolerated only in strict limits (canon 19); usury is forbidden (canon 20). The common believers are warned against offering sacrifices to an idol in a pagan temple, the penalty once again being privation of communion until death (canon 1). Apostasy, without such sacrifices, entails ten years of penance. Magical practice, causing death, also imposes privation of communion until death (canon 6). A heretic's return to orthodoxy requires ten years of penance (canon 22). Lay people missing Sunday liturgy three times consecutively face a temporary exclusion from the communion (canon 21). The synod recommends attendance at the Pentecost liturgy in particular (canon 43). Canons 23 and 26 urge monthly fasts, except in July and August. Pictures of Christ or the saints are excluded from the walls of churches (canon 36), satirical or defamatory pamphlets are forbidden (canon 52), and gambling is punished by one year's excommunication (canon 79). Twenty canons deal with marriage. Engagements undertaken by parents in the name of their children should not be broken without a serious reason (canon 54). No marriage is permitted between brother-in-law and sister-in-law (canon 61). A widower cannot marry his former wife's daughter whom she had conceived in a former marriage (canon 66). Christian parents who allow their daughter to become the wife of a pagan priest are excommunicated until death, but no such sanction is imposed if the pagan groom is not a priest. Marriage with heretics and Jews is severely punished: five years of excommunication for the parents of the bride (canon 16). Adultery is equally punished for either husband or wife, with five years of excommunication (canon 69). A wife's adultery, with the agreement of her husband, entails perpetual excommunication, even in the case of death, particularly if the husband is a cleric (canon 70). Divorce is treated with the same rigor (canon 8). Canon 78 forbids Christian women from being concubines of Jews. Canon 50 excommunicates, for an undetermined period, church members for taking meals with Jews. Canon 59 forbids landowners to ask for a Jewish blessing on their fields.

embryo *see* FETUS

Emmanuel (Heb., God is with us) name of a child to be born of an unnamed young woman (*almah*), according to Isaiah 7:14 (also 8:8). The name is applied to Jesus in Matthew 1:23, which interprets the Greek *parthenos* (virgin), the Septuagint translation of *almah* in Isaiah 7:14, to refer to Jesus' virgin mother.

Emmaus town 20 miles northwest of Jerusalem; site of a Seleucid camp overtaken by Judas Maccabeus in 166 B.C.E. (1 Macc. 3:40). In 66 C.E., Vespasian stationed the Fifth Macedonian Legion there; during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Roman detachments were posted there. Abot deRabbi Natan 14:59 refers to Emmaus as "a pleasant place with good and sweet water," referring, presumably, to the presence there of hot springs. According to Luke 24:13–16, Jesus appeared on the road to Emmaus after his crucifixion.

The evidence for the presence of a Samaritan synagogue in Emmaus is a set of four inscribed stones. (1) An Ionic capital found in the ruins of a Crusader church is inscribed on one side in Samaritan Hebrew, "Blessed be his name forever" and is inscribed on the other side in Greek, "One God." (2) On a block of limestone appears Exodus 15:3–13 (from the Song of Moses), Genesis 24:31 (the invitation to the chief servant of Abraham by Laban), and Deuteronomy 33:26 ("the God of Jeshurun"), according to the Samaritan text. (3) A limestone doorpost is inscribed with the text of Exodus 13:22, "Neither the pillar of smoke by day nor the pillar of fire by night departed from before the people." (4) A limestone block is inscribed with the text of Exodus 15:3–11 (also from the Song of Moses). It is assumed that the Samaritan synagogue was in the vicinity of the Crusader church where most of these architectural fragments were found. The date usually assigned to the inscriptions is the fifth century C.E.

employers, employees those who hire salaried workers and those who work for a salary, with the rights of the latter generally taking precedence over those of the former. God is described as the original laborer, so the Torah shows great concern for workers. Employers must pay day laborers, whether Israelite or foreign, on the same day, because the laborers are needy; employers will incur guilt if they fail to do so. The prophets decry the infringement of this rule. By stating that "whoever withholds an employee's wages is as if he had taken his life," the rabbis expand the biblical com-

mand. Because no one should be held in servitude to another person, employees are free to withhold their labor at will. The Talmud details both employers' responsibilities for feeding their employees and the benefits to which employees are entitled. Nonetheless, the Talmud expresses suspicion toward employees' tendency to shirk their tasks, and designs some laws in the interests of the employer—for example, employees may not become ascetics because the physical weakness that results will rob their employers of their labor.

encyclia latinized form of the Greek term *enkyklia* (lower school studies). It was used in reference to the first phase of the traditional Graeco-Roman education in rhetoric, in which a broad learning was emphasized. Philo of Alexandria, in *De Congressu quaerendae Eruditionis gratia,* lists the subjects as grammar, music, geometry, rhetoric, and dialectic. *See also* DE CONGRESSU QUARENDAE ERUDITIONIS GRATIA.

end of days, times, age the conclusion of the present age brought on by the great judgment, which is to be followed by the age to come. This eschatological concept is expressed through a variety of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek words with different connotations. Hebrew and Aramaic *sof* means simply "end" and can designate the conclusion of a period of time (1 Enoch 91:13). Hebrew and Aramaic *ketz* is derived from *katzatz, ketzatz* (cut off) and designates either a fixed, limited time (1 Enoch 91:15, *ketz dina rabba,* time of the great judgment) or the end of such a time (Dan. 12:9, *et ketz,* time of the end [of the age]). The normal Greek words for the expression (*telos, synteleia, pleroma*) emphasize that this is the "goal" toward which time is moving, or the "consummation" or "fulfillment" of the days, times, or age(s) that preceded this moment (Mark 13:7; Matt. 28:20; Gal. 4:4). *See also* AGES, TWO; ESCHATOLOGY; FULLNESS OF TIME.

endogamy marriage within one's ethnic, tribal, family, religious, or geographical group; contrasted with exogamy or intermarriage. While the Bible and postbiblical Judaism promote endogamy, intermarriage was common and often accepted. It is recounted without condemnation in the cases of Joseph, Moses, and Esther, all of whom lived outside the land of Israel. Kings such as David, Solomon, and Ahab married foreign women for political purposes, and, as a general rule, Israelites were permitted to take wives from prisoners of war (Deut. 21:10–14). At the same time, intermarriage is viewed negatively at Genesis 24:3, 37, 27:46, 28:1, and Numbers 36:8, and marriage with the indigenous people of the land is forbidden for fear that it will lead Israel away from worship of God alone (Exod. 34:11–17; Deut. 7:1–4; 1 Kings 11:1–4).

In postexilic Judaism, endogamy became a helpful means of retaining community coherence threatened by diaspora existence, assimilation, and Hellenism. Ezra 9–10 and Nehemiah 10:28–30, 13:3, and 23–31 require endogamy and explicitly condemn exogamy, viewed as a path to idolatry and loss of Jewish solidarity in the face of an often hostile environment. In the second century B.C.E., on the basis of Genesis 34 (the rape of Dinah), Jubilees 30 prohibits exogamy as a matter of law (see also 20:4, 22:20, and 25:1–10). Similarly, endogamy is insisted upon throughout the Book of Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum), is a major theme in Tobit, and provides an underlying motif in the Additions to Esther (see also Test. Levi 14; Test. Job 45:3; and 2 Bar. 42). Interpretations of Tamar, Ruth, and Asenath eliminate suggestions of mixed marriages by transforming the women into proselytes. In the first century C.E., Philo prohibits intermarriage because it leads to assimilation of the children of the marriage (*Leg.* 3:29); Josephus, speaking of Solomon, connects intermarriage with idolatry (*Ant.* 8:190–196).

The rabbinic literature does not treat intermarriage extensively. The Mishnah has no discussion of it and rejects an exegesis that applies Leviticus 18:21 to sexual relations with Gentiles (M. Megillah 4:9). The Talmud contains a few discussions of intermarriage (e.g., Jerusalem Talmud Megillah 4:10 (75c); B. Kiddushin 68b). While these argue for the invalidity of marriages with Gentiles, the matter is disputed because of the lack of a clear biblical prohibition forbidding intermarriage.

endurance a virtue much praised in literature of the Second Temple period. Two kinds of endurance are prominent. The first appears in hortatory contexts and is equivalent to patience or perseverance. Job in the *Testament of Job* (1:5) is a model of the patient endurance of misfortunes and suffering. Job is compared to the athlete who endures the rigors of training and competition (*Testament of Job* 27:4). Joseph similarly was presented as a figure who endured a series of tests (*Testament of Joseph* 2:7). Philo of Alexandria exemplifies the same general hortatory approach, linking endurance, in the fashion of Stoic moralists, to courage and steadfastness. Once again athletic imagery abounds (*On the Immutability of God* 12; *On the Change of Names* 197).

The second major context in which endurance is treated is a special application of the more general

notion. 4 Maccabees illustrates the endurance of the martyrs who persevered in their fidelity to Torah through the worst sufferings. The martyrs' courage and endurance (1:11) amazed all who saw it. The endurance of Eleazar won him glory (7:9). That of the seven martyred sons enabled them to win the prize of virtue and be with God (9:8). Here again the athletic overtones of the image are clear, particularly in summary reflection on the martyrdoms (17:4, 10, 12, 17, 23).

En Gedi (Arab.: Ein Geddi) Jewish oasis town on the west shore of the Dead Sea. A translation of the town's name, "the spring of the kid," reveals the abundant water supply that flowed though this ancient site. The town was famous in antiquity for its cultivation of balsam. The most prominent archaeological feature is Tell Goren, which was occupied more or less continuously from 630 B.C.E. through the middle of the sixth century C.E. Tell Goren consisted of an artificial mound built up over centuries, on top of which stood a fort and associated housing. The fort was renovated and used many times by the occupying powers, including the Jewish kings John Hyrcanus (r. 135–104 B.C.E.) and Alexander Jannaeus (r. 104–76 B.C.E.). This fort and its associated village were destroyed in about 40 B.C.E. On the plain east and northeast of the tell there developed a Jewish town from about the same time, or from the days of Herod the Great onward. This town extended to the northeast to the Nahal David and to the east to Nahal Arugot. A testimony to the conforming power of Roman culture and to the abundance of water at En Gedi is a Roman bath, which was built in the middle of town between 60 and 70 C.E. En Gedi was the capital of its district, and a new fortress was built on Tell Goren during the first century C.E. This settlement seems to have disappeared early in the second century C.E., possibly as a result of the Second Revolt. En Gedi is frequently mentioned by Bar Kosiba himself in his correspondence with his field officers at En Gedi, namely, Yehonathan and Masabala. These papyri were found in the "Cave of Letters" in the Nahal Hever about 4.5 kilometers south of En Gedi. *See also* EN GEDI SYNAGOGUE.

En Gedi Synagogue At the ancient Jewish town of En Gedi are remains of a spectacular, white limestone synagogue built in the late second to early third century C.E. The synagogue was built in three stages. In its first stage, a simple, rather rectangular building faced north toward Jerusalem. Three entrances in its north wall gave entry to worship space. The floor was a white mosaic pavement of large tesserae, or cubes, of stone. A black rectangular frame in the floor was divided into three squares, and a black swastika appeared in the south square.

In its second stage, around the beginning of the fourth century C.E., the building underwent several transformations and renovations. Square pillars resting directly upon the pavement divided the interior space into a nave, a narrow east aisle, and a south aisle across the back. A narthex, separated from worship space by pillars, was added to the west. Entrances were moved to the west of worship space off the narthex, and three tiers of benches were added on the south wall. The blocked north entrance was transformed into a niche, and a "chair of Moses" was added on its east side. While a new colored mosaic, mainly with geometric and floral designs, was added in the nave, two pairs of birds appeared in a central medallion, and pairs of peacocks holding bunches of grapes in their beaks were depicted in each corner of the surrounding square.

In its third and last stage, around 450 C.E., a new narthex, paved with mosaics, was added on the west. A monumental staircase may have led to a gallery. The niche of stage two was closed, and a large wooden Torah shrine projected into the hall. A semicircular niche was built into the shrine and a raised *bimah* was located in front of it. The *bimah* was paved with a mosaic portraying a bird and three small menorahs. On the floor near the Torah shrine was found a bronze seven-branched menorah, though its base was missing. In the floor of the west aisle appeared an eighteen-line Hebrew and Aramaic inscription that cites 1 Chronicles 1:1–4 (the genealogy from Adam to Yapheth), then lists the twelve signs of the zodiac, the twelve months of the year, and then the names of the three patriarchs and the three companions of Daniel. This section ends with the words "Peace upon Israel." The second section mentions major patrons of the synagogue and utters a curse on anyone who "slanders his friends before the Gentiles or steals the property of his friends or anyone revealing the secret of the town to the Gentiles." The "secret" is usually understood to be balsam growing. The find of a coin hoard in a destruction layer seems to date the synagogue's violent end during the persecutions of Justinian I about the middle of the sixth century C.E.

En Natosh (Arab.: En Nashut) ancient Jewish village and synagogue site in the northern Golan Heights about 1 kilometer southwest of the Danqalle synagogue site and 2 kilometers north of Qat-

srin. The site is a small hill protected on three sides by deep valleys. In surveys, two stone slabs with reliefs of lions and then a lintel stone with a seven-branched menorah in low relief were discovered. Excavation revealed a large prayer hall that had a porch with Ionic columns. Its inner space was highly decorated and was divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of columns. Three-tiered benches ran along the walls of the hall. The base of a Torah shrine lies west of the entrance. The pedestals of the columns were decorated with various reliefs, including a rosette, a menorah, and geometric patterns. The Ionic capitals of the columns were decorated with a nine-branched menorah, a seven-branched menorah, and an altar or incense shovel. Other motifs, such as a bird pecking a cluster of grapes, a spoked wheel, a Hercules knot ending in snake heads, and a wreath tied in a Hercules knot with a rosette within, appear on the stone beams and other members. A Hebrew inscription on an architrave or beam says, "Amen, Amen, Selah. Shalom." An Aramaic inscription lists a benefactor, "Abun bar Yose." The ruins are dated from the fourth or fifth centuries C.E.

Enoch the seventh descendant from Adam, according to Genesis 5. Because of his unusual characteristics (Gen. 5:21–24), he became an object of speculation as the putative author of several revealed books. Unlike all other characters in the genealogy of Genesis 5, he is said to have "walked with God" during his lifetime, to have lived a total of 365 years—a number with great potential for calendrical elaboration—to have "walked with God" again at the end of his earthly days, and not to have died because God took him. The repeated phrase "walked with God" was taken by early interpreters to mean that he spent time with the angels during and after his stay on earth (1 Enoch 12–36). They revealed to him information about the structure of the universe and the course of world history until its end. The five parts of the book called 1 Enoch (a collection of booklets written from the third to the first century B.C.E.) center about him as the recipient of angelic revelations. At first, he seems to have been associated with astronomical and geographical topics: the lunar and solar years, the seasons and months, the geographical divisions of the earth. He also became connected with the story of the angels who left heaven and mated with women (Gen. 6:1–4; 1 Enoch 1–16). These fallen angels, who had made their ill-fated descent in the days of Enoch's father, Jared, asked Enoch to plead their case before God; he, however, was ordered to condemn them for their actions and to predict their immediate and final punishments. The final judgment became a major focus of the revelations to Enoch: he warned the wicked about it and assured the righteous that their vindication was coming soon. Angels also disclosed to him in two dreams or visions what had and would happen throughout history from the beginning until the great judgment and beyond (1 Enoch 85–90, 93 and 91). The special information that was revealed to him allowed him to serve as a preacher to his children and his contemporaries. In the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), he is given the exalted title of the Son of Man who will play a major part in the last judgment; he is particularly closely associated with the righteous and chosen ones. The books of Enoch were highly regarded by the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls; twelve copies, all in Aramaic, have been found in cave 4, attesting all parts of the book except chapters 37–71 (the Similitudes). This high esteem was shared by some early Christians, who considered Enoch's books to be inspired (see Jude, chaps. 14–15 [= 1 En. 1:9]). Two later books of revelations are also ascribed to him: 2 Enoch, an apocalypse (preserved only in a Slavonic translation), which develops many of the themes found in 1 Enoch; and 3 Enoch, a revelation (written in Hebrew) about the heavens and their occupants.

1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch) a collection of revelatory traditions ascribed to the patriarch Enoch (Gen. 5:21–24). Composed in the fourth to first centuries B.C.E., the accreting Aramaic traditions were translated into Greek and from Greek into Ethiopic. The whole collection is extant only in this secondary translation, in a multitude of biblical manuscripts. Although some of its contents had been known through a quotation in Jude 14–15, some allusions in the church fathers, and some excerpts in the Byzantine chronographers, the collection as a whole was recovered for the West only when copies of the Ethiopic version were brought to Europe in the early nineteenth century. Later two sections of the Greek translation were found in Egypt. The Qumran scrolls have yielded fragments of eleven Aramaic manuscripts.

The contents of 1 Enoch orbit around two myths. Enoch's walking with God (Gen. 5:24) is interpreted as his heavenly and cosmic journeys. An elaboration of the myth in Genesis 6:1–4 describes how the mating of the watchers (sons of God) and mortal women (daughters of men) bred a race of malevolent giants who devastated the earth and brought on the flood. A secondary mythic motif blames the watchers for revealing for-

bidden heavenly mysteries, which caused other havoc on earth. In this double myth of the watchers, the flood is a prototype for the final judgment revealed to Enoch during his journeys and dream visions.

1 Enoch consists of five major parts. The Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1–36) opens with an oracle about the imminent judgment (chaps. 1–5); it then narrates the myth of the watchers (6–11) and recounts Enoch's ascent to heaven, where he is commissioned as a prophet of judgment (12–16), and his journeys to places in the cosmos where aspects of that judgment will be enacted (17–36). The Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71), the latest section, features visions about the Son of Man, the heavenly vindicator of the persecuted righteous. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (chaps. 72–82), the oldest section (fourth century B.C.E.), recounts Enoch's travels through the heavens and describes celestial mechanics. Two dream visions (chaps. 83–84, 85–90) predict the flood and the course of human history from creation to the final judgment. The fifth major part of the book (chaps. 92–105) contains exhortations to the righteous and woes against their oppressors, based on Enoch's knowledge of the judgment gained through his visions and journeys. A story about Noah's miraculous birth provides a portent of the coming salvation of the righteous (chaps. 106–107), and a final appendix summarizes the book's themes (chap. 108).

This five-part collection expands on a smaller collection that claimed to be Enoch's testament delivered to his son Methuselah (see chaps. 81:1–82:3) as an exhortation to the righteous to endure as they await eschatological vindication. Its authority lay in its appeal to the seer's revelations of the hidden matters related to the judgment. Suggested at a number of points is the belief that the community that generated this literature would survive the judgment because they possessed the true interpretation of the Torah, notably the solar calendar revealed in chapters 72–82. The imitation of Moses' blessing (Deut. 33) in chapter 1 and the omission of any reference to Moses' receipt of the Torah in 89:29–35 may indicate that the Enochic authors saw Enoch as a prophet superior to Moses, who received revelation long before Moses appeared on the scene.

The Enochic literature was significant for sectors of early Judaism, and its form of apocalypticism preceded the Book of Daniel. Its influence in Christian circles of the first three centuries C.E. was considerable, and its ideas linger in the Gospels' teachings about Jesus the son of man. It remains canonical for the Ethiopian church.

2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch) an extensive pseudonymous account of the revelations that Enoch received while traveling through the ten heavens. An analysis of 2 Enoch is complicated by the condition of its text. The work is preserved in a Slavonic translation of the Greek original. Only a few of the twenty manuscripts contain the text from start to finish, and its individual components have been transmitted in three textual recensions of different length. There is no consensus as to which recension in general or which readings in particular may be original. Although it has been transmitted in Christian circles, 2 Enoch very likely stems from a Jewish group in the first century C.E.; however, there is much uncertainty about its date and provenance.

The major part of 2 Enoch is shaped as a testamentary apocalypse narrated in the first person. Two heavenly beings approach Enoch, instruct him to take leave of his family (chaps. 1–2), and escort him through the nine heavens (chaps. 3–21) to the presence of God in the tenth heaven. There he sees the enthroned deity (chap. 22), is instructed in the mysteries of the universe, which he writes in 360 books (chap. 23), hears God's account of the creation (chaps. 24–32), learns of the coming flood, and is sent back to earth to instruct his children (chaps. 33–38). Chapters 39–66 contain his testamentary admonitions, and chapters 67–73 are a set of narratives about Enoch's removal from the earth, Methuselah's priestly activities and death, Melchizedek's conception without benefit of a biological father and birth to the sister-in-law of Noah, and his removal from the earth before the flood.

2 Enoch draws on traditions related to those in 1 Enoch. Strikingly similar are the testament form (chaps. 33, 36; cf. 1 Enoch 81:1–82:3), Enoch's escorted visits to places of eschatological significance (5–12; cf. 1 Enoch 17–36), the astronomical visions and instruction (13–16, 23), reference to the myth of the watchers (18; cf. 1 Enoch 6–11), his vision of the enthroned deity (22; cf. 1 Enoch 12–16), his extensive instructions to his sons, often in the form of beatitudes and curses that are reminiscent of the exhortations and woes in 1 Enoch 92–105, and the concluding narrative, which parallels the story of Noah's birth in 1 Enoch 106–107. Different from 1 Enoch, this text features a vertical cosmology, which locates the places of reward and punishment in the various levels of heaven rather than on earth's disc, and it individualizes eschatology by placing the moment of reward and punish-

ment after each person's death rather than at the cosmic conclusion of the present age.

Special aspects of 2 Enoch are its emphasis on the oneness of God the creator, its concluding focus on a non-Jerusalem priesthood and cult, and its detailed instructions about responsible conduct toward other human beings and animals. While it contains much material that is Jewish in origin, its complete lack of reference to Israel's history (contrast 1 Enoch 85–90, 93:1–10) and some of its peculiar ideas suggest a provenance in a group whose identity is not bound up with the Jewish people and whose purview is that human beings in general (and animals) are creatures of God who are entitled to love and deeds of kindness.

3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch) a Hebrew apocalypse pseudepigraphically attributed to the early-second-century-C.E. Palestinian scholar Rabbi Ishmael; also known as the Book of the Heavenly Palaces (Sefer Hekhalot). It tells how Rabbi Ishmael ascends to heaven and meets the archangel Metatron (chaps. 1–2), who reveals that he is the biblical patriarch Enoch (Gen. 5:18–24) transformed into an angel. Having described in detail the process of his elevation and transformation (chaps. 3–16), Metatron discourses to Ishmael on the angelic hierarchies and their involvement in the heavenly law court and in the performance of the celestial Kedushah (chaps. 17–29). He then shows Ishmael certain heavenly wonders: the cosmic letters by which the world was created, the storehouses of souls, and the right hand of God waiting impatiently to bring the messianic redemption to Israel (chaps. 41–48A). An appendix (chap. 48A–D) contains a miscellany of Metatron traditions, borrowed from the Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba, which lists the seventy names of God and of Metatron, contains a short acrostic on the elevation of Enoch, and has an account of Metatron's role as the Prince of Torah (Sar Torah).

3 Enoch is a compendium of motifs and traditions, some of which go back to late Second Temple times. However, its reuse of Talmudic material indicates that, as it now stands, it cannot have been compiled much earlier than the sixth or seventh century C.E. Though many of its apocalyptic elements originated in Palestine, 3 Enoch's close literary relationship, specifically with the Babylonian Talmud (as in its reinterpretation in chap. 16 of the story of the humbling of Metatron, attested elsewhere only in Babylonian Talmud Ḥagigah 15a), suggests that its final editing took place in Babylonia.

Different versions of 3 Enoch are extant in the manuscripts and early printed editions. The longest is attested in Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656. The differences between the versions are essentially a matter of length. The order in which the material appears is always the same. It is unclear whether the shorter versions are extracted from the longer or represent earlier stages in the evolution of the text. 3 Enoch is one of the major works of the Hekhalot literature that emanated from the circles of the Hekhalot mystics in Palestine and Babylonia in late antiquity. It is the main early source relating to the archangel Metatron, whom it describes in highly exalted terms as The Lesser YHWH and God's vice-regent in the world. Along with a number of other Hekhalot writings, 3 Enoch was copied by the Haside Ashkenaz, and strongly influenced their mystical theology. Hekhalot traditions were also known to the Kabbalists of Provence and Spain. Knowledge specifically of 3 Enoch, however, has not been proved. The references to Books of Enoch in the Zohar, if they are not totally fictitious, do not appear to be to 3 Enoch.

eparchy term derived from Greek, used in reference to a province or a similar political entity governed by an official called an eparch in Greek terminology (the Roman equivalent was a prefect). An eparchy was not precisely defined and might refer to anything from a major entity, such as a satrapy, to a relatively minor one.

ephebate term used in reference to a group of young men who were candidates for citizenship in a Greek polis (city). The rules for who might be a citizen were rather strictly defined in most Greek cities. Only the children of two citizens were normally allowed to become candidates for citizenship. After preliminary and middle education, between ages 15 and 20, the youth would be placed on the list of the gymnasium, where he would receive training in Greek literature, rhetoric, athletics, and other skills needed for someone who would later participate in both military and political activities as a citizen.

Ephesus, Jews in Jews in Ephesus were citizens from the mid-third century B.C.E. and had their privileges reaffirmed by the Romans. Acts of the Apostles (18:19, 26; 19:8) refers to a synagogue, and a fragmentary inscription may refer to synagogue officials. Other inscriptions of the second and third centuries C.E. seem to mention Jewish names.

ephphata transliteration of the Aramaic *etpattaḥ*, meaning, "be opened" (Mark 7:34); a word of healing or exorcism spoken by Jesus to a deaf and mute man.

Ephrem (306–373 C.E.) Christian poet, exegete, and theologian. He was born in Nisibis, where he eventually established a theological school. When the city was taken by the Sassanids in 363, Ephrem was forced to move to Edessa where he continued teaching for ten years, until his death. He appears not to have been a monk, contrary to the views of some scholars, but to have practiced sexual abstinence as an aspect of having dedicated his life to Jesus. He was a master poet, creating numerous hymns, liturgical poems, and sermons in hymnal form. He is one of the earliest Syriac writers, and his poetic liturgical style finds echoes throughout Syria and Palestine. He seems not to have known Greek, and he rejected religious rationalism. His exegeses of the Old Testament have close parallels to midrashic and targumic traditions, and like Afrahat, he often employs methods of argumentation that closely parallel rabbinic arguments. Three of his "Hymns of Faith," composed in Syriac, are biting polemics against Arians and Jews. Like Afrahat, Ephrem argues that Christianity has replaced Judaism as the means through which God works out his plan of salvation. God rejected the Jews because they voluntarily rejected his son, making it possible for the Gentile nations to receive the blessing from God. The destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the Jews constrast with the fact that God has gathered the nations into his church. Observation of the Sabbath, circumcision, and the purity laws were designed to prevent Israel from adopting paganism, so that they are no longer necessary for Christians. Ephrem repeatedly argues that Jewish customs such as unleavened bread and synagogue prayer have no legitimacy at all. He compares the unleavened bread to "the sacrament of Judas." He characterizes the Jewish hands as "stained with blood." Ephrem states that he hated the Jews, whom he terms "crucifiers," because Israel "persecuted Moses in his time and it crucified its Lord in his time." Like Afrahat, Ephrem viewed Passover in typological terms. Passover was given to the Jews, but its reality became obvious within the church only with the appearance and sacrifice of the True Lamb, Jesus. Ephrem also warns that Jews were trying to enslave Christians under the law, and several of his poems are warnings to Christians to avoid the Jews and their practices. Several scholars have argued that Ephrem's vehement anti-Jewish rhetoric resulted from the attempt by Syrian Jews to convert Christians. They claim that his repeated characterization of Jewish rituals as being unnecessary for and even harmful to Christians reflected the reality that some Christians were following these rituals either as Jews or as their form of Christianity.

Epictetus (c. 55–135 C.E.) Greek Stoic philosopher who taught in Rome. His work was evidently aimed at the layperson rather than the Stoic sage. His teachings include ideas on the brotherhood of all people, and his references to the Jews show no hostility to them. He mentions the different dietary restrictions among Jews, Syrians, and Egyptians. When commenting on conversion to Judaism in one of his discourses, he mentions baptism. Some have thought he was confusing Judaism with Christianity, but others think baptism was a necessary part of conversion to Judaism at that time.

Epicureanism philosophical school founded by Epicurus (341–271 B.C.E.), which believed that the source of happiness is pleasure, that nothing exists after death, and that death is not to be feared. The basis of Epicurus's philosophy was the scientific theory ascribed to Democritus and Leucippus, which stated that nothing exists but atoms and space. According to this view, the world and life in it are all an accidental conglomeration of atoms, and the gods (though they exist) have nothing to do with human life. The goal of life is pleasure (*hedone*), which was defined as "absence from pain." Therefore, death is not to be feared, since there is no pain in death. Epicurianism was often condemned for being hedonistic in the modern sense, as well as being atheistic, but this criticism is inaccurate. In fact, Epicurus taught a life of moderation, since he believed that increasing pleasure also increased pain; the orgiastic lifestyle was therefore not for him. He also accepted the honoring of the gods. Nevertheless, the charge of atheism is somewhat understandable because the Epicureans thought that the gods were not involved with human beings, and thus their acceptance of the gods' existence made no difference to anything. Josephus compared the Sadducees to the Epicurians. The term "Epicureanism" also surfaced in rabbinic literature, where it reflected popular misunderstanding and served as the equivalent of godlessness. *See also* EPIKOROS.

Epikoros in the Mishnah, an Epicurean, listed at M. Sanhedrin 10:1 along with those who deny resurrection or reject the divine origin of the law as having no share in the world-to-come. In later rabbinic parlance, the term has a broader meaning, referring in general to a heretic or apostate (see, e.g., B. Sanhedrin 99b–100a).

epiphany appearance of a divine figure to a human being. Most often the deity or the angel of YHWH appears in order to make an announce-

ment or to commission the person to a task or role. In the Hebrew Bible, stories of epiphanies are recounted in a stereotyped literary form that includes most or all of the following narrative elements, sometimes in a different order: circumstances; an appearance of the Deity or an angel; the person's fearful reaction and God's response, "fear not"; a message that one is to serve a particular role (as a prophet or the parent of an agent of God); a protest that one is not fit for the office or an expression of doubt; a divine reassurance such as "I am with you" or, again, "fear not, do not be dismayed" or a reiteration of the message; the disappearance of the divine being; the person's acquiescence to the message or the occurrence of the announced birth.

The Book of Tobit offers an interesting example of how an epiphany can structure a narrative and serve a variety of functions. In chapter 3 both Tobit and Sarah pray for death as release from their troubles. God responds by sending the angel Raphael to heal their ills. Raphael appears in human form (5:4; the disguise motif is typical), guides Tobias across Mesopotamia (serving the traditional function of the accompanying and interpreting angel of apocalyptic literature; cf. 1 Enoch 20–32), heals Sarah and Tobit, reveals himself as an angel (chap. 12), commissions Tobit to write a book about his experiences (1 Enoch 81:5–82:2; Dan. 12:9; Rev. 1:11), and disappears suddenly.

New Testament epiphanies include annunciation stories about the birth of John and Jesus (Luke 1:5–20, 26–38; 2:8–20), accounts of post-Resurrection appearances of Jesus for the purpose of commissioning apostles (Matt. 28:16–20; Luke 24:36–53; John 20:19–29, 21:1–19; Acts 9:1–9, 22:6–22, 26:4–18; and the Book of Revelation as a whole). In Gnostic literature, the Apocryphon of John claims to be a revelation given by Jesus to John on the Mount of Olives. Its epiphanic narrative frame (1:1–2:10, 31:25–32:5) is reminiscent of the Book of Revelation and authenticates the book's message. *See also* ANGELOPHANY; BIRTH, MIRACULOUS; CALL; THEOPHANY.

epispasm physical removal of the signs of circumcision. At certain times, a few Jews wanted to remove their particular Jewish identity, especially those who might participate in athletic contests, though the number has probably been exaggerated. The operation would have been traumatic and required considerable motivation to undergo.

epistles (after the Gr.: *epistole,* letters) literary genre attested in nonbiblical Jewish texts, which became the dominant genre in the New Testament. Some scholars distinguish between the personal, informal "letter" and the more literary "epistle," which was designed for publication; but since ancient use of the term "epistle" is quite broad, others use the words interchangeably. Nonbiblical Jewish letters are extant from as early as the seventh century B.C.E. (e.g., letters from the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt from the 5th c. B.C.E.). There are eleven short letters embedded in the Tanakh (Old Testament), such as 1 Kings 21:9–10 and Jeremiah 29:4–23. Among the texts of early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E.–2d c. C.E.) several works of other genres have been erroneously labeled epistles: the Epistles of Jeremiah and Aristeas, the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–105), and 1 Baruch. Other works contain letters: 1, 2, and 3 Maccabees, the Epistle of Aristeas, 2 Baruch, Paraleipomena of Jeremiah, Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews,* and later, the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. Many of these letters are official communications, for example, three letters from the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Maccabees. Some are fictionalized (e.g., a letter by Baruch the scribe to Jeremiah, with Jeremiah's reply, in the Parleipomena of Jeremiah).

Twenty-one of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament are called "epistles." Most are real communications written by individuals to individuals or to Christian communities, which combine theological instruction with personal greetings. Two other books include short letters (Rev. 2–3 and Acts 15). Best known are the fourteen letters attributed to Paul, which scholars classify into three groups: (1) seven letters generally thought to be written or dictated by Paul (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon); (2) six "Deutero-Pauline" letters, which claim to be written by Paul but were probably composed by his followers (Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians; and the three "pastoral" letters: 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus); and (3) Hebrews, which makes no claim to be composed by Paul but was attributed to him in the ancient Church. Most of Paul's letters, which are the earliest surviving Christian texts (written in the 50s) were addressed to churches he had founded, except for Philemon, sent to an individual, and Romans, sent to prepare the way for Paul's first visit to the church in Rome. Intended for public reading, the letters function as a substitute for the presence of the apostle. They respond to questions (1 Cor. 7:1: "Now concerning the things about which you wrote") and treat problems and disputes that have arisen in Paul's absence (Gal. 1:6: "I am amazed that you are so

quickly deserting the one who called you . . . and are turning to a different gospel"). Several epistles dispute interpretations of the Christian message that differ from Paul's own. The remaining seven New Testament letters are traditionally called "catholic" (universal) letters, because they were thought to be addressed to the church as a whole. Scholars now think, however, that these, too, were intended for specific churches or groups of churches. Some of these works, which date from several decades after Paul, are real letters (2 and 3 John, 1 and 2 Peter), while others seem to be sermons (1 John) or treatises (James, Jude) put into letter form. In early Christianity, letters to churches continue to be an important genre (e.g., Ignatius, 1 Clement), and the correspondence of the church fathers (e.g., Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom in the 4th c.) served as a vehicle for theology.

epithymia (Gr., desire) Although it could be used in reference to natural desires, it often had a negative connotation, implying "wrong desire" or "lust." Both Greek philosophers and Jewish and Christian writers in Greek were opposed to irrational desire and thought that it should be strictly controlled by the mind.

equality with God This expression or its equivalent is used in a variety of texts about human attempts to attain divine status or prerogatives, or divine attempts to exceed one's assigned place. In Genesis 3:5 the snake tempts the woman to seek the knowledge that will make her and Adam "like God." In context it is a subtle perversion of the motif that humans were created in God's likeness and image (Gen. 1:26–27). The motif recurs in the Eden story in Ezekiel 28:1–19, with reference to the hybris of the king of Tyre. Isaiah 14:12–15 employs an old Semitic myth about heavenly rivalry to describe how the king of Babylon seeks to be "like the Most High." These texts are employed with reference to other royal figures: Antiochus IV, who seeks to be "equal to God" (2 Macc. 9:12; cf. Dan. 8:9–11); Pompey (Ps. Sol. 2:26–30); and Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:20–23). The motif also informs the account of Satan's fall in the Life of Adam and Eve 12–16. In every case the attempt to storm heaven or the pretension be like God meets with disaster. In a parody on the motif, Philippians 2:5–11 asserts that the preexistent figure who became Jesus eschewed divine equality and was exalted because he humbled himself.

equestrian *see* EQUITES

equites (Lat., equals) used to refer to the class of knights in Rome. Although almost equal in rank to the senatorial class, the knights did not enter the Senate, as a rule, and were excluded by law from the office of consul. There was always a certain rivalry between the knights and the senatorial class.

ereb evening, sunset; beginning of a holy day

Eretz Yisrael *see* ISRAEL, LAND OF

eroticism, in Jewish literature the treatment of sex and sexual love in Jewish writings. Jewish literature has not been known for its erotic content; nevertheless, one of the most famous—as well as one of the most beautiful—examples of love poetry is the Song of Songs in the Hebrew Bible. It became common to allegorize the Song as representative of the relationship between Israel and God. Despite this interpretation, its origin as poetry celebrating physical love is not in doubt. Exactly when the Song was first allegorized is not known, though the earliest-known allegories of it are quite late (e.g., Christian writers such as Origen, the Targum, and the Midrash Rabbah). It is often asserted that the book was accepted into the canon only because it had been allegorized, but we do not actually know enough about the process of canonization to assume this. For all we know, the book was taken into the canon because it was valued for its expression of human love.

Erotic imagery is also found in other writings, and particularly in wisdom literature, when it deals with Dame Wisdom. We see examples of this theme in the following citations: Proverbs 4:6–8, which discusses the acquisition of wisdom in terms of physical love; Proverbs 8:1–4 and 9:1–6, in which Dame Wisdom calls to the simple in seductive terms reminiscent of the loose woman of chapter 7; and the Wisdom of Solomon 8:2–16, in which Solomon courts Wisdom as a bride.

Ecclesiasticus 51 constitutes a poem on wisdom. For many centuries, only the Greek version was known. When the Hebrew text was rediscovered in the twentieth century, some scholars felt that it used much more explicit and erotic language than was found in the Greek text or in the Book of Proverbs. If their interpretation is correct, the Hebrew writer was not afraid to make use of erotic imagery, even though he was writing about a strictly religious subject.

Other biblical images, while perhaps not intended to be erotic, lent themselves to erotic interpretation, especially in the visual arts. In one of these images, David observes Bathsheba bathing (2 Sam. 11:2); in the other, found in the story of Susanna and the Elders in the Septuagint version of Daniel, the elders spy on Susanna in the bath.

These narratives were interpreted by many renowned painters, including Rembrandt.

Talmudic rabbis present a largely negative view of eroticism and erotic behavior. Within the context of marriage, sexual intercourse was viewed as a positive and natural aspect of human behavior, required in the relationship between husband and wife (M. Ketubot 5:6, B. Nedarim 15b). But the rabbinic legal system assured that this behavior occurred only within strict parameters established by rules of purity (see Lev. 19:19, 20:18) and defined by restrictions that prevented what the rabbis deemed lewd and lustful. Sexual intercourse was to take place only at night (B. Niddah 64b), clothed (Lev. Rabbah 21:8), and using the "missionary" position (Pesikta deRab Kahana 11:6; B. Nedarim 20a). One was not to gaze upon the sexual organs (B. Berakhot 1), and sexual satisfaction had a negative connotation (M. Sotah 3:4; B. Sotah 21b). Irregular sexual positions and other erotic behaviors, including cunnilingus and talking during intercourse, were held to cause the birth of maimed children (B. Nedarim 20a); in general, one who indulged in sexual fantasies was held to have no place in the "precincts of God" (B. Niddah 13b). Only one passage proposes an opposite view to this usual rabbinic attitude. Yoḥanan (B. Nedarim 20b) rejects the notion that sexual behavior within marriage should be limited, stating that all sexual behaviors are permitted and should be used according to each individual's personal taste.

error, to err (Heb.: *to ah, ta ah;* Aram.: *ta ut, te a;* Gr.: *plane, planesis, planao*) to stray, to wander; a moral or religious wrong. The metaphor implies the scheme of the two ways and denotes straying from the path of uprightness and truth. Although the concept appears in the Hebrew Bible, the terms come into wide currency in Judaism and Christianity, often with an emphasis on false teaching. At Qumran the noun and verb frequently denote sinful conduct (1QS 3:21, 5:4). False teachers are described as "those who lead many astray" (1QpHab 10:9–12; cf. 4QpNah 2:8; see also 1 Enoch 98:15), and in this context the words can describe the activities of false interpreters and deceitful seers (cf. also 1QH 4:5–25). Mark 13:6 describes false messiahs as those who "lead many astray." In the targums the noun and verb are regularly substituted for other biblical words that denote idolatry.

erub (Heb.) symbolic fence constructed around a number of dwellings, forming of them all a single domain, so that on the Sabbath it is permitted to carry objects around the courtyard shared by dwellings joined by the symbolic fence. *See also* ERUBIN.

Erubin Mishnah tractate devoted to the interplay between holy time and space, addressed to the rule that one may not leave one's abode on the Sabbath (Exod. 16:29–30). This is taken to mean that one remains in one's village, not in one's house; a village consists of the settled area and its natural environs. One may establish residence for purposes of travel on the Sabbath elsewhere than one's normal abode by making provision for eating a meal at that other place; this allows one to measure one's alloted area, 2,000 cubits, for travel from that other place. In order to establish a symbolic place of residence, one sets out, prior to sundown on the Sabbath, a symbolic meal or makes a verbal declaration to the same effect. One may furthermore form into a single domain, for purposes of carrying on the Sabbath, all the houses that open up onto a common courtyard, or an alley into which many courtyards open, through a symbolic meal, or through the construction of a common boundary. The tractate deals with the delineation of a limited domain; the symbolic meal and the Sabbath limit of a town; the symbolic meal and commingling of ownership of a courtyard or an alleyway; and the public domain in general, all in relationship to travel or carrying on the Sabbath.

erub tabshilin (Heb., fusion meal) fictive meal, with a symbolic portion of food for all householders who share in the meal, that effects the blending of domains into a single domain, thereby permitting carrying of objects in a common courtyard shared by several householders. *See also* ERUBIN.

Erucius Clarus, Gaius Sextus consul in 170 C.E. and legate in Judaea sometime thereafter. His father, Sextus Erucius Clarus, had been consul from 117 until his death in 146 and earlier had been the protégé of Pliny the Younger, who had helped him secure a magistracy (97) and, a few years later, senatorial status from Trajan. Gaius married Junius Rufinus's daughter, Pomponia Triaria. Pomponius Erucius Triarius and perhaps Gaius Julius Erucius Clarus Vibianus (consul in 193) were their children.

erusin (Heb., agreement to betrothal) in rabbinic Judaism, the agreement of a woman to wed a man, representing the first step toward marriage. The rite of betrothal involves the drinking of a cup of wine after reciting the following blessing: "Blessed are You, our God, king of the world, who creates the fruit of the vine. Blessed are You, Lord our God, king of the world, who has sanctified us by his commandments and commanded us concerning proper sexual relations, forbidding to us betrothed women but permitting to us married women through the rites of the huppah and sanctification.

Blessed are You, Lord, who sanctifies his people Israel through the marriage canopy and the rite of sanctification." Then there is a gift of a ring to the bride, with this formula: "Behold, you are sanctified to me by this ring in accord with the tradition of Moses and Israel." *See also* BETROTHAL.

Esau son of Isaac and Rebekah; elder twin of Jacob. He sold his birthright to Jacob for a bowl of stew (Gen. 25:29–34). Jewish and Christian tradition portray Esau as evil and jealous. In Malachi 1:2–3, God loves Jacob but hates Esau. The Book of Biblical Antiquities (LAB 32:5) attributes God's hatred to Esau's deeds. In the Book of Jubilees 35:13, God explains the divine love for Jacob and anger at Esau by reference to Esau's deeds (cf. 15:30). Throughout his works, Philo sees Esau as a figure who symbolizes evil passions. In the New Testament, Paul takes Esau's loss of his birthright as proof that election is through grace, not birth (Rom. 9:10–13). Hebrews 12:16–17 says that Esau's selling of his birthright makes him "immoral and godless." Esau is the eponymous ancestor of the Edomites (later the Idumeans), traditional enemies of Israel. In some accounts, Jacob kills Esau in war (Test. Jud. 9:1–8; Jub. 37–38).

eschatology teaching about the end-time. This word of modern Christian coinage captures a central theme in the later texts of the Hebrew Bible, much Second Temple Jewish literature, and almost all of the New Testament writings. From this perspective, an end to present history is in sight and beyond that the beginning of a new day.

The end of the old and a new beginning. Jeremiah 23:7–8, 31:31–34, and Ezekiel 34–37 imply the notion of an end as they predict a new beginning that repeats the foundational events of Israel's history, the Exodus and the institution of the covenant, and even creation itself. For Second Isaiah (that is, Isa. 40–55), these hopes for an end and a new beginning are already being realized in the present event of the return from exile. Writing a few decades later in a more sober vein, Third Isaiah (Isa. 56–66) projects the fulfillment of these promises into the future, announcing that God will soon appear in glory to "execute judgment on all flesh," dividing between righteous and wicked humanity (66:15–16). At that time, God will create new heavens and a new earth and a new Jerusalem where the quality of life will replicate the situation in paradise (65:17–25). Isaiah 24–27 develops the motif in its references to cosmic upheaval and resurrection of the dead. In these texts are sown the seeds of an eschatology that will become prominent in apocalyptic writings, a view of the world and history that is governed by a sharp division between the present troubled time and a future time of bliss described by reference to the myths of origins.

The fulfillment of prophecy. When these prophetic promises were not fulfilled, belief in God's faithfulness led Jews in the Graeco-Roman period to posit a future time when these things would in fact happen. One looked toward the goal to which prophecy pointed; eschatology was teleology. A number of texts in the wisdom tradition express this point of view. Ecclesiasticus 36:1–16 appeals to God to vindicate those who wait for the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies. According to Tobit 14:5 the time of that fulfillment is fixed, and both Tobit 13 and Baruch 4–5 reiterate Second and Third Isaiah's promises of the new Jerusalem.

In some circles it was believed that prophecy was already being fulfilled. The author of the Testament of Moses assumed the prophet's voice and rewrote Deuteronomy 31–34, filling out its historical scheme with specific references to the details of contemporary history. The Qumran Community believed that God had revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness when the consummation of time predicted by the prophets would occur (1QpHab 7:1–5), and Qumran sages composed commentaries on prophetic scripture (the Prophets and the Psalms) that expounded in detail how specific predictions were being fulfilled in the events of their own time and with relation to their community.

Apocalyptic eschatology. The writers of Jewish apocalypses from 1 Enoch (third to first centuries B.C.E.) and Daniel (c. 165 B.C.E.) to 2 Baruch and 2 Esdras (late first century C.E.), also reflect on current tragic events and their disparity with God's justice and the ancient prophecies, and like Third Isaiah they posit an imminent judgment, a sharp break with the present, and new age depicted in mythic terms that recall primordial events and circumstances. Their special contribution to eschatology—which draws on "scientific" speculation in Greek, Mesopotamian, and Jewish wisdom circles—is the development of a dualistic world view and a complementary claim to revelation, which guarantee their scenarios for the future. A spatial dualism between earth and heaven and between the inhabited world and the outer edges of the universe enables them to posit the present existence of the mechanisms of judgment and the places of future punishment and blessing. The created structure of the cosmos, the existence of heavenly tablets containing the order of the ages and the details of future history, and the present interces-

sory activity of the holy ones all ensure that the judgment will occur when God has determined that it should. The apocalypticist's worldview is anchored by a claim to special revelation. The seer has traveled to heaven and through the cosmos and has seen the things of which he speaks. His revelatory writings transmit this information and enable the eschatological community of the elect to stand fast as they await the consummation that they are certain will take place.

Realized eschatology. This term, which scholars coined with reference to the New Testament, describes the belief that eschatological events have taken place. In fact, already the Jewish texts indicate many degrees of eschatological realization. 1 Enoch's spatial dualism emphasizes that the present accomplishment of God's will in heaven guarantees its execution on earth. The historical reviews in 1 Enoch, Daniel, and the Testament of Moses, as well as the Qumran commentaries, define current events as eschatological events. Certain Qumran hymns express a more radical view: the Qumranite's entrance into the community of the elect is depicted as resurrection from the realm of the dead and exaltation to the heavenly sphere, where one stood among the heavenly hosts (1QH 3:19–23, 11:3–14). Nonetheless, this sense of realization is nuanced by the recognition that a final consummation has not yet taken place and the powers of Belial still present a real danger (3:28–36).

Variety and coherence in Jewish eschatology. Jewish eschatological texts are remarkable for the variety of their expression. These writings are populated with disparate eschatological figures: a restored Davidic king; a pair of anointed figures from the tribes of Levi and Judah; an eschatological prophet; Michael the heavenly prince; a transcendent savior who combines the qualities of the Davidic king, Second Isaiah's servant, and the one like a son of man in Daniel 7. They posit, variously, resurrection of the body or the spirit, assumption to heaven, immortality of the soul, and eternal life on earth or in heaven. They await the eschaton at various times, sometimes revising old timetables, or they believe that it has already begun to happen.

Thus, the coherence of Jewish eschatological texts does not lie in a set of beliefs that can be harmonized. It consists in three general characteristics. First, the texts attest their authors' pessimistic assessment of their present situation. Second, the authors tenaciously embrace traditional belief in the faithfulness and justice of the God of the covenant and thus posit a substantial turn for the better in the imminent future, when the end of this age gives birth to the beginning of a new age in which God's royal reign is realized finally, fully, and forever. Third, the texts share a common function—to exhort and encourage their readers to share their faith and to endure present suffering as they await God's vindication.

The absence of eschatology. Eschatology flourished among Jews where eschatology was needed. The disparity between the belief in God's justice and the perceived experience of injustice gave rise to eschatological hopes and speculation. Where such experience did not exist, eschatology was not present or was not a vital part of one's world view. The situation of the wealthy and powerful demonstrated to their satisfaction that they were already the beneficiaries of divine blessing and not in need of adjudication at the bar of God's justice. The fact that these same people might create the need for eschatology among the people they oppressed, or whose needs they ignored, simply demonstrates how the shape of theology was bound to the specifics of one's circumstances. Although much Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman period had an eschatological bent, a full picture requires that we give careful attention to the situations that gave rise to a text's eschatology and make allowance for texts that express no eschatological hopes because their authors required none. The hymn to Simon the Hasmonean in 1 Maccabees 14 provides a helpful example in this respect. The author's allusions to scripture suggest that the high priest's conquests and treaties have initiated a time in which prophecy is fulfilled and the glories of the Davidic and Solomonic kingdoms have been restored. This protagonist and beneficiary of the Hasmoneans does not need eschatology, because prophecy has been fulfilled. The fact that the Hasmoneans caused their aggrieved and disenchanted opponents to espouse eschatological hopes is something we must learn from the Qumran literature.

Cross-cultural currents. Scholars debate the extent to which Jewish eschatology was influenced by parallel currents in other religions. Iranian texts (of late date in their present form) attest dualistic notions and schemes of world eras. The Stoics described eschatological conflagrations. Oracles and divinations of many sorts abounded. In diverse ways and different cultures, people in the Graeco-Roman period matched a sense of anxiety and exhaustion with hopes for a better time. The relationship of eschatological Judaism to its native traditions and to the religious and philosophical speculation of its gentile neighbors was complex.

Eschatology in the New Testament. Early Christianity rode the crest of a wave of eschatological hope and speculation. The church came into existence as a Jewish eschatological sect that was constituted by the revelation that the ministry, death, resurrection, and imminent glorious return of Jesus embodied the fulfillment of hopes sown by Israel's prophets and nourished by Jewish sages and apocalypticists. The experience that the end already permeated the present was the air that early Christians breathed. If this is not immediately evident on any given page of the New Testament, this is due to an author's taking the fact for granted. In general, the situation is clear. In Paul's view, Jesus, God's son and the Messiah, appeared at the consummation of time (Gal. 4:4), his resurrection and exaltation in heaven initiated the new age which is manifested by the Spirit's presence in the church (1 Cor.), and his defeat of the demonic powers and glorious return, in Paul's own lifetime, will bring about the general resurrection of the dead (1 Thess. 4; 1 Cor. 15). The gospels depict Jesus' message of the coming kingdom as an eschatological proclamation, and see Jesus as the fulfillment of prophecies and the exalted son of man who will soon return as the agent of God's judgment. Colossians, the pastoral epistles, and some of the general epistles warn about the false teaching that is characteristic of the end times. The Book of Revelation expounds its consoling eschatology in a traditional apocalyptic genre reminiscent of 1 Enoch and Daniel.

Christians differed from other eschatologically oriented Jews primarily in the orientation of their eschatological beliefs and hopes to the historical figure of Jesus. They differed among themselves in their espousal of various Jewish eschatological notions. They identified Jesus variously as royal Messiah, anointed high priest, servant of the Lord, son of man, son of God, the earthly eschatological epiphany of heavenly Wisdom or a high angel, and various combinations of the above. They interpreted the meaning of Jesus' death and the manner of his resurrection according to a whole range of options available in Jewish eschatological and non-eschatological literature.

The white heat of eschatological fervor waxed and waned within the first-century church according to circumstances. Although Paul anticipated a consummation in the imminent future, he also saw dangers in the ecstatic experience of the eschaton in a spirit-filled church (1 Cor. 12–14). The Pseudo-Pauline author of Ephesians emphasized the accomplished facts of salvation. Using conceptions reminiscent of 1QH 3:19–29, he spoke of the Christians' exaltation to heaven and warned of the dangers presented by "the evil one" (Eph. 1:15–23, 6:10–18). John believed that eternal life was already the possession of believers (John 5:24) and interpreted the presence of the spirit as the fulfillment of the promise that Jesus would return (1 John 5:1–12). Luke awaited the coming of Christ but he allowed for an extended timetable (Acts 1:6–8). The authors of James 5:7–11 and 2 Peter 3:1–10 encouraged their readers to wait patiently for the fulfillment of God's promises.

Part of the first-century controversy between Christians and Jews turned on eschatology. The variety of Jewish eschatological beliefs, or their absence in a given case, could be an important factor in a Jew's response to the Christian proclamation. Did one's experience call for eschatological resolution? If so, did one await a messiah? Was it a scion of David, an anointed priest, a heavenly savior? What did one make of Jesus' ministry? Was his death unjust and the proclamation of his resurrection plausible? In these and other respects, differences between Christians and Jews mirrored differences among Jews during the whole Graeco-Roman period.

Eschatology in rabbinic Judaism. Like Third Isaiah and the Apocrypha, the rabbis envision a future fulfillment of God's promises at a time when He will judge all human beings and initiate a messianic age. This age, called "the world to come," will be introduced by a distinct period, referred to as "the days of the Messiah." This period will occur in a time of devastating political and social upheaval (M. Sotah 9:15), leading ultimately to the destruction of the current world (B. Sanhedrin 97b). In light of the travail to accompany the coming of the Messiah, some rabbinic masters declared that, however much they longed for messianic redemption, they wished not to be alive at that time (B. Sanhedrin 98b).

Rabbinic masters show some interest in calculating the advent and duration of the days of the Messiah and world to come. According to different rabbis, the former would last 40, 70, 365, or 400 years (B. Sanhedrin 99a; see B. Abodah Zarah 9b). Similar attempts to reckon the messianic age held that the world will exist for six thousand years: "For two thousand it will be desolate, two thousand years will be the time of Torah, and two thousand years will be the days of the Messiah" (B. Sanhedrin 97a–b). The same source holds that, on account of the Israelites' sins, the Messiah has tarried and part of what should have been the messianic age has been lost.

While speculation concerning the exact date on which the Messiah will come occurs (see Mekhilta Pisha 14), the rabbis in general condemn those who engage in such predictions. The exact date is listed among things God has hidden from the people (B. Pesaḥim 54b; B. Sanhedrin 97a). Since the failure of messianic expectations might lead people to deny that the Messiah ever will come, those who make predictions are cursed. Instead of being predetermined, the rabbis held that the coming of the Messiah depends upon the Israelites themselves. When they conform to the will of God—repenting and performing good deeds, or even simply correctly observing one Sabbath—the Messiah will come (B. Sanhedrin 97b; Y. Taanit 4:8, 68d; Exod. Rabbah 25:12). In the meantime, the people are admonished not to attempt forcibly to hasten the coming of the end of time (B. Ketubot 111a).

In the days of the Messiah, the priesthood and sacrificial worship would resume in a rebuilt Temple, differentiated from the current age by the fact, for instance, that the harps played by the Levites will have more strings (T. Arakhin 2:7). The riches of the days of the Messiah will lead people to sin (Sifre Deut. 318), and modes of expiation such as study and observance of the law will still be required. In this period, the transplantation of the Babylonian rabbinic academies to the Land of Israel is imagined (B. Megillah 29a).

Coming after the final judgment and the resurrection of the dead, the conditions in the world to come will be very different from those of current life. According to Rab, "The world to come is not like this world. In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking nor procreating nor business negotiations nor envy nor hatred nor competition. But the righteous are enthroned with their crowns on their heads, enjoying the splendor of the Presence of God" (B. Berakhot 17a). This age will be like a continual Sabbath (Abot deRabbi Natan 1:13), and there will be no death, sorrow, or tears (M. Moed Katan 3:9). What will remain is study and observance of the law, taught now by God himself (Tanḥuma, Yitro 13; Tanḥuma Vayigash 12).

Despite the rabbis' limited speculation regarding the nature of the messianic age and world to come, they generally discouraged concrete messianic thinking, seen as a threat to communal stability and as a promoter of potentially deadly political insurrection. When Akiba declared Bar Kokhba to be the Messiah, Yoḥanan b. Torta reportedly responded to him, "Akiba, grass will grow from your cheeks and He will still not have come" (Lam. Rabbah 58; Y. Taanit 4:8, 68d). Similarly, one who, while plowing his field, hears word that the Messiah has arrived is admonished to complete his work and only then to investigate. *See also* AFTERLIFE; APOCALYPTICISM; JUDGMENT, DIVINE; ZOROASTRIANS.

1 Esdras known as First Esdras or Esdras A, now part of the Apocrypha; closely parallels the biblical accounts in 2 Chronicles 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Nehemiah 8. It provides a continuous account of Israel's history from the great Passover celebration of King Josiah (died in 609 B.C.E.) through the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.), to the return from exile (beginning in 538 B.C.E.), the reconstruction of religious and political life under the Judean officials Zerubbabel and Ezra, and concluding with the festive reading of the Torah (probably 444 B.C.E., although 398 or later, the time of Artaxerxes II, has also been proposed). The book's structure is as follows:

(1) Ideal state of affairs: the period of King Josiah (1 Esdr. 1:1–23; 2 Chron. 35:1–27)
(2) Decline and destruction (1:24–55; 2 Chron. 36:1–21)
(3) Return and restoration (2:1–9:55)
  First return under the Persian king Cyrus and the Jewish court official Sheshbazzar (2:1–30; 2 Chron. 36:22–23, Ezra 1 and 4:7–24)
  Second return under King Darius and Zerubbabel (3:1–7:15; Ezra 2–6 and additions that are without parallel)
  Third return under King Artaxerxes and Ezra (8:1–9:55; Ezra 7–10, Nehemiah 8)

The earliest extant version of First Esdras is in Greek. Although it reflects a Hebrew original (probably 2d c. B.C.E.), no Hebrew manuscripts have survived. The book modifies parallel biblical accounts by amplifying the role of Zerubbabel, the descendant from the house of David, and by highlighting the role of the prophets. Although some scholars debate this point, it is most likely that the book is a deliberate reworking of the biblical books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah (rather than a source for either) expressing a later, Hellenistic ideology, one that resembles Chronicles in its emphasis on the Davidic monarchy and the Temple. One of this book's most striking additions is the story of the three guardsmen (1 Esdr. 3–5), in which young Zerubbabel rises to prominence in the Persian court of King Darius by winning a contest in which he praises the power of women and of truth. First Esdras emphasizes Zerubbabel's Davidic ancestry and his heroic role in shaping Israel's destiny (granting him the longest and most dramatic narrative), in contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah

which uses similar material to emphasize the role of the community and diminish Davidic importance. Furthermore, First Esdras envisions a restoration of earlier patterns and institutions whereas Ezra-Nehemiah expresses discontinuity. The antiquity and authority of this book are attested by the use that the first-century Jewish historian Josephus makes of it in his account of the return and restoration.

2 Esdras (4 Ezra) an ancient religious writing—today included among the Apocrypha—that is actually a compilation of three separate and independent works: 5 Ezra (transmitted as 2 Esdras chaps. 1–2); 4 Ezra (2 Esdras 3–14); and 6 Ezra (2 Esdras 15–16).

5 Ezra is a document of Christian prophecy that dates from the second or third century C.E. Pseudonymously attributed to Ezra, it first indicts the people Israel for their sins and disregard for God's beneficent acts, and predicts the transfer of God's allegiance to a "coming people" (1:4–2:9). In the second part (2:10–48), the "coming people" are exhorted, and the blessings that they will receive are described. 5 Ezra was composed by an unknown author, in Greek or (more probably) Latin.

4 Ezra is a sophisticated pseudepigraphic Jewish apocalypse that was written in Hebrew in the 90s C.E., probably in the Land of Israel. The purpose of the book is to come to terms with the theological issues raised by the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. As an apocalypse, 4 Ezra consists mainly of the revelation of heavenly information by a divine agent, here an angel, to a human seer, here Ezra.

The book is made up of seven visions of Ezra. The first three (3:1–9:25), which are similar in form and content, consist mainly of theological dialogues between the distressed Ezra and an angel of God. The dialogues, which focus on questions of theodicy, generally conclude with the angel's offering eschatological solutions to Ezra's queries.

In the fourth vision (9:26–10:59), which is pivotal, Ezra encounters a distraught woman, who is then transformed into the heavenly city of Jerusalem. In the first part of the vision, Ezra adopts the role of comforter and adviser to the woman, just as the angel had previously done to him. This transitional vision constitutes a "conversion" experience, in which Ezra moves from distress to consolation.

The fifth and sixth visions (chaps. 11–13) are symbolic dream visions which again posit eschatological and messianic solutions to the problem of theodicy. The hated Roman Empire will be destroyed and replaced by God's messianic kingdom. In the seventh vision (chap. 14), Ezra receives a revelation from God which culminates in his inspired recitation and transcription of public and esoteric religious scriptures. Finally, Ezra is taken up to heaven.

6 Ezra is an anonymous writing of eschatological prophecy, probably Christian in origin, dating from the second or third century C.E. It was written in or around Asia Minor or Egypt. Although probably composed in Greek, the book survives in full only in Latin.

The first section of 6 Ezra (15:1–16:34) describes calamities that will soon take place on earth as punishment for human sin. In the second section (16:35–78), God's people are exhorted to withdraw from worldly activity and abstain from sin if they wish to be saved.

It is not known precisely when or by whom the textual associations between 4, 5, and 6 Ezra were made. The first connection occurred when the Latin version of 6 Ezra was appended to the end of a Latin text of 4 Ezra, probably before 400 C.E. Next, a Latin text of 5 Ezra was joined to the end of the 4/6 Ezra corpus, probably before 450 C.E. At a later date, 5 Ezra was moved to the beginning of the corpus. The earliest extant full Latin text of 2 Esdras is in a ninth-century Bible manuscript from France.

None of the three parts of the 2 Esdras corpus exerted substantial influence individually in either Jewish or Christian tradition. As a collection, however, the corpus did stand on the fringes of the medieval Roman Catholic canon, and as such did have some prestige. 2 Esdras, like the other writings of the Apocrypha, is regarded as noncanonical by Protestants; Catholics since the Council of Trent (1546) consider it noncanonical, but place it in an appendix to the Vulgate.

Eshtemoa (Arab.: as-Samu and variants) ancient Jewish town and synagogue site identified with biblical Eshtemoa (Josh. 15:50, etc.), about 15 kilometers south of Hebron. Stones carved with two seven-branched menorahs were reported in reuse in the village a century ago. Now the synagogue is excavated and partially restored. The original walls have withstood natural disasters and still stand at a height of 8.5 meters. The synagogue was built and remodeled in two stages. (1) A rectangular building was erected with its long, north wall oriented to Jerusalem. Three entrances in the short, east wall opened into worship space from a town square through a raised narthex or porch. An Aramaic

inscription in the mosaic floor of the narthex reads, "Remembered be for good Eleazar the Priest and his three sons who donated one tremissis [a gold coin] to the synagogue. [last line broken]." The tile roof of the porch was held up with Corinthian columns. The worship space was without internal columns, and the center of worship was on the hall's long, north wall. This kind of orientation on a long wall is termed "broadhouse" orientation. Two tiers of benches ran along the two long walls, and other benches may have rested against the west wall. The floors were paved with multicolored geometric and floral mosaics. Three large niches, formed of carefully cut stone, graced the interior of the north wall above head height. (2) In the Byzantine period, presumably during the late fifth or early sixth centuries C.E., a stone ***bimah*** was added in front of the niches. The ***bimah*** included steps to ascend to the niches, and the Torah shrine presumably stood in the central niche. In several village stones, apparently from the synagogue, are remnants of Jewish and other art. One lintel fragment shows a menorah on a tripod base with a rosette to the right. A second stone fragment shows a menorah flanked by a column to the right. A fragment of a capital has a seven-branched menorah in relief. Yet another lintel is decorated with a spoked wheel, an amphora, a grapevine, and a six-pointed star. Several shell motifs appear on cut stones, including the lintel over the central entrance. Another lintel displays a wreath tied with a Hercules knot. It appears that the synagogue was transformed into a mosque during the seventh century C.E.

Essenes a Second Temple Jewish sect that flourished from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. The meaning of the name is uncertain; it may mean "pious ones" or "healers," but other derivations have been proposed. Extended accounts in Philo and Josephus, along with a notice by Pliny in his *Natural History,* furnish enough details to identify the Essenes with the inhabitants of Qumran, who wrote many of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Essenes were also found in many cities and villages in Israel; thus there were various branches or related sects of Essenes. Like the Pharisees and Sadducees they were a Second Temple reform movement.

The Essenes based their way of life on an enthusiastic and strict adherence to God's covenant with Israel, understood according to their interpretation of the law. They kept a clear distinction between priests and lay people and stressed living a life of holiness and ritual purity. Those who retreated to Qumran did so in rejection of what they perceived as wicked behavior and improper observances by the priesthood in Jerusalem. They were an apocalyptic group who awaited divine intervention for the destruction of wicked Jews and Gentiles and the restoration of a perfect Temple, city, and people. In the meantime, the Qumran Community and Essene communities in Israel stressed strong, generous, and loving ties among members of the community, careful observance of all the requirements of Biblical law, and a pure worship of God. They were instructed to avoid contact with less observant Jews, who were condemned as wicked and unfaithful to the covenant.

The Qumran Community went through several stages of development. The community was ruled by a guardian and probably a fifteen-person council. The most important governing body was a council of the whole community, which met frequently and discussed all matters of importance. Members were organized hierarchically according to seniority and the evaluation of their spiritual progress. They prayed, ate, and studied scripture together. Detailed rules governed their behavior at meetings and with one another. Infractions against these practices and biblical laws were punished with a graded series of sanctions, culminating in expulsion from the group. All property was held in common and used for the upkeep of the community and of guests. At Qumran, the community seems to have been celibate, at least for most of its history. Essenes in villages and cities married, however. An applicant to the group had to become acquainted with the members and leaders and be examined by the guardian. If he (all members were male) was found acceptable, he underwent a two-year probation, which, if successfully completed, led to his and his property's integration into the life and practices of the group.

The history of the Qumran group and other Essenes must be deduced from allusions based on biblical interpretations and from archaeological excavations. The Covenant of Damascus and the presence of other sectarian literature at Qumran suggests that the movement may have derived from earlier sectarian movements and taken shape in the early second century B.C.E. After twenty years, a period that included the Maccabean revolt, a so-called Teacher of Righteousness led the sect. During this period, in the middle of the second century B.C.E., Qumran was settled by a small group. At the beginning of the first century B.C.E., during the rule of Alexander Jannaeus, the community was enlarged. It was destroyed during the time

of Herod the Great, perhaps because of the Parthian invasion or an earthquake in 31 B.C.E. The settlement was rebuilt in the first century C.E. It was finally destroyed in the War with Rome (c. 68 C.E.). According to Josephus, some Essenes took part in public life. They were noted for their integrity and ability to predict the future. *See also* COMMUNITY RULE; DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Esther, Book of part of the section of the Hebrew Bible known as the Writings. Esther is a Hebrew novella by an unknown author, written in the eastern diaspora of the Persian Empire. Although no firm date for the book can be established, a date of the early fourth century B.C.E. is reasonable, based on the book's familiarity with the court of the Persian Empire and lack of Hellenistic elements.

The Book of Esther is the story of a young Jewish girl named Esther who, because of her beauty and charm, becomes the wife of the Persian emperor Ahasuerus and, with the help of her cousin Mordecai, saves the Jewish people from destruction at the hands of the evil Haman, counselor to the emperor. At the end of the book, Esther and Mordecai inaugurate the popular festival of Purim to commemorate this event. The story is fast-paced and exciting; it is well told and all ends happily. However, most scholars do not view Esther as an original composition, but rather a compilation of two (or possibly three) tales: one a story of Esther and a conflict between Jews and Gentiles in the provinces of the Persian Empire, and the other a tale about the royal courtier Mordecai and the court intrigue that almost leads to his downfall. In addition, the link between the story of Esther and Mordecai and the festival of Purim is seen as doubtful; the association was probably made to legitimate a (possibly pagan) festival already being celebrated by diaspora Jews.

Esther was written for an audience of diaspora Jews. This is demonstrated by the assumption of the book that Jews must and should live in a cooperative relationship with their gentile overlords (for example, Mordecai overhears a plot against the king and informs Esther, thus saving the king's life). In fact, the book is mostly sympathetic to Gentiles; the evil in the book is caused by one Gentile, Haman, and the other Gentiles, such as the king, are his dupes. The Book of Esther, and the characters of Esther and Mordecai, give Jews a model for successful living in the diaspora, which helps to account for its popularity in the diaspora.

The Book of Esther, in spite of its popularity, was not accepted into the canon by the Jews until the third century C.E., by the Western Christian church until the fourth century C.E., and by the Eastern Christian church until the eighth century C.E. The chief difficulty the authorities found with the book was its perceived lack of religiosity: there is no mention of God, no acknowledgment of the law or the convenant, and no prayers. Esther, the heroine of the story, is married to a non-Jew, does not follow the dietary laws, and, in fact, lives a completely gentile life. Her Jewish identity seems to be more ethnic than religious. However, popularity among its Jewish audience eventually earned the book canonical status. Christian churches were slow to follow, however, because of what they saw as Esther's anti-Gentile bias (this charge was still being leveled in some twentieth-century Christian commentaries). This perceived basis is, however, a misunderstanding of the book's audience and function. Esther remains one of the most popular biblical books among Jews today, due mainly to its association with the Purim festival.

The Additions to the Book of Esther are found in the Septuagint, or Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, and were produced with the translation of Esther in the late second or early first century B.C.E. The additions are six passages not found in the Hebrew text whose purpose is to add a specifically religious element (for example, the prayers of Esther and Mordecai), to heighten the dramatic interest, and to lend a note of authenticity to the events of the book (e.g., the royal edicts of Haman and Mordecai). God is mentioned over fifty times, as well as prayer, the Temple and its cult, and the dietary laws. However, most readers find the Additions gratuitous to the main plot, and thus the Additions do not find a wide audience within Judaism or Protestant Christianity.

Esther, targums to There are three known targums to Esther. The first two contain much additional and expansive material. They were probably composed in the early Middle Ages (seventh or eighth centuries). The third targum to Esther, published in the Antwerp Polyglot, is quite literal. It was created by sixteenth-century Christian scholars, who simply removed the additional material from the first targum, leaving a literal third targum. The value of this third targum to Esther for the study of Judaism is thus nil.

Esther Rabbah I exegesis of the Book of Esther, compiled c. 500–600 C.E. The exegesis concerns (1) the relationship between Israel and God, with special reference to the covenant, the Torah, and the land; (2) the relationship between Israel and the nations, with focus on Israel's history, past, present, and future, and how that cycle is to be known;

(3) Israel on its own terms, with focus upon Israel's distinctive leadership; and (4) the Book of Esther in particular. Esther Rabbah presents a single message: the nations are swine; their rulers, fools; and Israel is subjugated to them, though it should not be, because of its own sins. But just as God saved Israel in the past, so the salvation that Israel can attain will recapitulate the former ones.

eternity a concept that undergoes a distinct shift in meaning between the time of the Hebrew Bible and that of early Judaism. In the Hebrew Bible, the idea of eternity is most commonly connected with God. God is the "eternal God" (Deut. 33:27), the "everlasting God" (Gen. 21:33), the "everlasting King" (Jer. 10:10). The early writings of the Hebrew Bible depict God as a God *of* time, of the remotest past, and of the longest spans of time. "Eternity" is coextensive with the duration of the world.

In the postexilic period, the conception of God's eternity begins to shift from being equivalent to the time of the world to transcending that time. Eternity becomes a truly unlimited span that extends both before and after the "time of the world" (cf. Ps. 90:2; Isa. 44:6, 60:19–20).

Early Jewish literature continues this trend. Here, in many contexts, eternity is the antithesis of time, a timelessness that surpasses the duration of the world (see especially 2 Enoch 65). An important development here is the rise in Jewish eschatology of the idea of two distinct "ages" or "aeons": the "present age," which constitutes this world and its time; and the "future age," an ideal eschatological era that will be incorruptible, eternal, and perfect (cf. 1 Enoch 71:15; 2 Enoch 66:6–7; 2 Esdras 6:9). Within this framework, the idea of "eternity" is extended to various aspects of the eschatological age, for example, "eternal life," "eternal light," and "eternal torment."

Early Jewish notions of time and eternity are taken over in early Christianity. A new development here is that notions of God's eternity and preexistence are extended to Christ (cf. John 17:24; Heb. 13:8). The eschatological doctrine of the "two ages" is expressed in a wide variety of contexts (e.g., Mark 10:30; Rom. 12:12; 1 Tim. 6:17).

Jewish rabbinic literature also expresses similar notions of "eternity," including the idea of the "two ages" (e.g., Gen. Rab. 14 on 2:7). *See also* AGE, THIS; AGES, TWO; AGE TO COME.

Ethiopia kingdom in northeastern Africa. Egypt ruled the country from 2000 B.C.E. to 1000 B.C.E. Isaiah prophesied the doom of Egypt and Ethiopia, and 2 Kings and Isaiah name the pharaoh Tirhakah as Ethiopia's king in the eighth century B.C.E. Ethiopia's first independent kings descended from an Arabian dynasty. The country's Semitic language and culture stems from this dynasty, which traced its origins to Menelik and claimed to be descended from the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Medieval legends state that this son brought Jewish customs and law to Ethiopia. The Jewish nature of the Coptic Monophysite Christianity of Ethiopia may be the result of pre-Islamic contacts between the Ethiopians and the Jews.

ethnarch (from Gr.: *ethnos* [people] and *archon* [ruler]) ruler over a native people. Under the Romans, such rulers (e.g., Hyrcanus II and Archelaus) were not officially kings, though they might be so regarded by their people. The term might also be used for the head of a *politeuma* in a Greek city.

ethnos (Gr., people) In Jewish writings in Greek, the word is sometimes equivalent to "Gentiles," especially when used in the plural (*ethnoi*). On the other hand, the Jews themselves also formed an ethnic community in many areas outside Palestine, that is, an *ethnos* in the strict sense.

etiquette specific social rules concerning banquets, religious festivals, and gatherings of private associations. At formal meals such as those depicted in Esther, Daniel, Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus), the Qumran scrolls, the Gospels, and 1 Corinthians, placement was usually based on social rank: the more privileged sat closer to the host and often received more food (cf. 1 Cor. 11:17–22). Ben Sira's counsel includes accepting one's placement, eating in moderation and being the first to stop, avoiding argument, not deriding those who are drunk, and leaving quickly (31:12–32:13). Other areas of etiquette depicted in wisdom literature include proper speech, clothing, treatment of family members, and behavior in the business world.

etrog citron or yellow, thick-skinned citrus fruit; an important motif in ancient Jewish art that often appears with a menorah, shofar, and lulab. The etrog is not often carved in detail but may simply be depicted as a round object. In these depictions, if it did not occur with other species, it would be impossible to identify. On other occasions it may be shown with a "waist" and a point at the end. The etrog occurs unambiguously on coins of year four (69 C.E.) of the First Revolt, where it appears with the other three species of the Feast of Sukot: lulab, willow, and myrtle. The etrog also appears with the same group of symbols in coins of year one (132 C.E.) of the Bar Kokhba War. It also appears on glass and lamps and in synagogue art in relief or in mosaic art. We have more than

twenty etrogs portrayed in ancient Jewish synagogue art from the third to the sixth century. *See also* CITRON.

etymology, in exegesis Hebrew and Aramaic names are often transparent in meaning; for example, Abimelekh means "[the] father [is] king." Already in the Hebrew Bible, we find plays on names, even though some of these represent only folk etymologies rather than scientific ones. In Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman and rabbinic periods, names often played a part in exegesis. In rabbinic literature, this was usually fairly straightforward; for example, a name might indicate a particular characteristic of the person bearing the name. This does not differ significantly from the wordplay found in the Bible. In some of the Jewish exegetes writing in Greek, however, we have some quite sophisticated exegeses based on etymologies. This occurs as early as Aristobulus the Exegete, who uses the etymology of "sabbath" in his discussion. The height of etymological exegesis is reached in the works of Philo of Alexandria, who often incorporates etymologies into his allegories; Philo gives an etymology to 166 different names in the Hebrew Bible, some of them rather obscure. Josephus also gives occasional etymologies, which resemble those in rabbinic literature.

etzba *see* FINGERBREADTH

eudaimonion (Gr., happiness) Originally used in a broad sense, *eudaimonion* became a technical term in ancient philosophy for the goal of life. Although philosophers were ready to see happiness recognized as the proper goal, there was much debate about the proper means to achieve it.

Eudaimonis mother of Apollonis, military magistrate in Upper Egypt; author of letters written during the Jewish revolt in Egypt, 115–117 C.E. In one letter to her son, Eudaimonis, having heard of atrocities perpetrated by the Jews, offers a prayer to "the gods, especially the invincible Hermes, that they may not roast you." In the summer of 117 Eudaimonis laments the poor economic conditions resulting from the war, believing that she will have to go through the winter "without a stitch to wear." A letter from Eudaimonis to her daughter-in-law written in July 117 indicates that the situation still was not stable enough for Apollonis to return home.

euhemerism belief that gods were only men or heroes who were deified. The term is taken from the name of the Greek writer Euhemerus (fl. c. 300 B.C.E.), who wrote a novel of an island on which the gods were actually rulers who had been promoted to gods in thanks for their benefits to the people. Euhemerism is often found with reference to pagan gods in Jewish writings of the Graeco-Roman period. For example, Artapanus states that Moses set up the Egyptian worship, including gods in the form of animals, in order to keep order for the king. As a result, the Egyptians honored him as divine and named him Hermes.

eulabeia (Gr., caution, awe, fear of God) In Jewish writings in Greek, it is used with two main meanings. It can refer to the caution or prudence of the sage. More often in Jewish literature, however, it has the meaning of "piety." These concepts are not mutually exclusive, however, as an examination of Ben Sira (Ecclus.) shows. Here, the prudence or caution of the wise man is also equal to fear of God. This fits very much Ben Sira's general development of the wisdom tradition, in which wisdom is ultimately equated with the Torah.

eunuch a castrated male. In cultures in which the king maintained a harem, the bodyguards who protected and looked after the harem were often eunuchs. Sometimes the word in Hebrew (*saris*) or Greek (*eunuchos*) indicated an important officer or official who was not a physical eunuch, as, for example, Potiphar in the Joseph story.

Eupolemus one of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Writers of the second century B.C.E. He is often identified with the important official of 1 Maccabees 8:17 whose father John had negotiated terms with Antiochus III and who himself was sent on a mission to Rome. Only fragments of a history, *On the Kings of Judah,* are preserved in the writings of Josephus and Eusebius, though one fragment ascribed to him is now usually assigned to another writer referred to as Pseudo-Eupolemus. A good deal of his narrative is taken from the Hebrew Bible but with much interpretation and extrabiblical aggadic material included. He claimed that Moses taught the alphabet to the Jews, from whom the Phoenicians acquired it. His narrative of the rise and rule of David seems to have been sanitized (unless the preserved account is heavily abbreviated). His section on Solomon gives a series of supposed letters to and from the kings of Egypt and Tyre. There is also a detailed description of Solomon's temple, which does not always agree with the biblical account or other accounts. He claims that one of the Judean kings attempted to burn Jeremiah alive. He calculates the age of the world to his own time as just over five thousand years.

Eupolemus, Pseudo- also known as the Anonymous Samaritan. Two of the fragments of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Writers once attributed

to Eupolemus are now generally thought not to be by him. These fragments are all found in Eusebius. Pseudo-Eupolemus was probably a Samaritan, since his account of Abraham's meeting of Melchizedek, described in Genesis 14, does not take place at Salem (i.e., Jerusalem), but at Argarizin, the sacred temple of the Samaritans. The use of the name Argarizin instead of Gerizim is also a sign of a Samaritan writer. The two surviving fragments have come through Alexander Polyhistor; this and other factors suggest a dating for the work in the early second century B.C.E. The fragments both focus on Abraham, who was a hero to the Samaritans as well as to the Jews. Pseudo-Eupolemus was a proponent of euhemerism; he wrote that Enoch (identified with Atlas) discovered astrology and that Abraham taught astrology and mathematics to the Phoenicians and Egyptians. He also wrote that the Tower of Babel was founded by a race of giants, from whom Abraham was descended. Where the Hebrew text refers to Canaan or Canaanite, Pseudo-Eupolemus uses the term Phoenicia or Phoenician.

eusebeia (Gr., piety, or worship) one of a group of related words, including *sebomai* and *eulabeia,* which have a similar meaning. These words were often used by Jewish writers who were writing in Greek in reference to Jewish religion and worship. For example, the word *sebomai* is often translated as "God-fearers."

Eusebius (265–339/340 C.E.) bishop of Caesarea, born perhaps at Caesarea, Palestine. He was taught by Pamphilus, Origen's leading disciple. In response to Diocletian's persecutions, he fled to Tyre and then to Egypt. He returned to Palestine as a result of the Edict of Tolerance of 311. He was one of Arius's early supporters. He composed historical works, exegetical tracts, philological studies, theological tractates, and apologetic compositions; however, his historical works are the major reason for his importance today. His *Chronicon* has two parts. The first summarizes the history of the most famous peoples of the ancient world, while the second provides synchronic tables arranged in parallel columns with brief notes on the important historical facts from Abraham's birth to 303 C.E. Following a well-developed argument, Eusebius demonstrates that Judaism is the oldest religion. Interestingly, he does not consider Adam to have been a historical figure. His *Ecclesiastical history* demonstrates that Christianity's final victory testifies to its divine origin and legitimacy. In the *Evangelical Demonstration* he refutes the Jewish claims that the Christians had distorted and corrupted Judaism. He argues that the law of Moses was temporary and merely a transitional period between the patriarchs and Jesus. He also argues that the prophecies found in the Hebrew Bible were fulfilled in Jesus' incarnation, passion, and death.

Eutychius ibn Batriq (877–940 C.E.) Melchite patriarch of Alexandria and historian. He states that Constantine prohibited the Jews from living in or passing through Jerusalem. He reports that twenty thousand Jewish warriors helped the Persians during their invasion of Palestine in 614 C.E. and records the attacks on Acre and Tyre.

Eve (Heb.: Havva; Gr.: Zoe) meaning "life" and defined as "mother of all living," the name bestowed on the first woman by Adam (Gen. 3:20). The Assumption of Moses 15–30 (Latin: Life of Adam and Eve) offers Eve's lengthy recounting of the Eden story, her accepting responsibility for sin (18:1, so also Sir. 25:24 and contrast 4 Ezra), acts of repentance, witnessing of the return of God after Adam's death, and her own death and burial. Jubilees 3–4 expands on Genesis 2–4 by including such material as women's postpartum purity instructions. According to 1 Enoch 69:6, she was misled by an angel. In 2 Enoch 30, in an interesting word play, she is named by God. The Pauline tradition (2 Cor. 11:3; 1 Tim. 2:11–15) makes her the archetype of women's sinfulness: because the first woman was deceived by the serpent, disobedient to divine command, and the cause of the expulsion from paradise, all women share her fate of subordination to her husband (Gen. 3:16). The writer of 1 Timothy 2 insists that to overcome Eve's sin, women must be modest, faithful, and bear children. Other references to Eve include Sibylline Oracles 1:40–45 (on the fall); Apocalypse of Abraham 23–24 (an Eden scene, with both Adam and Eve of extraordinary height and with the serpent awakening Eve's sexual desire); and the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra 2 (the seer holds God responsible for creating Eve and thereby causing the fall). A figure of substantial speculation for Gnostic writers, Eve is frequently associated with Sophia, is presented as an instructor of heavenly wisdom, and is Adam's teacher. *See also* ADAM; ADAM AND EVE, BOOKS OF.

evening prayer (Heb.: *arbit;* later: *ma arib*) vesper prayers of Judaism, comprising recitation of the Shema with its preceding and following blessings, the Prayer and Aleinu

evidence *see* TESTIMONY

evil, origins of The Hebrew Bible devotes relatively little space to speculation about the origins of evil and the causes of sin. Human suffering is generally construed as punishment for sin; human

beings are responsible for their own evil deeds.

There are a few exceptions. The myth of Eden traces the enmity between humans and animals, the sterility of the earth, women's pain in childbirth, and the necessity of death back to a primordial rebellion by the first human beings. Some of the psalmists protest against unjust suffering. The present form of the Book of Job carries the protest to great lengths and explains Job's suffering as the result of a test instigated by the heavenly accuser (Heb.: haSatan). For Second Isaiah the innocent suffering of the righteous servant of YHWH is expiation for the people (Isa. 53:4–6, 10–11).

Different from the biblical texts, Jewish documents from the Graeco-Roman period present a range of explanations for the origins of evil and the causes of sin which posit the existence of a world of evil spirits whose activities will continue until God ends the present evil age. Especially prominent are a set of myths about a primordial heavenly revolt. 1 Enoch 6–16 has three variations of the myth. (1) Shemihazah and his associates descend from heaven, mate with women, and beget bellicose giants who ravage the earth and its inhabitants. Like many myths, the story narrates primordial events in order to explain present conditions; specifically, it inverts claims that the successors of Alexander the Great were sons of the gods and explains the origin of violence in the early Hellenistic period by identifying the divine parents as rebels against the high God. (2) Asael reveals heavenly secrets about metallurgy and mining, which enable humans to forge weapons and fabricate seductive cosmetics and jewelry; other watchers reveal the secrets of magic and astrological prognostication. (3) Because the giants are partly divine, their death at the time of the flood releases their spirits into the world to constitute a realm of evil demons who will continue to wreak havoc until the end-time.

The Book of Jubilees adds a new twist to the Enochic myths. The Prince of Mastema, the chief of the evil spirits bred by the watchers, makes a pact with God that permits one tenth of his subordinates to have their way with the earth and humanity (chap. 10). They obstruct God's purposes, fostering idolatry, spreading sickness, and inciting humans to commit sin.

In the Life of Adam and Eve 12–16, the devil (Lat.: *diabolus*) recounts a myth of heavenly revolt based on Isaiah 14. The angels are ordered to worship the image of God in Adam. The devil refuses and proposes to set his throne above the stars and be like the Most High. He and his angels are hurled down to earth, and in revenge the devil tempts Eve and Adam—the cause of the devil's fall—to sin.

The Qumran Community Rule (specifically 1QS 3:13–4:26) traces the origins of evil back to the dualistic structure of creation itself rather than to a primordial heavenly revolt. Truth and perversity have been generated from a "spring of light" and a "fountain of darkness," and God has set "the Prince of Light" and "the Angel of Darkness" over the children of righteousness and the children of perversity. Although human beings are responsible for their actions and receive appropriate rewards and punishments, their deeds are functions of these two spirit powers and their hosts of good angels and evil spirits, who dwell in human hearts. Thus, different from 1 Enoch, both Jubilees and the Community Rule suggest that, for unstated reasons, God permits evil and sin to take place. In 1QS 3–4 the cosmic spirits of good and evil are explicitly located within human beings; cosmology has merged with anthropology.

The move toward an anthropological explanation of sin is completed and radicalized in 2 Esdras. The seer charges that "a grain of evil seed was sown in Adam's heart from the beginning," which continues to produce wickedness until the present time (4:30–32). All descendents of Adam are born with an inclination to sin, and God is responsible for not removing this propensity (3:20–26). Later, rabbinic texts will develop the ideas in 1QS 3–4 and 2 Esdras into a teaching about the *yetzer* or the two *yetzers*."

The Apostle Paul in Romans 7–8 works with notions especially close to 1QS 3–4 and 2 Esdras. The problem of sin is anthropological; human beings since Adam have a kind of genetic defect. "Flesh" is generically the locus of "sin," which is the functional equivalent of the evil spirit, and the Torah is impotent to effect the obedience it commands. Paul's solution is the appearance of the Son of God, whose obedience, substitutionary death, and resurrection release into the world the equivalent of the Qumran Prince of Light—the spirit of the Risen Christ—who facilitates the obedience that brings eternal life.

The most radical explanation for the origin of evil and sin appears in the Gnostic texts of the second century C.E. (e.g., the Apocryphon of John; the Origin of the World). The heavenly revolt took place before creation, and, indeed, the creation of the world and humanity are the result of that revolt. Thus, the creator is demonized, and the creation is essentially evil.

Fundamental to all of this speculation is an attempt to explain the existence of sin and evil while maintaining the justice and power of God. The ongoing existence of sin and evil is explained by the apocalyptic and Gnostic generational myths: the watchers literally bred their malevolent spiritual substance into the world, and the Gnostic demiurge created the universe from the substance that derived from Sophia's miscarriage. In both cases, an eschatological divine intervention will obliterate evil and sin. The anthropological explanations for sin in 1QS 3–4, 2 Esdras, and Paul also posit an eschatological solution.

Myths concerning the origins of evil and sin draw motifs from their gentile environment. The Enochic myths reflect Greek myths about the mating of gods and mortals and about the revolt of Prometheus. The devil's narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve derives, ultimately, from Canaanite mythology. The radical dualism in 1QS 3–4 has significant parallels in Iranian texts. *See also* DEVIL; DUALISM.

evil eye, in rabbinic Judaism jealous gaze cast upon a person or object to cause harm through magical means. Rabbis believed that biblical figures cast it upon one another and that their own contemporaries, too, could exercise this power. It can be warded off by modesty and restraint, or it can be counteracted by wearing a talisman, by magical gestures, or the recitation of verses specified in the Talmud (B. Ber. 55b).

exaltation raising of one to a position of high authority. Biblical stories set in royal courts describe how Joseph, Mordecai, and Daniel and his three companions are persecuted, condemned to death, and then rescued, vindicated, and installed as viziers or royal counselors (Gen. 37–47; Esther; Dan. 3, 6). Isaiah 52–53 describes "the servant of YHWH" as a persecuted prophet (also 50:4–9) who is exalted in the presence of the kings and the nations (52:13–15). Wisdom of Solomon 2–5 recounts the case of the righteous and wise spokesman of God, employing the form of the court stories and describing the sage's exaltation in the language of Isaiah 52–53. Daniel 12:3 attributes the Deutero-Isaianic pattern of suffering and exaltation to the teachers of the Torah during the persecution by Antiochus IV, and later Jewish texts democratize the notion of glorious heavenly exaltation (2 Bar. 49–51). The tradition in Daniel 12:3 and Wisdom of Solomon 2–5 becomes a model for describing Jesus' death and his exaltation to heaven. Its influence is evident in the hymn in Philippians 2:6–11, in credal formulas elsewhere in the Pauline epistles, and in the literary shape of the gospel narratives about Jesus' suffering, death, and resurrection, which also employ motifs from biblical Psalms about the humiliation and exaltation of the righteous one. More broadly, the pattern of death and exaltation is applied to persecuted Christians (Rev. 20:4–6). *See also* SERVANT OF THE LORD.

excommunication expulsion from the religious community. The preservation of institutional integrity and orthodoxy requires communal self-discipline. In addition to restriction of ritual privileges, silencing, and temporary banishing, excommunication, or severance from the group, proved an often effective means of maintaining internal peace. Ezra 10:8, the earliest biblical attestation of excommunication, bans from the congregation those who refuse his summons. The Qumran scrolls mandate separation either on a temporary or permanent basis; permanent excommunication would result from infractions such as speaking the divine name, complaining against congregational authority, deliberately transgressing Mosaic law, and sharing food with an excommunicate (see 1QS6:27–9:2; Josephus, *War* 2.8.8). Matthew insists that a church member be forgiven "seventy times seven" times (18:22) but notes as well that after three warnings against misconduct, the Church treat the wrongdoer "as a Gentile and a tax collector" (18:17). Regarding a man cohabiting with his father's wife, Paul advises excommunication; the Church should "deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. 5:1–5). Rather than depict excommunication, Acts presents the death of those who would cheat the Church (5:1–11). John 9:22, 12:42, and 16:2 (see also Luke 6:22) mention synagogues that excommunicate (Gr: *aposynagogos*) those who confess Jesus; the Birkhat haMinim or Benediction against Heretics, the twelfth benediction in an early version of the Shemonah Esreh (Amidah), is frequently adduced as independent testimony to John's claim, although the prayer makes such severance the voluntary act of the (apostate) worshiper.

The rabbinic literature speaks of two types of excommunication, the rebuke (*nezifah*), which applied for a minimum of seven days, and the ban of excommunication (*niddui*), which applied for a minimum of thirty days (B. Moed Katan 16a; Y. Moed Katan 3:1, 81a). During these periods of punishment, members of the community were forbidden to have contact or do business with the offender, who was expected to engage in acts of penitence and to show signs of remorse. Once in

effect, a ban of excommunication could be released only by a court or individual of greater stature than the one who had imposed it. Similarly, an individual placed under a ban by a student or lower court was not treated as excommunicated by a superior court or authority of higher stature (B. Moed Katan 17a).

The Babylonian Talmud depicts excommunication as a broadly applied punishment for social or religious misconduct that seems also to have been a tool used by individual rabbis to protect their personal honor. A learned person might excommunicate someone who insulted him (B. Moed Katan 17a); a teacher could excommunicate a student who decided a law in his presence (B. Shabbat 19a) or who asked silly questions (B. Menaḥot 37a); and excommunication applied to those who treated lightly the washing of the hands, who told stories about departed sages, or who acted in a familiar way toward heaven (B. Berakhot 19a). The Jerusalem Talmud speaks narrowly of the use of excommunication, reserving it for individuals who lead the community into improper religious belief or practice, for instance, by preventing people from performing their religious obligations or by inducing the community as a whole to commit blasphemy (Jerusalem Talmud Moed Katan 3:1, 81b).

execution in rabbinic law, the death penalty. While generally rejecting the biblical theory of retaliatory punishment, preferring instead monetary compensation, rabbinic law retains the punishment of death for homicide. In this, the rabbis apparently hold that only in a case of murder is the corresponding punishment—execution—always equitable (B. Baba Kamma 84a). While retaining execution as a punishment applied whenever called for by scripture, however, the rabbis advanced the general theory that courts should do everything possible to ensure that a death sentence would never be imposed. This entailed enacting strict guidelines defining the conditions under which the death penalty could be used; for example, murderers had to have been warned that their actions made them subject to execution. Additionally, judges could ask questions the witnesses were unable sufficiently to answer. This rendered their testimony unreliable and thus precluded execution as a punishment for the crime (B. Makkot 7a). Simeon b. Gamaliel held that hesitating to impose capital punishment caused the number of murderers to multiply within the people of Israel (M. Makkot 1:10). The apparently normative view, however, was that execution was not appropriate in any case. Tarfon declared that a court that imposes the death penalty more than once in seventy years is "murderous" (M. Makkot 1:10). Eleazar b. Azaria and Akiba stated that no court on which they presided would impose execution (ibid.).

Where scripture does not indicate the method of execution, the rabbis assign one of the four biblical methods. Stoning, considered the most severe punishment, was applied in eighteen circumstances, including bestiality, blasphemy, cursing a parent, idolatry, and witchcraft. Strangulation, deemed the mildest form of execution, applied in five cases, including false prophecy and kidnapping. The other methods are burning, applied in ten cases of inappropriate sexual activity, and decapitation, applied in cases of communal apostasy and murder.

exilarch Resh Galuta, the head of the Babylonian Jewish community from the Parthian Empire through the Sassanid dynasty and for several centuries in the period of Arab control as well. Designated in Aramaic as "chief of the diaspora," the exilarch was recognized by the state as the ruler of the Jewish community. He had a place on the king's council, was responsible for governance and collection of taxes in the Jewish community, and was in charge of the Jewish criminal and civil courts. While enjoying the backing of the government, within the Jewish community the exilarch legitimated his power by tracing his lineage back to David, implicitly claiming that he, or one of his descendents, would be the Davidic Messiah (see, e.g., Jerusalem Talmud Ketubot 12:3; 35a). The exilarch thus was a political figure who, through a messianic myth, claimed rightfully to rule the Jewish community in Babylonia.

No evidence exists regarding the founding of the exilarchate or the earliest exilarchs. The office likely was created by the Parthians in the first century C.E. as an aspect of their reorganization of the empire and in response to the need to secure the loyalty of the Jewish population that lived in substantial and strategically vital territories. While the nature of the early exilarchate is unknown, it is clear that by the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt and especially in the period of Judah the Patriarch, a Babylonian exilarchate existed as a central governing office. The exilarch had direct access to the Parthian throne, wore insignia of Parthian nobility, and controlled a military force to execute his edicts. The exilarch appears to have been substantially more powerful and independent than the patriarch in the land of Israel, who was subordinate to Roman officials and ruled at their pleasure.

The exilarch ruled the Jewish community through the appointment of judges and community officials. For this purpose he used the rabbis, who enhanced the exilarch's power through their knowledge of the oral Torah, recently codified in the land of Israel in the form of the Mishnah. B. Sanhedrin 5a suggests that a rabbinic judge could indemnify himself against financial responsibility for errors by securing appointment from the exilarch. In the face of such appointment, that individual would be a representative of the secular government and exempt from the rabbinic rule that deems judges personally culpable for errors.

Beginning in the late third century C.E., the rabbis' growing power and prestige increasingly came into conflict with the exilarch's authority. The conflict is typified in the rabbinic stories of Geniva, who, in about 275 C.E., apparently asserted the superiority of rabbis over the exilarch and who was executed by the state. Similarly in this period, rabbis began to contend that as communal leaders they should be exempt from the head tax, a claim that the exilarch rejected. The talmudic literature additionally relates the mistreatment of rabbis by members of the exilarch's staff (see, e.g., B. Gittin 67b; B. Shabbat 121b). Through the remainder of the Talmudic period and almost to the end of the exilarchate, the relationship between exilarchs and rabbis varied depending upon the extent to which the exilarch accepted, supported, and at times participated in rabbinic culture, learning, and the system of rabbinic academies.

After the Arab conquest, the Muslim government for a time continued to recognize the exilarch as the political head of the Jewish community, responsible for taxation, appointment of judges, and administering of the Jewish courts. By the time the exilarchate ceased to exist, in the eleventh century C.E., the title passed on dynastically but carried with it no special authority nor responsibility within the Jewish community.

exile an idea occurring in two main contexts in early Jewish thought. One is the exile of the ten northern tribes of Israel imposed by the Assyrians under Sargon II in 722 B.C.E. The other is the exile of the inhabitants of Judah to Babylon in 598 and 587 B.C.E. under Nebuchadnezzar and the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Since it was the Judahites who returned to and restored the land of Israel, the Babylonian exile plays by far the more important role in Jewish theology.

The Babylonian exile is one of the major foci of theological reflection in early Jewish thought and, like the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E., constituted a severe challenge to the idea of theodicy, the justice of God. Why had God allowed his earthly abode, the Jerusalem Temple, and the holy city of Jerusalem to be destroyed, and the people of God to be exiled? This problem was answered, in deuteronomistic fashion, by interpreting the destruction and exile as punishment for the sins of the Jewish people. When these sins were absolved, God would remember the covenant with Israel, allow mercy again to reign, and permit the restoration. The Babylonian exile ended in 538 B.C.E. when Cyrus and the Persians conquered the Babylonians and allowed the Jews and other captive peoples to return to their homelands.

The Babylonian exile thus functions in early Judaism as a major manifestation, or testing ground, of deuteronomistic theology. The event and its lessons are recalled in numerous early Jewish writings. It plays a dominant role, for example, in 1 Baruch, 1 Esdras, the Letter of Jeremiah, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and 4 Baruch. Many other documents mention the exile or include it in the context of a historical review (1 Enoch 89:66–72; Jub. 1:13–18; Pss. Sol. 9:1–2; Sib. Or. 3:265–294; Test. Moses 3–4; and Lad. Jac. 5:16).

The exile of the ten northern tribes (cf. 2 Kings 17) is less significant theologically, but is mentioned in early Jewish literature. The first significant use is in the book of Tobit, which alleges to tell the story of a Galilean Israelite exiled to Ninevah. At a later period, the legend grew up that the northern tribes, whose actual fate was a mystery, resided in untold numbers in an unknown land east of the Euphrates. According to 4 Ezra, after their initial exile, these tribes removed themselves still further to a remote land where they devoted themselves to the law. At the time of the eschaton, they would return to the land of Israel (4 Ezra 13:12–13, 39–50; cf. 14:33). Related references appear in the Testament of Moses 2–4; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 11.133; 2 Baruch 1:2–3; chaps. 62–87; Sibylline Oracle 2:168–176; Ascension of Isaiah 3:2; Testament of Joseph 19:1–7; Testament of Naphtali 6; Commodian, *Carmen apologeticum* 941–973 and *Instructiones* 1.42; and rabbinic literature, for example, M. Sanhedrin 10:3.

In Christian sources, the motif of exile usually functions in a different manner. In 1 Peter, the Christians of Asia Minor are depicted as "exiles of the dispersion" (1:1), probably reflecting the idea that Christians, while on Earth, are exiles from their heavenly home (cf. 1:17, 2:11). This idea is made explicit in Hebrews 11:13; 2 Clement 5:1; and Dio-

gnetus 5:5. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs depict an exile directly preceding the eschaton (Test. Levi 10:3–4, 15:1–3; Test. Jud. 23:3–5; Test. Issa. 6:2–4; Test. Zeb. 9:6–7; Test. Naph. 4:2–5). Matthew 1:11–12 and 17 refer historically to the Babylonian exile. *See also* BABYLON.

exile, return from return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile in the late sixth century B.C.E. As a result of successive deportations by the Babylonians in the early decades of the sixth century B.C.E., several thousand Judeans were settled in the Nippur region of southern Mesopotamia, where they were able to maintain their separate identity as an ethnic minority. The prospect of return to the homeland, encouraged by the early military successes of Cyrus II, became a reality for those who could afford it and had the necessary motivation after the conquest of Babylon by the Persians in 539 B.C.E. The Cyrus cylinder inscribed in the following year announced a policy of tolerance, including repatriation of peoples deported by the conquered Babylonians. The same policy is reflected in the imperial decree recorded in Ezra 1:1–4 (cf. 5:13–15, 6:1–5), according to which Babylonian Jews were encouraged to return and rebuild the Temple; the version in Ezra 6:1–5 even states that the cost of rebuilding will be defrayed by the imperial treasury and orders the return of the sacred vessels confiscated by the Babylonians. The authenticity of these documents is disputed, but they are at least consistent with Persian policy with respect to other parts of the empire.

The sequel to these decrees is unclear in several respects. Ezra 1–2, records that a caravan of about fifty thousand Jews returned at once, bringing the sacred vessels and rich offerings for the Temple. The returnees set up an altar on the site of the former Temple and reinstituted the daily sacrifice under the leadership of Jeshua, the chief priest, and Zerubbabel, the grandson of the deported king, Jehoiakhin (cf. 1 Chron. 3:19). However, the list in Ezra 2:1–67 (= Neh. 7:6–68) may date from a later period in the history of the province, the roles of the civic leaders Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel remain unclear, and in any case no substantial progress was made toward the rebuilding before the reign of Darius about two decades later (Hag. 2:15). In the sixth year of Darius's reign (515 B.C.E.), the Temple was finally completed and dedicated; later still, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes (probably Artaxerxes I, and therefore 458 B.C.E.), Ezra arrived at the head of another caravan, with a mandate to enforce traditional law in the province (Ezra 7–8). In the following decade the province of Yehud (Judah) achieved a degree of autonomy and relative stability under the governorship of Nehemiah, c. 445–430 B.C.E. The Babylonian returnees and their descendants formed the dominant elite in the province by virtue of their superior wealth and education and their control of the Temple. It was this group that imparted to nascent Judaism its most characteristic institutions and expressions.

Prophetic texts from the time of the exile and restoration provide different religious viewpoints on the political disaster—the Babylonian conquest and the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple—and hold out different prospects for the future. Ezekiel, taken to Babylon with the first deportation, rejected the argument that the deportees were being punished for the sins of their forebears; he emphasized the moral failure of the nation as the cause of the disasters, but held out the possibility of a new dispensation, following on divine judgment (chaps. 33–37). His vision of the chariot-throne by the Chebar canal in the Nippur region assured the deportees of the possibility of worship in a land polluted by idolatry (cf. Ps. 137), while the Temple vision (chaps. 40–48) provided a kind of blueprint for the restoration of worship, led by the legitimate (i.e., Zadokite) priesthood, in the purified and repopulated Land of Israel. A more specific program of restoration, probably elaborated in Babylon and in Judah shortly after the return, can be deduced from the priestly narrative and legal material in the Pentateuch, with its emphasis on the sanctuary, cultic and ritual institutions, and the life of holiness in general. Somewhat different is the viewpoint of the Deuteronomists, apparent in the exilic edition of Deuteronomy and of the national history set forth in Joshua and 2 Kings, as well as in Deuteronomic additions to and expansions of prophetic books, especially Jeremiah. The point is to place responsibility for the disasters squarely where it belongs, since the people had not heeded prophetic warnings, and to inculcate a change of heart, a "seeking of YHWH," in response to the new opportunity offered to them by their God.

The clearest expression of the hope for return and restoration is to be found in the exilic Isaiah, for whom Cyrus is to be YHWH's agent in bringing this hope to fulfillment (Isa. 44:24–45:7). For this prophet, judgment is in the past (e.g., Isa. 40:2), and the way is being prepared for a new exodus and occupation of the land (Isa. 51:9–11, 52:11–12). For many at that time in both Judah and Babylon, hope for the future focused on the exiled

Davidic dynast Jehoiakhin, who had been released by the Babylonians after thirty-seven years of captivity (2 Kings 25:27–30). Occurring often in prophetic texts from the exilic period (Jer. 23:5–6, 30:8–9, 33:14–26; Ezek. 34:23–24, 37:24–25; Isa. 55:3), the dynastic theme was transferred to Jehoiakhin's grandson, Zerubbabel, in the early years of Darius's reign, when it seemed that the Persian Empire might fall apart (Hag. 2:20–23; Zech. 3:8–10, 6:9–15). The disappointment of this hope, together with the harsh reality of life as a subject people in an impoverished land, finds expression in the final chapters of Isaiah (chaps. 56–66).

Within rabbinic literature the concept of return from exile pertains primarily to the future event by which God will gather the dispersed of the nation of Israel and return them to the promised land. The rabbis depict this return as an event of even greater magnitude than the exodus from Egypt, holding that, in the messianic age, it will comprise the focus of Jewish recognition of God (B. Berakhot 12b). Unlike the exodus from Egypt, the messianic return will entail neither haste nor flight (Mekhilta Bo 7); the Israelites will return to their land with song and everlasting joy (Mekhilta Beshallah 1).

Exodus narrowly defined, the "going out" of the Hebrews from Egypt; according to most scholars, the three events narrated in Exodus 11:1–15:21: the Passover, the abandonment of Egypt, and the encounter at the Reed Sea. Unfortunately, most of the "historical" details were obscured in the compilation/composition of the Book of Exodus. The Passover, in its present form connected with the last plague inflicted on Egypt, most likely originated as an older rite that later became attached to the account of the plague in Exodus. The two major questions of the date of the Exodus and the route the Hebrews followed continue to be matters of dispute. The Bible nowhere names the pharaoh who reigned at that time; the two periods most vigorously defended by scholars are the mid-fifteenth century B.C.E., under Thutmose III, and the mid-thirteenth century B.C.E., under Rameses II. The mention of the cities of Pithom and Rameses (Exod. 1:11) and the inclusion of "Israel" on a commemorative stele of Pharaoh Merneptah, erected 1221 B.C.E., incline most scholars to support the latter date. The location of the encounter at the Reed Sea (Exod., chap. 14) is usually situated somewhere in the Bitter Lakes, a region north of the Reed Sea in the area of the modern Suez Canal. None of the proposed routes from the Reed Sea to Sinai are without problems, including the location of the mountain itself, and a route across the northern half of the Sinai peninsula toward the Gulf of Aqaba seems most probable.

The remembrance of the Exodus became one of the central elements of Israelite and Jewish piety, and the event still is recalled annually in the Passover Seder, where God's salvation is appropriated by each member of the community. As a consequence of these events, YHWH became Israel's God, and the Law was given to Israel. Subsequent Israelite and Jewish literature has at its heart ideas and language of deliverance, redemption, salvation, and election grounded in God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt. In several psalms, God's acts in the Exodus contrast with the faithlessness of his people, even as they witnessed the events (Ps. 78:12–53, 106:7–46). The biblical prophets indict the sinfulness of the people of Israel by explicitly recalling the magnitude of God's salvation in the Exodus events (Hos. 11:1–2; Amos 2:9–12; Ezek. 20:5–26).

Both Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah view the Exodus as paradigmatic for understanding the Babylonian exile. Jeremiah 16:14–15 looks forward to the time when God would be seen as the one who brought his people out of Babylon, rather than out of Egypt. The beginning of Deutero-Isaiah (especially Is. 43:16–19) is replete with Exodus imagery that equates God's deliverance of his people from Egypt with that of his people from Babylon.

In Second Temple Jewish literature, the Exodus events continue to be pivotal to understanding God's relationship to his people. In rehearsals and rewritings of Israel's history, such as those in The Wisdom of Solomon, Jubilees, 3 Maccabees, and Judith, the Exodus occupies a central place. For Philo of Alexandria these events are not only about the history of Israel but also an allegory about the destiny of the human soul.

The Exodus was also a focal point for Greek and Roman perceptions about Jews and Judaism. Several versions of an Exodus story circulated in the Greco-Roman world, some anti-Jewish and some more neutral, which claimed that the Jews had been expelled from Egypt as lepers. In *Against Apion,* Josephus attacks those who use such a tradition against Jews. Various aspects of the Exodus story influenced New Testament writers, especially the gospel writers who infuse Jesus' life with allusions to the Exodus (cf. Matt. 2:13–15; John, chap. 19).

Exodus Rabbah midrashic compilation on the Book of Exodus, divided into fifty-two sections.

Sections 1–14, on Exodus chapters 1–10, resemble later medieval midrashic compilations and appear to derive from the tenth century C.E. These sections depend heavily upon earlier midrashic compilations, including Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, and Lamentations Rabbah, and have as their chief source materials from versions of the Tanḥuma.

Sections 15–52, on Exodus chapters 12–40, are earlier than sections 1–14, probably having been compiled in the ninth century C.E. In addition to the Mishnaic Hebrew that is primary throughout all sections of the text, sections 15–52 contain Greek and Latin words as well as some Galilean Aramaic. These sections contain numerous parables and, unlike sections 1–14, some legal expositions.

Both sections are based on the divisions of Exodus in the Palestinian triennial lectionary cycle and feature proems. Sections 1–14 are primarily exegetical, interpreting successive verses and individual words. Sections 15–52, by contrast, are homiletical and include epilogues often referring to a coming redemption. The two bodies of material seem to have been combined in the eleventh or twelfth century. They are first referred to by Nahmanides, in the thirteenth century.

Exodus Rabbah was first printed in Constantinople in 1512, in an edition that included the five Rabbah midrashic compilations on the Pentateuch. That edition serves as the source for all subsequent printings of Exodus Rabbah.

Exodus, Targum to *see* PALESTINIAN TARGUMS; ONKELOS, TARGUM

exogamy *see* ENDOGAMY

ex opera operato (Lat., let it work from the work) often found as a technical term in scholarly references to mean that a particular religious or cultic act is itself efficacious. For example, a sacrifice might remove sin or make pure simply because the act is carried out, without regard for personal attitude or repentence.

exorcism the practice of casting out evil spirits that possess a person or, in some cases, an immaterial object, such as a house. In antiquity, Jews had a reputation for the ability to do this. The ability allegedly goes back to Solomon, who was credited with casting out demons and forcing them to do his bidding, even building the Temple.

expiation making amends or atoning for something. In English translations of biblical and Jewish texts, "expiation" and "atonement" are often used interchangeably, with "atonement" more common in recent translations. Both words are used to translate Hebrew terms derived from the root *kpr* (e.g., Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement) and Greek terms derived from the root *hilaskesthai,* which translate the Hebrew *kpr* in the Septuagint. The Hebrew derives from a root metaphor meaning "cover over," and the Greek, from "making amends." Depending on context and on the translator's theology "propitiation" and "purification" are also used to translate these words. More properly, "atonement" should be used for terms associated with reconciliation.

In the bible, "expiation" refers primarily to sacrifices offered regularly to purify the Temple sanctuary from the effects of sin. (Deliberate personal sin was expiated by repentance and punishment.) On Yom Kippur, the priest sprinkled blood on the "cover" above the ark to "cover over" all the ill effects of Israel's sins on the sanctuary. Similarly, after Heliodorus had violated the Temple and been flogged by angelic emissaries, the high priest offered an expiatory sacrifice for him (3 Macc. 3:33). In 1 Esdras, the priests who had taken foreign wives offer rams in expiation of their error.

In Second Temple Judaism, cultic metaphors are common. God can make amends for sinners, that is, He forgives sins (Sir. 5:6, 16:7). Various ethical actions, such as almsgiving or honoring one's father, can atone for one's sins (Sir. 3:3, 30). The Qumran Community members expiate their sins and are purified by "the spirit of true council concerning the ways of man" and "the spirit of uprightness and humility" (1 QS3:4–8, 8:1–3). The Community also conceives of itself as expiating the sins of Israel and the land (1 QS 8:4–8). Frequent mention of expiation at Qumran testifies to the priestly and cultic orientation of the Community and to its ideal of creating a pure and holy Israel. Finally, martyrdom was also understood in terms of expiation. Though heavily influenced by Stoicism, 4 Maccabees understands the painful deaths and blood of the mother and her seven sons as an expiatory sacrifice because of which God preserved Israel (17:22).

New Testament authors took up sacrificial terminology, including expiation, in order to explain the execution of Jesus. Thus Jesus is an expiation or makes expiation for the sins of the people (Rom. 3:25; 1 John 2:2, 4:10; Heb. 2:17). The metaphor of expiation is also used for being merciful or reconciled with a sinner (Luke 18:13). *See also* ATONEMENT; ATONEMENT FOR THE LAND; RECONCILIATION.

expulsions of Jews from Rome events occurring three times, according to various ancient historians whose accounts are not always clear or consistent with one another. In 139 B.C.E., the Roman authorities expelled some Jews for proselytism. This

would be consistent with the Roman policy of resistance to eastern religions in order to preserve Roman practices and virtues. In 19 C.E., the emperor Tiberius punished the Jewish community because some members had defrauded an aristocratic Roman woman out of a large sum of money and perhaps because of the enmity of his adviser Sejanus toward Jews. He expelled the community from Rome and impressed four thousand men into the military. Finally, the emperor Claudius either expelled the Jews from Rome or forbade them to assemble because they "constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus." This passage from the historian Suetonius seems to indicate that the community contained members who were followers of Jesus Christ (Latin *Christus,* meaning anointed one) who were causing trouble. The historical sources disagree on the date for this decree from Claudius, placing it either in 41 or 49 C.E. *See also* ROME, JEWS IN.

Ezekias the Brigand Chief first-century B.C.E. leader of a group of dispossessed people in Galilee, along the Syrian border, according to Josephus. In the course of defeating his opponents, Julius Caesar appointed Herod the Great's father, Antipas, as a ruler in Judea (47 B.C.E.); Herod the Great was sent to Galilee as governor, where he captured and killed Ezekias and many of his followers. This vigorous activity brought Herod to the notice of Sextus Caesar, governor of Syria, and won him praise from villagers.

Ezekiel, Apocryphon of Several ancient sources claim knowledge of an apocryphal book that circulated under the name of the biblical prophet Ezekiel. The Jewish historian Josephus (*Ant.* 10.5.1 [10.79]) provides the earliest testimony when he says that Ezekiel left behind two books of predictions. The fourth-century-C.E. church father Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion* 64, 70.5–17), writes of finding a story about a lame and a blind man "in Ezekiel's own apocryphon." Finally, the Canon List of Nicephorus lists a pseudepigraphon in Ezekiel's name.

Unfortunately no apocryphal Ezekiel book has survived, although it seems certain that some book or books did exist. What remain extant are quotations in early Christian writers that are not in the biblical book, but that are attributed to the biblical prophet, and several fragmentary manuscript discoveries, including some at Qumran, that are clearly associated with the prophet Ezekiel.

The language and character of the surviving materials are varied, and they obscure the issues of the original language and form of these sayings. Thus, questions about language, provenance, and mechanism of transmission remain open. Five passages in the Christian Church Fathers, however, are usually claimed to belong to this apocryphon because of their explicit attribution to Ezekiel, although several additional citations have been suggested. The earliest attestations of these five are listed below. Neither Clement of Rome nor Justin Martyr give explicit attribution to Ezekiel; his name appears only in later quotations of these passages. The story related by Epiphanius also occurs in several Hebrew versions in rabbinic literature, while the material in Clement of Alexandria appears in more extended form in a papyrus manuscript, Chester Beatty 185. The traditional "fragments" of apocryphal Ezekiel are (1) Epiphanius, *Panarion* 64; (2) Clement of Rome 8.3; (3) Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* 23; (4) Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 47.5; and (5) Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* I.9.84.2–4.

In addition to these passages, four copies of a text that contains revelatory dialogues between God and Ezekiel have been discovered among the Qumran scrolls. Dubbed "4QPseudo-Ezekiel" by its editors, this text appears to be based primarily on the biblical Book of Ezekiel. The fragments published thus far contain the vision of God's chariot-throne (*merkaḇah*) (Ezek. 1) and the vision of the dry bones (Ezek. 37). Their relationship to the fragments listed above is not yet clear.

Ezekiel, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Ezekiel the Tragedian one of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers. He wrote the *Exagoge,* a drama on the Exodus in Greek style. Only fragments of the work are preserved in Eusebius, but these consist mainly of monologues and dialogues. Since he was quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in the first century B.C.E., we know his period must have been earlier than this, but he cannot be dated more exactly. There seems to have been some desire in his work to resolve difficulties in the biblical text. For example, he explains how the Israelites obtained their weapons after leaving Egypt (from the corpses of the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea).

Ezel Moshe ("Go Moses") poem written in an alphabetic acrostic style. It appears earliest in two targum manscripts and a fourth–fifth century papyrus fragment. It concerns Moses' encounter with the Red Sea. In the Paris Fragmentary Targum, the poem appears after Exodus 14:29, but in the Hamburg manuscript of Targum Onkelos, it is interspersed with the verses of Exodus 14:16–25, the reading for the seventh day of Passover.

Ezra priest and scribe who was sent on a mission to Judah in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes (probably Artaxerxes I, and thus 458 B.C.E.), with a mandate to put observance of law on a firm basis and bearing rich offerings for the Temple (Ezra 7–8). He arrived at the head of a large company of immigrants in the fifth month (Ezra 7:8); the public reading and explanation of the law took place, followed by the celebration of Sukkot, in the seventh month (Neh. 7:72–8:18), and the dissolution of foreign marriages took place two months later (Ezra 9–10). The failure of this last measure would explain why at this point the record comes to an abrupt end. In rabbinic tradition, Ezra is presented as a second Moses, who restored Torah after the fall of Jerusalem (e.g., B. Sanhedrin 21b). Josephus (*Ant.* 11.120–83) follows 1 Esdras and does not seem to have any independent source of information. He is also confused on the chronology of the Persian period, placing the activity of both Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Xerxes. In his encomium of the great figures of Israel's past, Sirach passes over Ezra in silence, probably by design. Our only sources of information therefore are Ezra-Nehemiah, a continuation of 1–2 Chronicles, and 1 Esdras (Esdras alpha in LXX), a Greek version beginning with the reign of Josiah, ending with the public reading of the law (Neh. 8), and omitting entirely the Nehemiah material.

Ezra does not figure prominently in Jewish literature between the Bible and the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., or in early Christian literature. Ezra is, however, adopted as the pseudepigraphic hero by the author of the Jewish apocalyse 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), written around 95 C.E. About fifty years later, the Christian apologist Justin Martyr cites a nonbiblical tradition that Ezra was associated with a Passover celebration (*Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* 72). 5 Ezra, a Christian writing of the second or third century, also is pseudonymously ascribed to Ezra.

4 Ezra circulated widely in Christian circles and served as a literary base for several later Christian apocalypses, including the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, the Vision of Ezra, the Questions of Ezra, and the Apocalypse of Sedrach. *See also* EZRA, BOOK OF; EZRA, REFORM OF.

Ezra, Book of biblical book that depicts the return of the people of Israel from the Babylonian exile to Judah and their rebuilding of the Second Temple and the community in accordance with the Torah (538–457 B.C.E.). The book has three parts: chaps. 1, 2–6, and 7–10.

Ezra 1:1–4 records that King Cyrus of Persia, in fulfillment of divine command, decreed that the house of God in Jerusalem should be built (538 B.C.E.). Ezra 1:5–6 claims that the children of Israel promptly went up to the Persian province of Judah from Babylon to build it. The rest of the book (Ezra 2–10) identifies two stages in the fulfillment of the decree.

Ezra 2–6 describes how the Jewish returnees built the altar, renewed the sacrificial cult, and laid the Temple's foundations, all according to the Torah of Moses and under the leadership of a Jewish governor Zerubbabel (a Davidic descendant) and the priest Jeshua (or Joshua; chap. 3). Opposition from some "people of the land" and from officials in Samaria temporarily disrupted these efforts (chap. 4). However, due to the urging of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, work on the Temple resumed (chap. 5). After extensive correspondence between Judah and the new king of Persia, Darius, the Temple was completed with Persian support (516/515 B.C.E.) and then duly dedicated (chap. 6).

Ezra 7–10 depicts the shaping of the community in accordance with the Torah, under Ezra's leadership. As scribe and priest, and commissioned by the Persian king Artaxerxes I, Ezra and his entourage arrived in Jerusalem in 458 B.C.E. (The year 398 B.C.E. has been proposed by scholars who connect Ezra's work with Artaxerxes II. However, the evidence for such a late date, which reverses the order of the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah, is insufficient; the canonical sequence seems more probable.) Ezra's goal was to "study the Torah of YHWH, and to do it, and to teach its statutes and ordinances in Israel" (Ezra 7:10). His activities included bringing Temple personnel and contributions to Jerusalem (chaps. 7–8), implementing the Torah, and supervising communal efforts to resolve the sensitive matter of mixed marriages (chaps. 9–10). The result was an ethnically and religiously separated Jewish community of returned exiles, living according to the teachings of the Torah. The book contains Hebrew and Aramaic sources, official Persian correspondence, lists and "memoirs," combined probably by 350 B.C.E. Scholars debate the authenticity of some of the material. Extra-biblical evidence, however, generally supports the basic contours of the biblical account. Although Ezra is never mentioned in other contemporary sources, the Cyrus Cylinder presents Cyrus as a temple restorer, excavations show increased settlements in Judah during this era, and Persian policies favor resettlement programs in Judah at this time in light of threats to the empire from Greece.

The Book of Ezra, along with Nehemiah (which

together originally formed a single work), offers the only clear biblical witness to postexilic history. It reflects a major religious and political shift: the Judean monarchy is replaced by Temple and Torah as central authorities, and the community has a greater role. Although several leaders emerge (Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and Ezra), the book emphasizes the people's role by preserving numerous other names (chaps. 2, 8, and 10) and showing how Ezra, the exemplary leader, transfers privileges and responsibilities to others. *See also* EZRA, REFORM OF.

Ezra, Reform of the events (458–444 B.C.E.) that consolidated postexilic Jewish settlers in Judah under Persian rule into a Torah-centered community. Commissioned by Persian authorities, Ezra established structures through which a distinctive Jewish identity and life were cultivated and sustained religiously, ethnically, and socially even under foreign rule. In doing so, he forged patterns that enabled subsequent Judaism to withstand recurrent periods of subjugation. Ezra's reforms were a turning point in that they defined (possibly redefined) Israel as a community separated from "the peoples of the land" and centered around the book of Torah. Although guidelines for such a community appear in the Torah itself, thus ascribed to the time of Moses, it is with Ezra that these teachings became normative and applied concretely, creating a distinctive community and enduring patterns for subsequent Judaism. Our source for these reforms is Ezra-Nehemiah, originally considered one book until at least the third century C.E.

There are two interrelated steps to Ezra's reforms. First, Ezra influenced the forming of a distinct community within the ethnically diverse province of Judah, separating Jews (mostly those who came back from exile) from other inhabitants of the land and confining the term Israel to them (Ezra 7–10). Second, Ezra publicly proclaimed, reclaimed, and implemented the book of the Torah as the document to govern all aspects of Jewish life (Nehemiah 8; see below for what this "book" might have been). According to Ezra-Nehemiah, "Ezra has prepared his heart to seek the Torah of YHWH, and to do it, and to teach in Israel its statutes and judgments" (Ezra 7:10). In 458 B.C.E., Ezra as priest and scribe came to Judah from Babylon, authorized by Artaxerxes I to supervise legal and cultic matters in Judah and to bring them into conformity with Persian and Jewish law (Ezra 7:12–26). When informed that community leaders had married women from among the "peoples of the land" (Ezra 9:1–2), Ezra campaigned to exclude such persons from the congregation. In a crucial exegetical move, he applied Deuteronomy's prohibitions of marriage with indigenous peoples (Deut. 7:1–4) to the postexilic situation. Under Ezra, the entire community was convened in order to reach consensus and exert pressure on violators, and a committee was appointed to investigate the matter and adjudicate cases. Ezra 10 ends with a report that 113 men were guilty of foreign marriages. The decision to maintain ethnic and religious separation has had long-term consequences for Judaism, as did the very process used to arrive at this decision.

Less controversial (and more enduring) was Ezra's establishing the Torah as a publicly accessible document governing the life of the entire community. According to Nehemiah 8, the climax of the return and reconstruction after the exile was reached in 444 B.C.E. when Ezra, in his role as priest and scribe, brought the Torah to the assembled congregation. This public ceremony echoed the giving of the Torah at Sinai. This time the people (men, women, and children) immediately obeyed the Torah's teachings. As later generations understood, this moment marks the transformation of Israel into Judaism centered around the book as the source of authority (replacing king, prophet, or even priest as ultimate spokespersons for God). Although the Torah, according to the Bible itself, goes back to Moses, it had played, at best, a marginal role in Israel's public life as depicted in the books of Judges through 2 Kings. Josiah's reforms (2 Kings 22–23) are the exception that proves the rule. In contrast to Josiah's reforms (which were of short duration and initiated by the king), Ezra's reforms are cast as the spontaneous response of the community (they ask Ezra to bring the Torah), and proved to be formative for subsequent Judaism.

It is no longer possible to determine whether Ezra's Torah comprised the entire Pentateuch, portions of it (such as the Priestly or Deuteronomic sections) or an altogether different document (Ezra-Nehemiah's references to the Torah do not consistently reflect the Pentateuch as we now have it). What is certain, however, is that Ezra succeeded in firmly placing the Torah at the center of communal life, where it has remained. Ezra's reforms parallel reforms in Egypt under Persian auspices and are best construed as a reflection of Persian imperial policy seeking to secure support among subject peoples in sensitive regions of the empire. Such reforms were also economic and political in nature, not merely religious, for the purpose of pre-

serving Jewish land in the province of Judah from transfer to other ethnic groups.

Ancient rabbis and modern historical critics have acknowledged the significance of Ezra's reforms. The rabbis saw Ezra practically as a second Moses who brought the Torah after it had been forgotten (T. Sanhedrin 4:7). They attributed to him additional rulings, such as certain synagogue ceremonies and the practice of reading Torah publicly on market days (Monday and Thursday). The Pseudepigrapha likewise magnifies his role (4 Ezra maintains that God dictated to Ezra the entire Bible after all versions of it had been destroyed). Historical critics have credited Ezra with directly shaping the Torah that he brought, identifying him either as its author (so Spinoza) or its chief redactor, a task he would be qualified for as a skilled scribe and influential priest (Ezra 7:1–10).

F

fables, rabbinic animal tales used to transmit an ethical or political message, often called *meshalim* in Hebrew. Rabbi Meir allegedly knew three hundred "fox fables," and legend has it that Bar Kappara after him knew hundreds more. Fables in the major Midrash collections are used in a formulaic manner to elucidate biblical verses.

Fadus, Cuspius procurator of Palestine (c. 44–46 C.E.), appointed when Agrippa I died. He resolved a dispute between the city of Philadelphia in Transjordan and the Jews of Peraea, suppressed brigands, and destroyed the movement of Theudas, a prophet, who promised to part the waters of the Jordan. This Theudas is anachronistically mentioned in Acts of the Apostles 5:36. Fadus's attempt to take control of the high priestly vestments was reversed by the emperor Claudius. Josephus praises him as generally respectful of local customs.

faith, faithfulness translates the Hebrew root *'mn* and the Greek noun *pistis,* whose basic meanings are trust, loyalty, and obedience. In the Tanakh (Old Testament), "faithfulness" is a characteristic of God. Used together with "grace" and "love," it describes God's loyalty to his covenant people (Deut. 7:9) and his reliability in fulfilling his promises (Ps. 89:1–2, regarding the promises to David). The "faith" of human beings is the faithful response to God's promises (Gen. 15:6), which involves trust (Hab. 2:4, Isa. 7:9), loyalty, and obedience to the commandments. The emphasis is not on belief or intellectual assent but on acts of "remembering" and "keeping." The opposite of faith is not doubt but apostasy, serving other gods.

The texts of Early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E. to 2d c. C.E.) use the root *'mn* and its Greek equivalent *pistis* with a similar range of meanings. It designates trust in God (Wisd. of Sol. 12:6) and obedience to his law (2 Bar. 54:5). Ben Sira praises Moses' "faithfulness" (Ecclus. 45:4) and celebrates the "faithful" Abraham for his willingness to sacrifice his son (44:20). In 4 Maccabees, "faith" means loyalty to God and his law in the face of trial and persecution: those who face martrydom during the Maccabean times are exhorted to have the "same faith" as Abraham and Daniel (16:20–23). Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, a commentary on Habakkuk interprets verse 2:4b ("but the righteous shall live by faith") to refer to those who observe the law, whom God will deliver because of "their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness" (1QpHab 8:1–3).

"Faith" is a central concept in the New Testament, especially in the letters of Paul, which greatly influenced later Christian usage. Paul follows Jewish tradition in using "faith" to refer to the loyalty of God to his promises (Rom. 3:3; cf. "faithful" in 1 Cor. 1:9). But when Paul speaks of human faith, he departs radically from his Jewish heritage in that he sunders the link between faith and the law: "We reckon that a person is justified by faith without works of the law" (Rom. 3:28). "Faith" for Paul is acceptance of the "gospel," namely, the Christian preaching of Jesus as the crucified and

resurrected Messiah who redeems from sin and brings reconciliation with God (Rom. 1:17, where he cites Hab. 2:4b; Rom. 3:21–26). As with Ben Sira and 4 Maccabees, Paul holds up Abraham as a model of faith; but instead of claiming that he observed the law (Ecclus. 44:20; cf. Jub. 24:11), Paul cites Gen. 15:6 ("Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness") to argue that Abraham's faith was before, and therefore apart from, the law (Rom. 4, Gal. 3). Thus Abraham is not the model for faithful observance of the Torah, but for reliance upon God's promise (Rom. 4:14). Paul also uses "faith" in the absolute sense for what was later called Christianity (Gal. 3:23). In the pastoral Epistles, written by followers of Paul, "the faith" has the meaning of correct teaching (in contrast to that of the heretics; 1 Tim. 1:19). Hebrews defines "faith" as "the substance (or assurance) of things hoped for" (11:1) and cites Abraham, Moses, and other biblical figures as examples of those who earned God's approval "by faith" (11:1–40). The Gospel of John does not use the noun *pistis* but makes frequent use of the verb "to believe." As in Paul, believing is the response that allows humans to accept salvation (here usually called "eternal life"; John 3:16). Readers are exhorted to believe that Jesus was sent by God (16:27) and that he is God (14:1, cf. 1:1). More frequent are references to simply believing "in Jesus," where the character of faith as personal trust is evident (3:15–16, 4:39, 14:10).

Falco, Quintus Pompeius governor of Judea and Syria and commander of a legion in the area, about 104/105–107/108 C.E. He served in the first war against the Dacians, an agricultural people living in the lower Danube, from 101 to 102 and was legate of Lycia-Pamphylia. After serving in Syria-Palaestina, he was legate of Moesia Inferior, legate of Britain, and proconsul of Asia.

family (Heb.: *bayit* [house]; *beit ab* [house of the father]; *beit am* [house of the mother]; or *mishpaha* [extended family, clan]) The primary source of religious identification in the diaspora and apart from the Temple, the family became an increasingly important institution in formative Judaism. Family membership affected priestly responsibilities and benefits, marital options, inheritance, and social status. "Father of the synagogue" and "mother of the synagogue" appear in several inscriptions and so demonstrate the importance of familial designations. Moreover, concern for relationships between spouses and among parents and children and other family members appears in such diverse texts as Esther, Tobit, Ben Sira, Joseph and Asenath, the Testament of Job, and the Book of Ahikar. The descriptions encompass all facets of domestic life: love, disputes, the joy of infants, the problems of wayward sons and daughters, the difficulties of betrothal, questions of heirs, the sorrow of death. Family life was, like that of its biblical predecessor, generally patriarchal: husbands were to be the rulers of the household (see especially Ben Sira). This structure is still maintained, although enriched by the addition of the names and descriptions of various wives and mothers, in Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. Several texts may be interpreted as criticizing the patriarchal family structure (Esther, Judith, the depiction of the relationship between Tobit and Anna, Joakim's absence from Susanna's defense, and the pathetic portrait of Sitidos in the Test. Job). The strong roles accorded women are comparable to those played by such figures as Rebekah, Jael, the wife of Manoah, and the Great Woman of Shunem (2 Kings 4:8–37).

Greek texts employ two terms: *patria,* for biological lineage, as in the families of the earth to be blessed by Abraham (Acts 3:25); and *oikos* for one's immediate household (cf. Acts 10, the conversion of the "family" of Cornelius; Gal. 6:10, the "family [lit., household] of faith"; Eph. 2:19–20; 1 Tim. 3:15; Heb. 3:2–6; 1 Pet. 4:17).

As expressions such as "children of Israel" locate the covenant community within an extended family united by common concerns and belief, so the Church defined family/household beyond biological ties to include all those within the new confession. This affiliation established a new set of kinship obligations for the new "houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children" (Mark 10:29–30; Matt. 19:29; Luke 18:29–30) that included financial support, loyalty, and teaching. Membership in this new household could cause disruption within the traditional household or family (Matt. 10:35–37; Luke 12:52–53). Yet the Gospels also follow the Decalogue in teaching that one should honor one's parents (Matt. 19:19; Luke 18:20). The household codes (Col. 3:18–4:1; Eph. 5:22–6:9; 1 Pet. 2:18–3:7) institutionalize domestic life in the form of benevolent hierarchies: husbands and wives, masters and servants, parents and children. Jesus' biological family is accorded substantial interest in Church tradition: James, "the brother of the Lord," directs the Jerusalem church (Acts 15; Gal. 2); the Epistle of Jude is traditionally assigned to another brother; Mary and "his brothers" are described by Luke as among those who pray together in Jerusalem (Acts 1:14).

Rabbinic texts are concerned with the family's

role in the observance of the laws and traditions of Judaism and its place in the transmission of these values to future generations. In Judaism, marriage and procreation accordingly are seen not simply as a normal state but as required by divine law. The rabbis disapproved of celibacy and held that a man who does not marry by the age of twenty has sinned (B. Kiddushin 29b).

The rabbis recognized the family as a transmitter of traits of character and piety. Alongside the hereditary priesthood, the Talmudic literature knows of aristocratic lines of descent, representing families upon which God's spirit rests (B. Kiddushin 70b). The importance attributed to lineage is reflected in the report that on the two occasions in the year on which the young men of Jerusalem would go to the vineyards to choose brides, the young women would admonish them to gaze not upon physical beauty but upon a prospective wife's family (M. Taanit 4:8).

fasting refraining from food and drink, normally for twenty-four hours from sundown to sundown; often accompanied by refraining from sexual relations and from wearing leather shoes

fate *see* TYCHE

Father, God as The motif of the heavenly Father appears throughout scripture (Deut. 14:1, 32:6; Hos. 11:1; Jer. 3:4, 31:9; Ps. 103:13, etc.). Like earthly fathers, the Deity loves, blesses, and corrects the children of the worshiping community. The title became increasingly popular in the Second Temple period in prayers for protection and forgiveness (1 Chron. 29:10; Jub. 1:24, 28; 19:29; throughout 3 Macc.; Jos. Asen. 12:14–1; Sir. 23:1, 4; Wis. 2:16–20; 14:3; Tob. 13:4; 4Q372; 1QH 9:35, etc.). Application of "Father" to God also mirrors the title's increasingly prominent secular use: *pater* (Latin: father) is increasingly identified with the emperor who rules over the extended "family" of Rome. Although "Mother" is not applied to the Deity, maternal images are (Num. 11:12; Deut. 32:11; see also Matt. 23:37).

The Gospels depict Jesus often referring to God as "Father" (e.g., Matt. 6:9/Luke 11:2, the "Lord's Prayer"), and Paul employs the formula "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 1:3; Rom. 15:6; see also Col. 1:3; Eph. 1:3). The Odes of Solomon frequently addresses God as a personal "father" as well as providing maternal depictions such as lactation (Ode 19). The Prayer of Jacob opens with a threefold invocation to the Father of the patriarchs, all things, and cosmic powers. Father language also appears in such texts as the Testament of Abraham, Testament of Isaac, Testament of Job, Apocalypse of Elijah, and the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra. *See also* ABBA.

Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan, The (Heb.: Abot deRabbi Natan) an amplification, compiled c. 400–600 C.E., of the tractate Abot (c. 250), adding fresh materials in the names of the authorities who appear in the earlier document, and also providing a large number of stories about those authorities, as well as sayings in their names. The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan contains amplifications of sayings in Abot (The fathers) as well as materials not related to anything in the original document, in that order. Thus The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan first of all presents itself as continuous with the prior document, and then adds compositions that are new both in rhetoric and in logic. The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan provides citations and glosses by providing proof-texts, illustrative stories drawn from lives of sages, parables, and exegeses of scripture found pertinent to the sentiment at hand. Moreover, details in the exegetical materials trigger secondary accretions; at numerous points, for example, exegesis of a proof-text is supplied, names mentioned in a story serve as the framework for the inclusion of further stories, none of them pertinent to the point of the original, or a vast anthology on a theme is inserted because the theme has made an appearance in another context altogether.

fathers of uncleanness principal sources that render a person unfit to enter the areas of the Temple restricted to males who are ritually clean. The twenty fathers of uncleanness are set forth in the Mishnah tractate Kelim, chapter 1, as follows:

> The fathers of uncleanness are (1) the creeping thing, and (2) semen of an adult Israelite, and (3) one who has contracted corpse uncleanness, and (4) the leper in the days of his counting, and (5) purification water of insufficient quantity to be sprinkled. These render man and vessels unclean by contact, and earthenware vessels by presence within the vessels' contained airspace. But they do not render unclean someone who carries them without directly touching them. Above them: (6) carrion, and (7) purification water of sufficient quantity to be sprinkled. For they render man unclean through carrying, to make [his] clothing unclean. But clothing is not made unclean through contact. Above them: (8) he who has intercourse with a menstruating woman, for he conveys uncleanness to what lies [far] beneath him [in like degree as he conveys uncleanness

to what lies] above. Above them: (9) the flux of the *zaḇ*, and (10) his spittle and (11) his semen and (12) his urine, and (13) the blood of the menstruating woman, for they render unclean through contact and carrying. Above them: (14) the saddle, for it [the saddle] is unclean under a heavy stone. Above the saddle: (15) the couch, for touching it is equivalent to carrying it. Above the couch: (16) the *zaḇ*, for the *zaḇ* conveys uncleanness to the couch, but the couch does not [convey equivalent uncleanness to] the couch. Above the *zaḇ*: (17) the *zaḇah*, for she renders him that has intercourse with her unclean [for seven days]. Above the *zaḇah*: (18) the leper, for he renders unclean by his coming [into a house]. Above the leper: (19) a bone about the size of a barley seed, for it renders unclean for a seven [days'] uncleanness. Weightiest of them all: (20) the corpse, for it renders unclean by overshadowing [a mode of rendering uncleanness by] which none of the rest conveys uncleanness.

See also FLUX.

Faustus of Byzantium fourth- to fifth-century-C.E. historian of Armenia. His *History of Armenia* is our only source for Armenian history during the fourth century. The name "Byzantium" is attested in the fifth century and refers to the location of his scholarly training, not to his place of birth. Faustus wrote in Greek, but the work survives only in an Armenian translation from the fifth century. The work pays particular attention to the relations between the Church and the nobility, the moral conduct of individuals, and the family intrigues of the nobility. He reports Shapur II's deportation of the Jews from Armenia in 365 C.E. and their resettlement in Isfahan.

fear of God In the Bible, fear of God refers to a range of responses to God, from terror at signs of his presence (thunder, lightning, clouds, shaking of a mountain, trumpet blast) to a solemn sense of responsibility toward God and conformity to the divine purpose. A prime example of the former occurs when God descends to Mount Sinai to give the law to his people through Moses (Exod. 20:16–25). The latter attitude characterizes the patriarchs—like Abraham (Gen. 22:12)—whose fear of God leads them to obedience and conformity to his purpose. Fear is evoked by those who have been in God's presence or have been commissioned by Him, such as Moses (Exod. 34:30), Joshua (Josh. 4:14), Samuel (1 Sam. 12:18), and Solomon (1 Kings 3:28). The place of his presence evokes fear (Lev. 19:30; 26:2), as does his quality of holiness (Isa. 8:13), so that the Lord of Hosts becomes a source of fear and dread. God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt is regarded by his people as "signs and wonders," but fills their enemies with great terror.

In the tradition of Deuteronomy, fear of God by his people comes from having heard his commands and by teaching them to their children (Deut. 4:7–10), but even here there is a recollection of the awe that overcame Israel when God came down to the mountain in their midst. In the wisdom tradition, fear of God is equated with knowledge of God, and both qualities come to those who earnestly seek wisdom through accepting God's words and commandments. Those who seek the Lord are those who "fear" and obey him (Ps. 34:9–11), and they will experience happiness and divine provision for their needs. They will live in confidence and safety, experiencing a full and rewarding life (Prov. 14:26–27), and will join in praise of the God who cares for those of his people who are in need (Ps. 22:13–26).

This understanding of "the fear of the Lord" is found in later Jewish writings from the second and first centuries B.C.E. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs from this period, those who fear the Lord are careful to avoid doing evil or offending God but are filled with love and obedience to God's will. Members of the Dead Sea community manifest their fear of God by earnest commitment and full obedience to his commands, which derive not only from Moses and the Torah tradition, but also from their own founder, the Teacher of Righteousness. On the other hand, the Dead Sea documents teach that God will act in a fearful way to punish and destroy the "children of darkness," who are those outside, and hostile to, this community. But his own faithful people are able to see beyond the impending time of terror as they await in confidence the time of fulfillment of God's purpose for and through them.

References in the New Testament Book of Acts to those who "fear God" relate to Gentiles who were drawn to Judaism, the God of Israel, and belief in one sovereign God, but who did not accept circumcision or agree to obey the Jewish ritual and dietary laws. These Gentiles in Acts serve as a major source for converts to Christianity. Some scholars in the past have questioned whether such a group of Gentiles actually existed, but recent discoveries and analyses of inscriptions from Asia Minor—especially one from Aphrodisias—show that there were such groups and that they were recognized by the ethnic Jewish community. At

Aphrodisias there is a list of sixty-nine Jews who contributed to the synagogue followed by fifty-four "God-fearers," whose occupations ranged from workmen and craftsmen to city councillors. The individuals in the latter group share in the worship life of the Jewish community but are not full members and apparently were not strict in their obedience to Jewish dietary laws or Sabbath observance. The city councillors would have been involved in pagan civic ceremonies, but abstinence from pagan worship and sexual promiscuity and conformity with the dietary law against eating or drinking blood (Lev. 17:10–14), which Acts 15:20 indicates are the minimum obligations for the God-fearers, fit well with the information conveyed by the Aphrodisias inscription. Apparently there were no uniform rules for God-fearers in the Jewish communities scattered throughout the Roman world, but the basic pattern of expectations for these committed Gentiles is clear.

Whereas the Hebrew Bible sees fear of God and love of God as essentially equivalent (see Deut. 10:12: "And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God demand of you, but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him . . ."), the rabbis distinguish these two concepts, deeming the obedience that comes from fear to be a lesser form of piety than obedience that comes from love. Simeon b. Eleazar makes this explicit, arguing that "the merit attained through fear suspends punishment for a thousand generations, while the merit attained out of love suspends punishment for thousands of generations" (B. Sotah 31a). The same passage suggests that, while scripture states that Abraham and Job both served God out of fear, they actually did so out of love.

Despite this elevation of love of God, the rabbis generally viewed fear of God as an essential element in human beings' acceptance of divine sovereignty. "Everything," the Talmud states, "is in the hand of Heaven except the fear of Heaven" (B. Megillah 25a, B. Berakhot 33b), and "Any man who has Torah but not fear of Heaven is comparable to a treasurer to whom they handed over the keys to the inner treasury but to whom they did not hand over the keys to the outer door. So how is he supposed to get in?" (B. Shabbat 31a–b). That fear of God comprises the proper foundation for religious practice is explicit in the statement of Antigonos of Sokho (M. Abot 1:3): "Do not be like servants who serve the master on condition of receiving a reward, but be like servants who serve the master not on condition of receiving a reward. And let the fear of Heaven be upon you."

Felix, Marcus Antonius procurator of Judea (52–60? C.E.). He was appointed procurator by the emperor Claudius through the influence of his brother, Pallas, a court favorite. Felix was a freedman who married first a granddaughter of Mark Antony and then Drusilla, the daughter of the late King Agrippa I. According to Tacitus, he ruled cruelly, and according to Josephus, uprisings against unjust Roman rule became continuous during his term of office and led to the rebellion against Rome in 66 C.E. Acts of the Apostles, chapter 24, reports a hearing concerning the guilt of the apostle Paul before Felix in Caesarea and a private meeting of Felix and Drusilla with Paul. Felix kept Paul in jail for two years, hoping for a bribe.

fence, symbolic *see* ERUB

fertility a sign of prosperity and divine favor, affecting plant, animal, and human life. In Genesis 1:28 and 9:1 and 7, humankind is blessed with fertility, and Israel in particular is noted for being prolific (Exod. 1:7). The Valley of Eshcol (Heb., cluster) produces individual grape clusters that must be carried by two men (Num. 13:23). Blessings for adherence to the Sinaitic covenant include "the fruit of your body . . . ground . . . beasts, and increase of your cattle, and the young of your flock" (Deut. 28:4). Parables find the motif fertile ground: The sower, for example, speaks of hundredfold yields (Matt. 13:23 and pars.). *See also* BARRENNESS.

festival offerings animal sacrifices in the Jerusalem Temple presented on festival days in addition to those required on an everyday basis

Festus, Porcius procurator of Judea (60?–62 C.E.). He was appointed procurator by the emperor Nero, and he died in office two years later. Josephus has less complaints against him than against the other procurators of the prewar period, but his term was marked by violent activities of the Sicarii and an uprising under a popular leader. Acts of the Apostles, chapters 25–26, recounts that at the hearing before Festus, the apostle Paul, as a Roman citizen, appealed to the imperial tribunal in Rome and that Festus, with Agrippa and his sister Berenice, had a further hearing with Paul.

fetus human being in the womb of the mother, regarded after forty days from conception as possessing a soul. Abortion for any purpose other than saving the life of the mother is not permitted. Until the baby is born, the life of the mother takes precedence over the life of the embryo; once the baby is born, the baby's life takes precedence. A guardian can be appointed to protect the rights of the embryo.

Fifteenth of Shebat day for planting trees, especially in modern Israel. Originally, however, this was the annual inventory date for trees, according to which the determination of the tithe on fruit was computed.

fig's bulk (Heb.: *gerogeret*) a measure of food volume. If on the Sabbath one carries food in the volume of a fig from private to public domain, liability is incurred.

fig tree Common in the Mediterranean, the fig tree has multiple shadings in biblical literature. Its leaves provided clothing for Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:7); its fruit had medicinal value (2 Kings 20:7/Isa. 38:21); it symbolized prosperity and safety (1 Kings 4:25). According to Mark 11:12–14 and 20–21 (see also the parable in Luke 13:6–9), Jesus curses a fig tree that lacks fruit, enters Jerusalem, and returns in the morning to find the tree dead. The interrelationship of his actions suggests that the Temple and city will suffer the same fate as the unproductive tree. Matthew 21:18–19 undermines the symbolism produced by the encapsulation but heightens Jesus' power by having the tree wither immediately.

fine (Heb.: *kenas*) in Rabbinic Judaism, extrajudicial penalty imposed by rabbinic sages, over and above the fines required by scripture, for example, as a precautionary measure

fingerbreadth (Heb.: *etzba*) a measure of length equivalent to the breadth of an ordinary man's finger

fire Fire can be both useful, as in cooking food, or destructive, as in burning homes and fields. This ability to help or harm—to purify and to destroy—made it an ideal symbol for the divine world.

The divine world as fire. YHWH had appeared to Moses in a burning bush (Exod. 3:2), led Israel through the wilderness in a pillar of fire by night (Exod. 13:21–22), and appeared as fire at Mount Sinai (Exod. 19:18, 24:17). Ezekiel's vision of God's chariot is full of images of fire (Ezek. 1:4–28), and so too are Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days (Dan. 7:9–10) and the vision of Enoch (1 Enoch 14:8–25). Angels are formed out of fiery matter (2 Enoch 29:3; 2 Bar. 21:6; 3 Enoch 7.15), and fire can come out of their mouths (2 Enoch 1:5; 3 Enoch 18:21, 22:4). The Messiah will destroy his enemies with his fiery breath (4 Ezra 13:10–11). Christ is described as having "eyes of fire" (Rev. 1:14, 2:18), and the Holy Spirit appears as "tongues of fire" (Acts 2:3). The continual presence of God is symbolized by the ever-burning fire on the altar (Lev. 6:12–13). The element fire must not be identified with God, however, as it was created by Him (Wisd. of Sol. 13:2; 2 Enoch 29:1).

Fire as purification. As Isaiah's lips were purified when touched with a burning coal (Isa. 6:6–7), so the angels, before praising God, bathe in a river of fire (3 Enoch 36). As gold is tested in fire, so God tests humans (Sir. 2:5; cf. Jdt. 8:27). God will refine his people when He appears (Mal. 3:2–3; 1 Cor. 3:13–15; 1 Pet. 1:7; Rev. 3:18). The references to a baptism of fire (Matt. 3:11; Luke 3:16), as well as later descriptions of Jesus' baptism as fiery (Sib. Or. 6:6, 7:84) have this sense of purification. Fire is a symbol for the law (4 Ezra 13:38), and the book of judgments is fiery (3 Enoch 32:1).

Destructive fire. Most of the references to fire are to its destructive use. God used it in the past as an instrument to punish the wicked (Wisd. of Sol. 16–17); the Book of Jubilees claims all women who fornicate should be executed by fire (20:4, 30:7). The wicked use fire as a means of torturing the pious (2 Macc. 7; 4 Macc. 6:24–30, 10–14), but often this backfires on them (Dan. 3:19–22; Lives 21:9–15). Frequently it is predicted that the world will be destroyed by fire (Sib. Or. 2:196–213, 3:80–90, 7:118–131; Apoc. Elijah 1:4, 5:22–23), resonating with ideas in Stoicism. For the wicked is reserved fiery torment (1 Enoch 10:13–14, 18:11, 21, 90:23–27; Dan. 7:11; Sib. Or. 2:283–305; 1 QS 2:8, 4:13; 1 QM 11:10, 14:1; CD 2:5), which occurs frequently throughout the Christian scriptures (e.g., Matt. 25:41; Rev. 19:20, 20:10).

Fire in talmudic sources. Like earlier Hellenistic and Christian sources, the talmudic literature imagines all that derives directly from God to be represented in fire. The Torah is described as having been given as a white fire scroll with letters engraved in black fire. It was "fire, surrounded with fire, engraved out of fire, and set in fire" (Y. Shekalim 6:1, 48d). At the time of creation, the primordial fire was the source of light (Exod. Rabbah 15:22). The fire of the altar in the first Temple had originally come down from heaven in the time of Moses. It was transferred to the stone altar of the Solomonic Temple, where it continued to burn until the period of Manasseh (B. Zebahim 61b). This is distinguished from the fire of the altar of the second Temple, which the rabbis understood to be of human origin (B. Yoma 21b).

Other numerous talmudic references to fire concern its use on Sabbaths and festivals. Kindling fire is one of thirty-nine categories of labor prohibited on the Sabbath. Unlike the Sadducees, the rabbis, however, permitted the use for light and heat on the Sabbath of a fire lit before the Sabbath. Along with carrying, lighting a fire is the only work prohibited on the Sabbath but permitted on other fes-

tivals. Outside of its place within holiday law, fire is significant within rabbinic jurisprudence as one of four principal categories of damage.

fire and brimstone a dual torment, in which brimstone is now generally translated as "sulfur." The classical place for this double punishment is the divine retribution rained on Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:24; Luke 17:29; 3 Macc. 2:5). In other references, it is used against the wicked and apostates (Deut. 29:23; Job 18:15; Ps. 11:6), the king of Assyria (Isa. 30:33), Edom (34:9), and Gog (Ezek. 38:22). In the Qumran documents, the Wicked Priest will suffer it (1QpHab 10:5). The Book of Revelation tells us that it is used to punish idolaters (14:10), the beast and the false prophet (19:20), the devil (20:10), and sinners in general (21:8).

Firmilianus governor of Palestine (308–310 C.E.). Eusebius mentions Flavianus, Urbanus, and Firmilianus as the governors of Palestine during Diocletian's persecution of the Christians. Virtually nothing is known about these three other than the fact that Urbanus and Firmilianus were executed while in office. Eusebius also mentions Firmilianus in his *Martyrs of Palestine.*

First *for works numbered* FIRST, *see under the substantive name of the work*

firstborn (Heb.: *bekor*) the firstborn son or beast, accorded special status; *see also* BEKOROT; FIRSTBORN, RIGHTS OF

firstborn, rights of The laws of primogeniture mandate for firstborn sons a special blessing and a double portion of inheritance (Deut. 21:15–17; see also Gen. 25:29–34), regardless of the father's greater affection for another wife and/or her children. The firstborn also receives authority over other family members (Gen. 27). Firstborn males are dedicated to the Deity because, according to Exodus 13:12–16, they were preserved from death in Egypt. Such sons were then redeemed from service by means of an offering (Num. 3:45–51, 18:15–16). Biblical narrative provides several examples of younger sons inheriting blessing and authority (Isaac, Jacob, Ephraim, David, Solomon). The metaphorical extension of these conventions presents the Davidic ruler as the firstborn of God (Ps. 89:27; Heb. 1:6). Luke 2:22–24, which cites Exodus 13:12, is the evangelist's version of a *pidion haBen,* or redemption of the firstborn. However, this ceremony did not require presentation in the Temple. *See also* BEKOROT.

firstfruits the first part of the harvest presented to God to acknowledge that He owns the soil and all its produce. The Israelite farmer was ordered to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuary with the first part of the wheat harvest at the Festival of Weeks (also called the Festival of the Firstfruits [Exod. 23:16; Num. 28:26]). The Hebrew Bible also contains the general requirement that the first part of all produce from the soil should be brought to the Lord's house (Exod. 23:19, 34:26; Deut. 26:1–4). Nehemiah 10:35–37 indicates that the practice was reaffirmed after the return from exile. Jeremiah used "firstfruits" in a related sense: Israel was holy to the Lord, the firstfruits of his harvest (2:3). The Book of Tobit reports that the hero, Tobit, formerly presented to the Jerusalem priests the initial yield of his land and animals (1:6–7).

The Temple Scroll, one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, adds several other firstfruits festivals to the biblical legislation: perhaps the ceremonial waving of the first of the barley harvest (col. 18); the new wine festival (col. 19); and that of new oil (col. 21). Several New Testament authors, however, use "firstfruits" in the sense that certain things or people were the first part, and the remainder were to follow. Paul speaks of Jesus as the firstfruits of those who have died but will rise (1 Cor. 15:20, 23). Elsewhere Paul writes that believers have the firstfruits of the Spirit now and eagerly await the full gift (Rom. 8:23). He also calls two groups of believers "firstfruits," that is, the first converts in an area (Rom. 16:5; 1 Cor. 16:15). James refers to those whom God has chosen as the firstfruits of his creation (Jas. 1:18), and Revelation calls the 144,000 the firstfruits of God and the Lamb (14:4).

Unlike in early Christianity, firstfruits in rabbinic Judaism do not have a metaphorical or theological significance. Rather, within Tractate Bikkurim in the Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud, the rabbis treat firstfruits solely within the framework of the Hebrew Bible's requirement that the first part of the harvest be brought to the Temple. The rabbis held that firstfruits were to be brought only from the seven species for which the land of Israel was noted: wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives used for oil, and dates used for honey. At the Jerusalem Temple, the donor would express gratitude to God for having redeemed the Israelites from Egypt. The firstfruits themselves were given to the priests, who could eat them. Bringing of firstfruits was suspended when the Temple was destroyed in 70 C.E.

First Revolt *see* REVOLT AGAINST ROME, GREAT

first tithe a tenth of the crop given to the Levite, who then gives a tenth of that to the priest

fiscus Judaicus imperial treasury. The Jews from throughout the world paid a half-shekel tax to sup-

port the Temple in Jerusalem. When the Temple was destroyed, Vespasian required the Jews to pay an annual tax of two drachmas or dinars to Capitoline Jupiter, the temple he had built in Jerusalem. The tax was paid into a special imperial treasury, known as the *fiscus Judaicus*. In reality, the tax was used by the emperors any way they wished. Domitian required even those who followed the Jewish way of life but did not openly profess Judaism to pay into the *fiscus Judaicus*.

fish minor motif in ancient Jewish and synagogue art that appears on various items. The fish is usually represented simply in outline with the eye as a circlet. In mosaic art a fish may appear in detail sufficient to identify its species, particularly in certain zodiacs. One fish other than the Pisces sign is known from the synagogue zodiac of Beth Alpha. Fish in relief appear in the Golan Heights at Dabbura and Dikke. Others are known from amulets, lamps, and tomb paintings. *See also* DOLPHIN.

fishing the occupation of Simon (Peter) and Andrew, James and John as well as their father, Zebedee (Mark 1:16–20; Matt. 4:18–22; Luke 5:1–11; John 21:1–11). Since the third century B.C.E. the Galilee had a strong fishing industry. Methods included use of dragnets and hand nets (Matt. 4:18, 13:47; John 21:8), fishhooks (Job 41:1; Amos 4:2; Matt. 17:27), and harpoons and spears (Job 41:7). By catching a miraculous fish, Tobias is able to exorcise the evil demon plaguing Sarah and to cure his father's blindness (Tobit). In the Gospels, the language of fishing provides a setting for parables and a model for Jesus' followers to become "fishers of people" (Mark 1:17; Matt. 4:19; Luke 5:10).

Five Megillot *see* FIVE SCROLLS

Five Scrolls (Heb.: Ḥamesh Megillot) the biblical books of Lamentations, Ruth, Esther, Song of Solomon, and Kohelet (Ecclesiastes), read in the synagogue on special occasions

Flacc. *see* IN FLACCUM

Flaccus, Aulus Avillius Roman prefect of Egypt (32–38 C.E.). His role in the pogrom against the Jews of Alexandria in 38 C.E. is narrated by Philo of Alexandria in his treatise *Against Flaccus*. With the accession of Caligula as emperor in 37 C.E., Flaccus allowed himself to be used by the anti-Jewish Greeks in Alexandria in support of an anti-Jewish policy, which led to a pogrom and rioting in 38 C.E. Flaccus fell out of favor with the emperor the same year, and he was executed in 39 C.E. *See also* IN FLACCUM.

Flavianus governor of Palestine, 303 C.E. Eusebius mentions Flavianus, Urbanus, and Firmilianus as the governors of Palestine during Diocletian's persecution of the Christians. He states that Flavianus was governor during Easter of Diocletian's nineteenth year. Possibly Flavianus is the same person as Junius Flavianus who was prefect of Rome for a few months in 311–312.

Flavius Boethus legate of Palestine (162–166 C.E.). He was an educated person who dabbled in philosophy and medicine. He was from Ptolemais on the Palestinian frontier near Syria. His friend Galen often refers to him and is virtually our only source of information about him.

Flavius Silva *see* SILVA, LUCIUS FLAVIUS

flesh most basically, the muscle and tissue beneath the skin, or the skin itself, of a human or animal. This term carries various other connotations in the Hebrew Bible. It is often used by synecdoche to signify the human body as a whole, or any living human or animal being (thus "all flesh" denotes all human, or all human and animal, beings). The term also signifies a blood relative; the mortal, earthly world of humans; and a symbol of softness and sensitivity. Thus, in biblical usage, the term describes human life and experience generally, especially in contradistinction to the world of God.

In Jewish intertestamental literature, the term tends to retain its biblical usage. In some cases "flesh" carries a distinctly negative connotation, describing the inherent physical or moral weakness of humans. Generally this usage serves to contrast human life with the realm of God, indicating a cosmological dualism. With time, however, the anthropological dualism of "flesh" (or "body") and "spirit" so characteristic of Hellenistic thought influenced Judaism. Thus, in some of the later pseudepigrapha and in Philo and Josephus, "flesh" describes the physical human body that contains, and sometimes imprisons or holds down, the inner "spirit." This view is also characteristic of rabbinic Judaism.

Early Christian usage, while in many instances retaining the biblical paradigms, also markedly reflects the Hellenistic anthropological dualism of the period. In some senses, Paul combines these two ideas, using "flesh" to signify the "lower" element and "spirit" to denote the "upper" element in a dualism that embraces cosmological, anthropological, eschatological, existential, and ethical spheres. Paul portrays "flesh" as that aspect of the human condition that keeps humans bound to sin and separates them from God. "Flesh" for Paul also symbolizes the efforts of humans to "justify" themselves by following the written Jewish law, includ-

ing such practices as circumcision.

Rabbinic Judaism also recognizes the distinction, found in biblical and Hellenistic literatures, between flesh, defined as the source of human moral weakness, and the incorruptible, divine spirit with which all people are endowed. Accordingly, talmudic literature routinely distinguishes the traits of "flesh and blood," that is, human traits, from those of God. The Hebrew word for flesh (*basar*) is itself interpreted as an acronym for shame (*busha*), stench (*seruḥah*) or death (*sheol*), and worm (*rimmah*; B. Sotah 5a). Similarly, the corruptibility of flesh is a frequent theme: "The more flesh, the more worms" (M. Abot 2:7), and "Whither are you going? To a place of dust, worms, and maggots" (M. Abot 3:1).

Despite these negative views of flesh, rabbinic Judaism discouraged mortification of the flesh or severe asceticism. An individual's vow to engage in self-castigation entailed "afflicting the soul," not the flesh. If such a vow prevented the individual from carrying out normal societal or familial responsibilities, it was deemed invalid (Y. Nedarim 11:1, 42c). Fasting and afflicting the soul were in general limited. Self-affliction on the day of atonement, for instance, comprised only one day of abstention from eating and drinking, washing, using ointments, wearing shoes, and cohabitation (M. Yoma 8:1).

flogging in rabbinic law, the punishment of a maximum of thirty-nine stripes or lashes inflicted on the bare upper torso with a whip of calfskin. Such punishment was carried out especially for the violation of prohibitions of the Torah where monetary or capital punishment was not involved or where biblical law imposed the punishment of extirpation. *See also* CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

flood the universal punishment that God brought on all living things because of their sin (Gen. 6–9). Belief in a universal deluge can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamian sources of the third millennium B.C.E. and appears in the literature and lore of many peoples.

In the biblical account, Noah alone of the human race is found righteous, and he and his family are preserved in a great ark, along with representatives of the animal species. When the flood subsides, God makes a covenant with Noah never again to bring such a deluge upon the earth, and the postdiluvian situation is described as a reestablishment of the created order, except that the animals—previously forbidden as food—may now be eaten by human beings (9:2–6).

Beyond Genesis, the Hebrew Bible makes few allusions to the flood. An exception is Isaiah 24–27, a relatively late text that has much in common with 1 Enoch, which is the chief source of Jewish traditions about the flood. In 1 Enoch the flood is a prototype of the final judgment. Chapters 6–11 selectively retell the Genesis story with some major revisions. The source of the problem is not the universal wickedness of all flesh, but the rebellion of the heavenly watchers and the violent deeds of the sons, the giants, who sin against the human race and animal world and then cannibalize one another. The description of the judgment in chapter 10 is both an allusion to the primordial event and a prediction of the final judgment, which will cleanse the earth (10:20). Employing language from Genesis 9:11, it promises that this will be the final judgment, which will be followed by a new creation that will last forever (10:16–11:2). The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) contain other narrative material about the flood that focuses primarily on Noah, and 1 Enoch 106–107 recounts the story of the patriarch's miraculous birth (cf. 1QapGen 2). Other pieces of a broader literature about Noah have been preserved in very fragmentary form in the Qumran scrolls and in Jubilees 5–8. The notion that the final judgment will be a repetition of the flood occurs in the New Testament in a saying about the son of man ascribed to Jesus (Matt. 24:36–39) and, perhaps, in 1 Peter 3:20–21. *See also* EVIL, ORIGINS OF; NOAH.

Florilegium Found in Cave 4 at Qumran in 1952, this fragmentary Hebrew manuscript consisting of two damaged columns of text dating from the end of the first century B.C.E. was published by J. M. Allegro in DJD V (1968); the manuscript's title is abbreviated as 4QFlor. Since a florilegium is a collection of selected passages from the writings of previous authors, in this sense the title is a misnomer, for this manuscript is a collection of biblical texts (2 Sam. 7:10–14; Ps. 1:1, 2:1) around a common theme (the "last days"), accompanied by a *pesher*-like interpretation; as such it is an example of the thematic *pesher*. Florilegium's importance lies in the information it provides on the beliefs concerning the eschatological age and the Messiah held by the community that produced the manuscript.

The *pesher*, or interpretation, of 2 Samuel 7:10–14 is divided into two parts. The first, 7:10–11, understands the biblical text as referring to three temples. The first is the eschatological temple (2 Sam. 7:10a), which will be built by God and will be undefiled. The second, from 7:10b, is the Temple of Israel, which has been desolated by foreign-

ers and refers to the First Temple or the Temple of Solomon. The third is the Temple of Men, which seems to refer to a temple made up of men, where deeds of Torah take the place of burnt offerings. This would appear to be the sect itself, which saw its own way of life as a substitute for the (defiled) Second Temple, in anticipation of the eschatological temple.

The second section of the *pesher* (2 Sam. 7:11b–14) is an interpretation concerning the coming of the Davidic Messiah (the Branch of David) and his colleague, the "Interpreter of the Law," which apparently is a reference to a priestly Messiah, who also appears in other Qumran sectarian documents (e.g., the Community Rule). After this section, the last two biblical passages interpreted—Psalms 1:1 and 2:1—are concerned with the last days (the eschaton) and the sect's role during that time. The sect sees itself as the remnant that, on account of its righteousness, shall be saved from the conflagration of the last days. Florilegium serves to illustrate the Qumran sect's belief that most biblical passages were, in fact, eschatological, and that the sect itself, living as it was in the last days, was the focus of these prophecies concerning the end-time.

Florus, Gessius *see* GESSIUS FLORUS

flower motif in Jewish art, often carved in relief in stonework associated with Roman and Byzantine synagogues; painted on frescos, struck on coins (especially the lily), and depicted in mosaic floors. The flowers carved in relief on lintels and moldings of the Capernaum and Chorazin synagogues are justly famous. None of them can be identified, as they are stylized, but they typically appear in high relief. A popular way to depict flowers is as a garland, either in a straight line above a lintel or as swags on a sarcophagus. The lily appeared on Yehud coins of the Persian period, but it is not at all clear that it functions there as a Jewish symbol. On the other hand, the lily appears so often on coins of the Hasmonean rulers that it appears to have functioned somewhat as a symbol of royalty. By the time of Herod the Great, floral motifs are de rigueur in low relief in stone and plaster in the Second Temple. At this stage they are not so much Jewish symbols as they are aesthetic devices to fill space. At a much later period, abstract flowers were delicately carved into the marble screens used in Byzantine synagogues, the most famous of which is from the synagogue at Gaza. At the most conventional level of decoration, flowers of various types, including water flowers, appear on mosaic floors as in those of the House of Kurios Leontis at Beth Shean.

flux (Heb.: *zob*) source of uncleanness affecting male (Heb.: *zab*) or female (Heb.: *zabah*), described at Leviticus 15. For females, flux is the flow of vaginal blood outside of the fixed days of the menstrual cycle; these days are called zibah-days (the eleven days ritually defined as being between one menstrual cycle and the next), during which any flow of vaginal blood is classed as flux and a mark of uncleanness. For males, it is the flow of semen from a flaccid penis. *See also* ZABIM.

food taboos (Heb.: *kashrut*) biblical and rabbinic regulations defining permitted and prohibited foods and methods of food preparation. The outline of the Jewish dietary system derives from scripture, which distinguishes animals that are forbidden or permitted for consumption, defines basic requirements for slaughter of animals for meat, and indicates how food must be prepared in order to be permitted for consumption. Rabbinic writings dramatically expand the legislation in each of these areas.

To be permitted for consumption, animals must chew the cud and have cloven hooves; fowl must have an extra toe and a gizzard, the sac of which can be peeled, and fish must have fins and scales that can be removed without tearing the skin. According to the Talmud, insects and reptiles are uniformly forbidden except for certain locusts that have four legs and wings. So long as they are prepared without any meat additives, dairy products are permitted, as are all fruits and vegetables. Wine, a special category, is permitted only if prepared under Israelite jurisdiction, lest a Gentile pour some of it out as a libation and thereby dedicate the vat to a pagan deity.

Special rules apply to the preparation of permitted food for consumption. Of particular concern is the slaughter of animals for meat, which is subject to intricate regulations designed to assure that the animal is killed quickly and painlessly, that it has no internal defects, and that all of the blood is drained prior to consumption. The slaughterer uses a knife to sever the animal's esophagus and trachea, making one swift cut without chopping or tearing the flesh. After slaughter, this cut and all of the animal's organs are examined to assure that there are no defects. The lungs are examined for proper structure, coloration, and texture, and to be certain they are free of perforations, blisters, cysts, or swelling. The other internal organs, the skull, spinal column, ribs, and legs are also examined for blemishes. The Talmud understands the presence of such defects as a likely indication of the animal's death within a year (B. Ḥullin 11a–b) and renders the meat impermissible for consumption by Jews.

Final preparation of meat assures compliance with scripture's prohibition against consuming blood, the symbol of the animal's life that belongs to God (Lev. 7:26–27, 17:10–14). Certain veins are removed and the meat is soaked and salted. The lungs, liver, and other parts of the carcass that contain significant amounts of blood require special attention, including perforation or being sliced open to allow all blood to drain. Meat that is not salted and drained of blood within seventy-two hours of slaughter may be consumed only if it is roasted over an open flame, deemed an effective method of removing blood.

Food preparation is governed by the principle that meat and dairy products may neither be cooked together nor even prepared in nor served on the same utensils. The Talmud even prohibits the consumption of milk after meat during the same meal (B. Ḥullin 105a). The rule requiring separate dishes intends to prevent the actual mixing of the food or the imparting of a dairy taste to meat or vice versa. In the earliest formulation of the law, such mixing of utensils renders the food prohibited only if the taste of milk actually is detectable in meat or vice versa (T. Terumot 8:16). In later practice, even in a case in which no impermissible flavor is imparted to the other food, that food is deemed forbidden.

Talmudic authorities generally understand the food taboos to promote moral conduct and do not attempt to explain them philosophically. They view it of no concern to God how an animal is killed, but they recognize the human significance of observing divine edicts for their own sake (Gen. Rabbah 44:1; Lev. Rabbah 13:3; Sifra 11:22). In later periods, the dietary restrictions have variously been explained as a system of health and disease prevention, as methods of assuring the humane treatment of animals, as a system of social differentiation, or in line with the talmudic view, as an aspect of adherence to the divine will that requires no philosophical or social explanation. *See also* DIETARY LAWS.

fool (Heb.: *kesil*; Gr.: *aphrōn*) person whose conduct and attitude in practical, moral, and religious matters (often called "folly") are wrong-headed because he or she has no insight into divinely revealed wisdom or because this attitude and conduct result in harmful consequences, often divine judgment. The term is at home in the Israelite wisdom tradition, which often contrasts wisdom and folly, the actions of the wise and the fool, and their respective consequences. Later wisdom texts often focus on the judgment that befalls those who deny God's sovereignty (Wisd. of Sol. 3:2, 5:4; 1 Enoch 98:9; cf. also Luke 12:20).

In a specific usage, the terms "fool" and "folly" are associated with idolatry (Deut. 32:6; Jer. 5:21; Wisd. of Sol. 12:23–24, 13:1; Rom. 1:22–23). The idolator fails to understand the unique reality of the true God and as a result falls under divine condemnation. The notion that idolatry is folly—even if the term does not occur—also appears in polemical texts that ridicule idolatry and the inability of idolators to understand the nonsense of their religious activity (Isa. 44:9–20; Bel and the Dragon, Letter of Jeremiah; Apoc. Abr. 1–7). *See also* WISDOM LITERATURE.

forbidden targum biblical passage deemed unsuitable for translation into Aramaic. In the rabbinic period, synagogue worship services apparently included weekly readings of scripture in Hebrew followed by a translation of each verse into Aramaic. Lists of forbidden targums appear in the Mishnah (Meg. 4:10), the Tosefta (Meg. 4[3]:31) and the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 25a–b). There were two types of forbidden passages. Some passages, such as Genesis 35:22 and Exodus 32:21–25 and 35, were to be read in Hebrew, but not translated into Aramaic, while others, including Numbers 6:24–6, 2 Samuel 11:2–17, 2 Samuel 13:1–9, and Ezekiel 1:4–28, were considered so offensive or difficult that they were to be neither read in Hebrew nor translated. Several of these were forbidden because they concern illicit sexual activity, but others were forbidden because of their religious or mystical nature. *See also* SCRIPTURE READING IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

forgiveness Forgiveness of repentant sinners by God is a common theme in the Bible, which continues in postbiblical Jewish literature and the New Testament. Forgiveness is embedded in the context of God's mercy and love for Israel and God's care for the humble and needy who pray for help (Ecclus. 2:11). It is associated with a lively sense of human imperfection and sinfulness and depends on human admission of need or sin and on repentance (Ecclus. 18:12). In Jubilees, Judah repents of having slept with Tamar (41:23–24). When the people of Israel sin, they are punished so that they will repent and can then be saved by God's mercy at the judgment (Pss. Sol. 3:3–4, 10:4; 2 Bar. 13:10). Righteous gentile proselytes, such as Asenath, are also saved by repentance (JosAs 11:10–14).

Voluntary Jewish sects put a great emphasis on obtaining God's forgiveness. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, people become members of the community by repenting and being forgiven by God (CD 2:3,

3:18; 1QH 4:37, 7:30). Forgiveness is closely associated with cleansing and sanctification (1QS 3:1–6). In the New Testament, John the Baptist, Jesus, and his disciples all urge their audiences, Jewish or Gentile, to seek forgiveness of sins by repentance and baptism (Mark 1:4; Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38). In the post-Pauline tradition forgiveness of sins is seen as an effect of Jesus' redemption from sin of those who believe in him (Col. 1:14; Eph. 1:17). In the Gospels, Jesus' claim to forgive sins provokes controversy because in the biblical tradition only God can forgive sins (Mark 2:1–12). In addition, a series of metaphors of salvation, redemption, and expiation connect Jesus' death with God's forgiveness of sins.

Humans are also called to be like God in forgiving one another (Sir. 28:2; Matt. 6:12, 18:21–35). God's forgiveness of sins becomes unavailable in apocalyptic literature only at the end of the world. The unrepentant wicked are destroyed by the eschatological upheavals or condemned at a judgment. No further opportunity for repentance and forgiveness is allowed. *See also* ATONEMENT; REDEMPTION; REPENTANCE.

Former Prophets the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings; called the Former Prophets because they are placed before the Latter Prophets in the arrangement of the Hebrew Bible. These books are also called the Deuteronomistic History because they present a consecutive narrative ("history") beginning with the period of the judges, moving through the establishment of the Israelite monarchy, the division into the two countries of Israel and Judah, and finally the destruction of each country. The prophets play roles as actors in this history, which chronicles more of their deeds than their words. The prophets who appear in these books range from Deborah and Samuel to Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah.

fornication general term for illicit sexual behavior (Gr.: *porneia*) and frequently indicating sexual intercourse outside of wedlock or with a legally unacceptable partner; examples often cited include the fall of the watchers (1 Enoch 6–16, 40, 54; 2 Enoch 18; 2 Bar. 56; Test. Reuben 5 [blaming the women]). Fornication, defined broadly to encompass various sexually based transgressions, is a staple in vice catalogs and lists of legal prohibitions (Jub. 20; 1 Cor. 6:9; Rev. 18:3; *Mart. Asc. Isa.* 2:5, 3:28; Sentence of Syriac Menander 49). *See also* ADULTERY; HOMOSEXUALITY; INCEST; MARRIAGE; VIRGIN.

foundation (Heb.: *yesod, musad;* Gr.: *themelion*) element in a complex metaphor that depicts the community of the righteous as a building. Two relevant Qumran texts do not identity what the foundation(s) of the community are (1QS 5:5, 8:7–8; 1QH 6:26–27). However, a fragmentary commentary on Isaiah 54:11, 12 may identify the priests (among the laity) as shining sapphires among the stones of the foundation (4Q164 1:1–3), thus indicating that the founding members of the community were its foundation. This is the function of the term in Ephesians 2:19–22, which identifies the apostles and prophets as the foundation of the church. *See also* BUILDING.

fountain, well vital sources of fresh water. A fountain usually denotes a "spring" of water, whereas a well is a pit dug to reach an underground water source. Since the Land of Israel receives little rainfall during much of the year, fountains and wells were extremely important there, and their location often determined the placement of towns and settlements. Israel was known as a land with many wells and springs (Deut. 8:7).

Wells and springs are especially important in nomadic societies, which need dependable sources of water both for humans and for large herds of animals. Several stories in the Book of Genesis, for example, revolve around wells and how they were named. Genesis 26 depicts controversies over wells involving Abraham and Isaac, and their enemies or rivals. In Genesis 29, Jacob meets Rachel at a well.

Fountains are often used in a figurative sense in early Jewish literature to symbolize a source of refreshment or life-giving power. In Psalms 68:26 and Jeremiah 17:13, God is Israel's "fountain." The Proverbs often use the term "fountain of life," which describes the "mouth of the righteous" (10:11), the "fear of the Lord" (14:27), and "wisdom" (16:22). Baruch 3:12 warns that Israel has "forsaken the fountain of wisdom," whereas 4 Ezra 14:47 states that the apocryphal Jewish writings contain the "fountain of wisdom." In the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), the seer sees in heaven "numerous fountains of wisdom," from which "thirsty ones" drink to gain a place among the elect (1 Enoch 48:1).

In early Christian literature, the most significant application of these terms occurs in John 4, where Jesus meets a Samaritan woman at "Jacob's well." After asking the woman for a drink, Jesus tells her that he can give her "living water" that will satisfy thirst forever, and that will become in a person "a spring of water welling up to eternal life" (4:10–14). *See also* WATER.

four cups (Heb.: *arbah kosot*) four cups of wine drunk at the Passover seder, one at the start, with

the Kiddush, one at the end of the narrative, one at the end of the Grace after Meals, and the fourth at the end of the liturgy of the seder

Fourth Philosophy the historian Josephus's name for the teaching of Judas the Galilean (also identified as Judas the Gaulanite from Gamala) and Sadok, a Pharisee. In 6 C.E. these teachers responded to the imposition of direct Roman rule and to a Roman census by calling for the people to acknowledge only God as their ruler, to resist Roman rule and taxation, and to expect divine help. Josephus disapproved of this teaching because he blamed it for much of the unrest and rebellion that led eventually to the war against Rome in 66. Josephus testifies to the willingness of the followers of this philosophy to undergo incredible suffering and torture to achieve liberty. He contrasts this radical Fourth Philosophy with the more stable and "respectable" teachings of the other three philosophies of Judaism, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

Many scholars have claimed that Judas the Galilean was the son of an earlier resister, Ezekias the Galilean, but his son Judas, who raided the armory in Sepphoris in 6 C.E., is a different person. Some say that Judas led a revolt against Rome in 6 C.E., but Josephus only says that Judas's teaching incited others to revolt and to resistance. Judas and his family are sometimes understood as part of the long-lasting Zealot movement, since two of his sons were later executed by Tiberius Julius Alexander, the Roman procurator of Judea (46–48 C.E.). Others have connected him with the Sicarii since his son Menahem led the Sicarii in the capture of Masada during the war against Rome. The Zealots, however, are best understood as several groups of peasant revolutionaries driven off their land by the Roman armies in 66–67, not as an intergenerational movement.

Josephus makes clear that Judas and Sadok were teachers who attracted followers and that their teachings led to active resistance to Rome. He relates their teaching to that of the Pharisees, except that Judas and Sadok were more active, and they were less adaptive in relating to the foreign regime. They taught people to trust in divine providence and also to be responsible for their actions and lives, as did the Pharisees in Josephus's paradigm of Jewish groups.

fourth-year fruit (Heb.: *rebiit*) produce in the fourth year after the planting of a fruit tree; subject to the rule governing second tithe

Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers fifteen or so Jewish authors from the last three centuries B.C.E., described as fragmentary because only short excerpts of their work have survived and as Hellenistic because these excerpts show the influence of Greek civilization on non-Greeks, in this case on the Jews. They lived in Egypt and Palestine, and include the earliest named Jewish writers of Greek. Among them are poets, a dramatist, a philosopher, and historians with interests of a scientific type.

Most of the fragments were collected by Eusebius in the fourth century C.E., who quoted earlier authors to prove the antiquity of the Jews. If (as was claimed) the birth of Christianity was foretold in the history of the Jews, Christianity could then show a well-established past. Since excerpts in general are unlikely to give an accurate picture of an author's work, especially those chosen for the Christian cause, the work of these writers is not easy to assess.

But one trend is clear. The fragments bridge the Jewish background of the authors and their Hellenistic milieu. Based on a detailed knowledge of the Jewish Bible, they describe biblical personalities, subjects, and themes. We encounter such persons as Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, and Solomon, references to Jerusalem, and discussion of such subjects as the Jewish Sabbath and the date of Passover. There are also examples of Midrashic-style tales that are not found in rabbinic texts. For example, Eupolemus the Historian says that Solomon gave Hiram a golden pillar for the Temple of Zeus at Tyre, and quotes letters from Solomon to King Sauron of Phoenicia and to King Vaphres of Egypt on building the Temple. Ezekiel the Dramatist includes a dream of Moses, and states that the wife of Moses had a brother called Chum.

But Greek influence pervades. Many details of Greek mythology appear; for example, the writer Artapanus claims that Moses was called Hermes because he interpreted sacred texts. More significantly, the methods of expression and trends of thought could have come only from a Greek milieu. The poets Theodotus and Philo the Elder composed Homeric hexameters, and Ezekiel wrote a drama in iambic trimeters, inserting phrases from Euripides' plays. The fragments in prose explore such subjects as ethnography, chronography, etymology, and historiography, already familiar from the Bible but now more rationally pursued. The sequence of events in the historical work of Demetrius the Chronographer shows an overriding concern with pure chronology, a topic developed by the Greeks, rather than evidence of the role of God, as occurs in the historical books of the Bible

or in the chronology of other Hellenistic Jewish work, such as the Book of Jubilees. In fact, chronology was a popular pursuit, and the fragments include several attempts to rationalize the chronology in different biblical books. A rational approach can also be seen in answers to questions (often implied) that arise from a detailed study of the biblical text. How old was the world? How big was the Temple? What was the meaning of biblical names? How did Jacob acquire twelve children in seven years? How could Moses have married Zipporah, when they were three generations apart? How did the Israelites obtain weapons in the desert, having left Egypt unarmed?

This factual analysis may partly account for the lack of meaningful references to God. Exceptions include the drama of Ezekiel, where God, probably unseen even by Moses, foretells and directs events. Similarly, Aristobulus the Philosopher stresses the nonhuman nature of God and his role in the creation of the world. But even here Greek influence intrudes. The claim of Theodotus that the murder of the Shechemites fulfilled a divine command is in accord with a theme in Greek mythology, in which crimes can be ordained by a decree from the gods, as when the Delphic oracle sanctioned the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes, her son. Similarly, the Orphic fragment describes a Jewish God ("He is one . . ."), who is called Zeus.

Greek influence on these writers can also be seen in their personal names, which, apart from Ezekiel and Artapanus (a Persian name), are all Greek. On balance, however, it appears that the Jewish identity of these authors was preserved. This emerges not only from their positive use of Jewish sources and themes, but also because many fragments are "apologetic" in tone; that is, their authors had sufficient self-confidence to explain Jewish concepts, account for potentially embarrassing events in Jewish history, and even attack anti-Semitism in society at large. This may have been especially necessary after the official translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, probably in 281 B.C.E. Accordingly, in answer to the charge that the Jews "despoiled" the Egyptians (Exod. 12:36), Ezekiel claims that the Egyptians donated their valuables to compensate their former slaves. Similarly, Theodotus justifies the murder of the "impious" Shechemites by Jacob's sons (see Gen. 34) because this fulfilled a divine decree. Theodotus thus implies that just as Jacob did not condemn the act (contrary to the biblical text), neither should the (Hellenistic) reader of the tale. The frequent encomia to biblical heroes, who often acquire nonbiblical roles, may also relate to apologetic needs. For example, the claim (if believed) that Abraham learned astrology from the Chaldeans, and then taught it to the Phoenicians and Egyptian priests, would have increased veneration for the Jewish patriarch in the non-Jewish world.

The work of the Fragmentary Hellenistic writers thus offers glimpses of the variety of Jewish achievements and concerns over a considerable period of time, which, despite Hellenism's lure, were not pursued at the expense of faith. *See also entries on individual writers mentioned herein.*

Fragmentary Targums (also known as Fragment Targums) The Fragmentary Targums belong under the rubric of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch. Rather than providing a continuous text, the Fragmentary Targums translate only selected verses—sometimes only selected words—into Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. Usually the selections contain either additional material common to the Palestinian Targums or updated references to technical terms, forgotten words, *hapax legomena,* or otherwise obscure language; sometimes, though, the translated verses are simply literal translations. There are at least five different recensions of the Fragmentary Targums; manuscripts of the two most complete ones are found in Paris (the Paris Targum) and the Vatican. Scholars currently think that these targums were developed during the time when Targum Onkelos was replacing the Palestinian Targums among eastern Mediterranean Jewry (seventh to tenth centuries). Although the Jews changed the type of translation they used, they still wished to retain the interpretive traditions of the Palestinian Targums. So they compiled collections of those traditions to be used alongside Targum Onkelos. In the earliest references to this text, it is called Targum Yerushalmi, or Targum of Jerusalem.

fragments of targums *see* CAIRO GENIZA, TARGUM FRAGMENTS FROM

free will the ability to make choices for oneself, without external constraints. The issue of free will versus determinism is not treated in any systematic way in the Hebrew Bible. There are, nevertheless, a few passages or themes that raise the problem, such as the repeated references to God's hardening of the pharaoh's heart during the time of the plagues in Egypt (Exod. 7–12). In later literature, more attention is paid to free will. The community that wrote and copied the Dead Sea Scrolls denied that humankind possessed the ability to choose. They believed that God had determined everything that would happen in history before it took place.

Most scholars identify this group as a branch of the Essene party, which, according to the first-century C.E. Jewish historian Josephus, rejected the view that humans are free to choose. This is one of the issues on which, again as Josephus reports, the major Jewish parties differed: the Sadducees believed it was within human power to choose, the Pharisees thought some decisions were made freely and others were not, and the Essenes attributed all things to fate. In the New Testament, Paul deals with similar topics and maintains that believers have been chosen by God to be his people and others have not (see Rom. 9–11); it is not, in the first place, a matter of human will. The books 2 Esdras and 2 Baruch (written in about 100 C.E.) struggle with the same issue as the authors try to explain the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of pagans. While rabbinic literature does not systematically treat the issue of free will, it appears to offer a largely deterministic point of view, expressed in its maxim that "All is in the hands of Heaven except for the fear of Heaven" (B. Megillah 25a; B. Berakhot 33b; B. Niddah 16b).

free-will offering (Heb.: *nedaḇah*) gift made out of benevolence and not in fulfillment of a vow or other obligation. Such offerings were used to construct and furnish the wilderness tabernacle, First Temple, and Second Temple (Exod. 35:29; 1 Chron. 29:5–9; Ezra 1:4). Additionally, when the Temple stood, they took the form of burnt offerings or peace offerings (Lev. 22:18–21), which, alongside the burned fat, provided meat to the priesthood and donor.

Friends (of the king) these were honored advisers to the Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and other Hellenistic kings (*philoi* in Greek). They seem to have been of various ranks, with kinship terms such as "cousin" or "brother" indicating higher status. Jonathan Maccabee was made a Friend of Alexander Balas (1 Macc. 10:20).

friendship Friendship between men is infrequently observed by narrative texts; more rare is friendship between women. While David and Jonathan, Jesus and Lazarus, Ruth and Naomi provide idealized examples, more attention is dedicated to didactic prescriptions. Wisdom literature notes loyalty and fidelity as the hallmarks of a true friend, but warns against those who would take advantage (Ecclus. 6, 12:8–18, 13:21, 37:4–5; Prov. 19; Pseudo-Phocylides 91–96). Sentence of Syriac Menander comments extensively on friendship; the treatment of friends; lifelong models; and its relation to wealth. The Letter of Aristeas 228 addresses the honor due friends. More theologically oriented literature draws upon the model of friendship to describe the relation between the Deity and select individuals; Abraham (Isa. 41:8; 2 Chron. 20:7; James 2:23) and Moses (Exod. 33:11) are both called friend of God. The Gospels depict the charge that Jesus is a friend to tax collectors and sinners (Luke 7:34; see also Matt. 9:11; Luke 15:1–2). John 15:13 states that the greatest love is to give one's life for one's friends; in John 15:14 Jesus states that those who follow his commandments are his friends. On an ironic note, Luke 23:12 claims that their mutual dealings with Jesus caused Pilate and Herod Antipas to become friends. Enigmatically, Luke 16:9 advises making friends by means of "unrighteous mammon."

The talmudic literature defines true friendship as a relationship through which neither party hopes to advance his or her own interests. This contrasts with selfishness, which destroys friendship (M. Abot 5:16). The rabbis note that true friendship is rare, for, "At the gates of shops you have many friends and kin; at prison gates, you find no friends or kin" (B. Shabbat 32a). The greatest value of friendship is in the desire of true friends to improve each other's moral and intellectual stature. Thus, Abot deRabbi Natan 19 states that one should love the person who corrects him and hate the one who offers only flattery.

fruit a major motif in ancient Jewish art, particularly in mosaic floors and carved in relief in synagogues. Fruits also figure heavily on Jewish coins, particularly on coins of the Jewish War and of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and also on lamps. Fruits appear individually, in groups, or in baskets with many other fruits. Fruits are among the seven kinds of bounty indigenous to the land (Deut. 8:8) and grapes, dates, figs, and pomegranates are often depicted in various media. The etrog, though it is a fruit, is treated separately, as it occurs with menorah, lulab, shofar, and incense shovel with regularity. The pomegranate appeared as early as the Hasmonean period on coins of John Hyrcanus I, John Hyrcanus II, Judas Aristobolus, Mattathias Antigonus, Herod the Great, and the coins of the Jewish War. The palm tree bearing fruit is a popular motif in mosaics and on Jewish coins, especially the coins of Herod Antipas. Dates alone also appear on the coins of Herod Antipas. Baskets of figs, dates, or other fruits are known on Jewish lamps of the first to the third century C.E. In the synagogue floor from Hammath-Tiberias, the figure of Spring (Nisan) holds a bowl of fruit in her right hand. The Beth Alpha figure of Summer (Tammuz) is associated with fruit and field produce, but it is not in baskets.

FT *see* FRAGMENTARY TARGUMS

Fuga *see* DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE

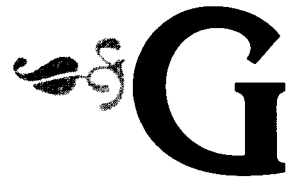
fulfillment of prophecy *see* PROPHECY, FULFILLMENT OF

fullness of time (Gr.: *plērōma tou chronou*) technical term employed in Jewish eschatological literature to refer to the end of the old age, which ushers in the new age (e.g., 2 Bar. 30:3). Paul uses the expression in Galatians 4:4 with reference to the coming of Jesus, as part of an extended argument to prove that obedience to the Torah is passé due to the coming of the Messiah and the new age (Gal. 3:15–29). *See also* ESCHATOLOGY.

full-time, perpetual students *see* ASARAH BATLANIM

furnace, fiery the instrument of punishment for people refusing to worship Nebuchadnezzar's massive image (Dan. 3). The story portrays the three youths' refusal to participate in the idolatrous exercise as an ordeal that tests the power of Israel's God, which is vindicated when the youths are delivered without harm and Nebuchadnezzar must acclaim their God and praise their trusting obedience. The story may be a narrative elaboration on Isaiah 43:2. The Septuagint version of Daniel 3 enhances the story through the addition of Azariah's prayer for deliverance and the youths' song of thanksgiving. The Book of Biblical Antiquities 6–7 identifies the plain of Dura in Babylon (Dan. 3:1) with the plain in Shinar, where the Tower of Babel was erected (Gen. 11:1–9) and where Abram is cast into a fiery furnace because of his refusal to participate. Thus Abram is chosen by God, and the fire is the *ur* of the Chaldeans from which the patriarch goes forth (Gen. 11:31).

fusion meal *see* ERUB TABSHILIN



Gabara (or Gabaroth) Jewish village in Galilee on the north edge of the Beit Netofa Valley. The Hebrew name of the village is Arav in the Talmud, though there are at least two villages of that name. The village was known to Josephus in the first century as a town attacked by Vespasian near the outset of his march into Galilee (*War* 3.7.1, p. 132, reading Gadara as Gabara). He also knew it as a town hostile to John of Gischala in Upper Galilee (*Vita* 10:44). First-century-C.E. tombs are known in the modern village, called Arraba. It is the place where the priestly course of Pethahiah fled from Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Fragments of a Byzantine church are also known in the modern village.

Gablan an area in the northern Transjordan, known for its fertility (B. Ketubot 112a). The area's fertility is stressed by M. Sotah 9:15, which states that with the approach of the Messiah, even Gablan will be made desolate.

Gabriel (Heb., power [or man] of God) one of the four or, in some cases, seven holy ones (angels) who stand in God's immediate presence. Gabriel is mentioned in all lists of these angels of the presence in the Pseudepigrapha (1 Enoch 20, 40) and Qumran scrolls (1QM 9:15–16). Along with Michael and Raphael, he is one of three who appear by name in canonical and deuterocanonical texts. In Daniel 8–9 and Luke 1:26, he functions as God's messenger to Daniel and Mary, explaining the divine mysteries and deeds of salvation.

Gaggot-Tzarifin location mentioned at M. Menahot 10:2, referring possibly to Sarafand, near Lydda. When the crop near Jerusalem did not ripen in time, the barley required for the *omer* was brought from there. An alternate reading is Gannot-Tzarifin, that is, the gardens of Tzarifin.

Gaium *see* DE LEGATIONE AD GAIUM

Gaius Roman emperor (r. 37–41 C.E.). Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus was born in 12 C.E. to Germanicus (the adopted son of the emperor Tiberius) and his wife Agrippina. As a young child living with his parents in a military camp on the Rhine he was nicknamed Caligula (Little Boots) by the soldiers. After the death of his father in suspicious circumstances in Syria, he lived in Rome with his mother. As declared heir he joined Tiberius at Capri and was proclaimed emperor by the Praetorian Guard on the latter's death in 37. However, after only a few months in office he suffered a severe illness that may have left him somewhat deranged. He turned on his former supporters, including Gemellus, and had them executed. His dealings with the Senate became more autocratic as he adopted a lifestyle more in keeping with an eastern potentate than that of his predecessors in the office of the principate. It was this policy that brought him into direct confrontation with the Jews, whose religious beliefs did not allow the use of human representations. The refusal of the Alexandrine Jews to worship his image was partly responsible for the troubles in Alexandria, which gave rise to the delegation that Philo writes about in his *Legatio ad Gaium*. He was a close friend of Herod the Great's grandson, Agrippa, and bestowed on him the title

of king together with the territories of his uncle Philip in Batanea and Trachonitis and, two years later in 39, the territories of the deposed Antipas (Galilee and Perea). Jews had destroyed a votive altar to the emperor at Jamnia and Gaius responded by ordering the governor of Syria, Petronius, to have his statue erected in the Temple in Jerusalem. Petronius was aware of the dire repercussions that such an action would likely have in Palestine, especially after receiving a threat of an agricultural strike from the Jews. Agrippa approached the emperor and succeeded in having the matter postponed until Gaius himself could visit the east. Gaius and his family were murdered in 41 C.E. before the proposed visit took place. The Jews were spared an open confrontation with the might of Rome for another thirty years.

Galen (131–197 C.E.) physician and philosopher, born in Pergamum. A medieval Jewish legend identified Galen with the patriarch Gamaliel II, who was supposed to have written a handbook of medicine for Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem. Galen often expressed disapproval of the centrality of uncritical faith and authority in Judaism. He compared incompetent physicians to Moses, whom he criticized for stating positions without offering proof, saying only that "God commanded" or "God spoke." Galen viewed Moses as a philosopher and in his writings engaged in philosophical debates with the latter concerning the causes of creation, rejecting the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*.

Galerius Roman emperor (r. 293–311 C.E.). Diocletian appointed him Caesar of the East in 293 as part of Diocletian's tetrarchy. He was born the son of peasants at Serdica, Thrace, in 250. He led a successful campaign against the Persians. His religious views were similar to those of Diocletian, and he may have been the ideological force behind the Christian persecutions of 303. He became Augustus of the East upon Diocletian's abdication in 305. After suffering a major illness, he issued an edict of partial toleration to the Christian church, perhaps to placate their god.

Galilean Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, GALILEAN

Galilee the northernmost area of the Land of Israel; also known as Gelil. In the first century C.E., Galilee was governed as a province of Judea. In 66 C.E. its Jewish inhabitants joined the war against Rome, with Josephus in charge of its defense. The area was ceded to Vespasian in 67 C.E. The Jewish character of the area during the mishnaic period is subject to dispute. The absence of references to Galilee in Second Temple biblical sources and the lack of any specifically Jewish archaeological evidence support the view that Galilee was home to only a small Jewish minority. By contrast, some scholars point to the rabbinic traditions of a distinctively Galilean Judaism, found as early as the Mishnah, as evidence for a significant Jewish population in the area. Comparably, the schism between Samaria and Galilee may suggest a much more Jewish Galilee than the opposing view recognizes. Scholars also dispute whether the citizens of Galilee participated in the Bar Kosiba revolt.

Galilee, archaeology of *The Persian period.* The western part of Galilee was influenced by and may even have been an integral part of the Pheonician kingdom of Sidon, as shown by finds from the cemeteries at Ahziv and excavations at Tell Akko and Tell Kisan. Other parts of Galilee were part of a district which had the town of Meggido as its center. On top of Tell Hazor a large fortified building was found, built perhaps to control the main road in the valley. Many farmhouses were located in Galilee, together with small sites, indicating that Galilee played a smaller role than the coastal area during this period.

The Hellenistic period. Two large and important centers grew up around Galilee during the Hellenistic period. In the west, Ptolemais became the most important city between Dora and Tyre. Remains of a strong city wall, private buildings with fresco walls, temples, inscriptions, and a tunnel for an aqueduct have been excavated. Fortresses and army camps were built around the town to protect its hinterland. The second city, to the southeast, is Skithopolis, founded in the third century B.C.E. Remains of large Hellenistic neigborhoods have also been uncovered at Tell Istabah on the north bank of the river. A large fortress was built on top of Mount Tabor; along with many others, it was used in the Syrian wars.

The remains of Persian temples, with mainly Hellenistic features, were uncovered at Beer Sheba and in small villages in central Upper Galilee. Another enigmatic cult site was uncovered at Tell Dan. Above the remains of the large Israelite cult center, a Hellenistic temenos was found, including an altar, liquid basin, and an inscription in Greek and Aramaic about the "Great God of Dan."

In the Hulla Valley, the remains of an unusual Hellenistic palace were uncovered at Tell Anafa, with very early examples of golden frescoes and stucco. No archaeological evidence for Jewish life was found from that time up to the Hasmonean conquest around 100 B.C.E. The destruction layers of Tell Anafa, the temple at Mizpe Yamim, and the

Hellenistic residential areas at Skithopolis can be attributed to the conquest of Galilee by the Hasmoneans. Numerous Hasmonean coins have been found all over Galilee, indicating the extent of the Jewish population. From that time Jewish Galilee, detached from Jerusalem by Samaria, developed mainly in Lower Galilee, with Sepphoris as its capital, and in central and eastern Upper Galilee.

The Roman period. During Herod Antipas's reign, the new capital of Tiberias was built; archaeological finds, such as a gate with round towers and perhaps a theater, show the Roman style of urbanization. It is possible that Sepphoris was built in a similar way.

Galilee was surrounded by Gentile towns, including Tyre Qedesh, and Paneas, where excavations of the cult center for Pan and the remains of monumental buildings dating to the first century C.E. are found. On the north, there is Ptolemais; on the west, Hipos and the small town of Philoteria; and on the east, Skithopolis, where excavations have uncovered mainly the large buildings of the civic center and paved, pillared streets.

Evidence of daily life during the first century C.E., together with actual remains from the First Jewish Revolt in Galilee, were uncovered at the small town of Yodfat. The remains of a Roman asphalt ramp, arrowheads, ballista stones, and the city wall attest to the heavy battle described by Flavius. Private houses, cisterns, baths, oil presses, clay vessels, stone vessels, and coins all shed light on life in Galilee in the early Roman period. Layers of the same period were also uncovered at Sepphoris and Tiberias. Remains of Roman-period layers at both capitals of Jewish Galilee reveal well-organized cities with paved streets, public bathhouses, aqueducts, simple private houses, and some large, well-designed buildings.

Five Jewish villages were partly unearthed in Galilee: Capernaum, Chorazin, Meiron, Naburaya, and Horvat Shema. The private houses, mostly one story high, were built of local stones and covered with simple plaster. Roofs were made of wooden beams covered with mud or, very rarely, of roof tiles. Most villages were not planned, but had an organized structure; some of the alleys were paved and had sewage-water channels below them. At Chorazin and Horvat Shema, two water installations were found and identified by the excavators as ritual baths.

Twenty synagogues from the late Roman to the Byzantine period were excavated in the Galilee and about twenty-five more were identified at the survey according to their architectural elements. The architectural origin of the synagogue in Upper Galilee was Roman public architecture. The synagogue was the largest and most impressive building in the Jewish village. Most synagogues had two stories and were covered with gabled, tiled roofs. The synagogues are the main evidence of Jewish life, since almost all the Hebrew inscriptions from Galilee have come from synagogues. The inscriptions from Upper Galilee are mainly in Hebrew, though some are in Aramaic and one is in Greek. In Lower Galilee, most inscriptions are in Greek; some are in Hebrew and Aramaic. Much evidence comes from the funerary world. The large public cemetery at Beth Shearim, which has provided many inscriptions and names, demonstrates the diversity of Jewish burial customs in the late Roman period.

The Roman imperial road system was constructed mainly in Lower Galilee. A major road connected Ptolemais with Tiberias; another ran from Legio north to Sepphoris. Milestones with inscriptions were found along these two roads and experimental excavation sections revealed that they were built by Roman methods. Upper Galilee was surrounded by Roman roads but none of them cut through it.

Early Christianity: the fourth century. Some of the earliest remains of Christianity were found in Galilee. At Capernaum are the remains of the Domus Eclesia, which was built, according to tradition, above the house of Saint Peter. An early chapel, dated to the fourth century, was uncovered below the remains of the large "church of fish and loaves" at Tabha (Heptapegon). Two uncertain fourth-century-C.E. churches were unearthed in western Galilee, one at Hebron and the other at Savei-Zion.

The Byzantine period. Most of the Jewish villages continued their way of life throughout the Byzantine period. In spite of the Christian laws against building synagogues, new ones were constructed. In Upper Galilee they were built in the Roman tradition, as at Naburaya and Meroth. In the valley they were built in the Byzantine style in the plan of churches; the synagogues at Beth Alpha and Maoz Hayim are examples. Some villages were abandoned for various reasons, and there is no doubt that Christian pressure was an important factor. In Lower Galilee, churches and monasteries were built between Jewish villages and in one case, at Capernaum, beside a synagogue.

Galilee, Sea of large fresh water lake in the northern rift valley of ancient Palestine, also known as Lake Tiberias (from one of its largest cities) or in

Hebrew as Yam Kinneret (Num. 34:11). Josephus refers to it simply as "the lake" (*Vita* 96), though he knows that the locals also called it the Lake of Genesareth (*War* 3.10.1, p. 462), probably because of a town of that name on the northwestern plain beside the lakeshore. Today the lake is about 12.5 miles by 7 miles, though in antiquity it may have been larger. Josephus, in particular, thought it extended about 16 miles north to south, but he believed it was only 4.5 miles wide. In the Hellenistic period the site of Philoteria was built on its southwestern shores on the site of biblical Beth Yerah. The town of Hammath stood at the hot springs one Roman mile south of Tiberias and north of Philoteria, the site of a Jewish town. In the early first century C.E., Herod Antipas built Tiberias north of Philoteria. On the northwest shore stood Magdala (also known as Taricheae) and Ginnosaur. Just west of Magdala are the imposing cliffs of Arbel where Herod the Great killed the last rebel in his resolution of the civil war. Just west of the entrance of the Jordan into the lake stood ancient Capernaum, and west of the Jordan stood Bethsaida-Julias. On the west shore stood Gerasa (Gergesa of Matt. 8:28). To the southeast stood a city of the Decapolis, Hippos-Susitha.

A series of harbors and anchorages have been identified around the lake, as it was well exploited by the fishing industry. In fact, the Greek name of Magdala, Taricheae, means salted or pickled fish. The towns of Capernaum and Magdala figure in the ministry of Jesus, who called his first disciples from among its fishermen (Matt. 4:18–22). The lake was the scene of a pitched maritime battle between the Jews and the Romans in the First Jewish War (*War* 3.10.9: 522–542). This battle was disastrous for the Jews. In the Roman and Byzantine periods synagogues were built around the lake at Hammath, Tiberias (at least two), Magdala, Capernaum, and Beth Yerah. Doubtless others were built and remain to be found. In the Byzantine period there was great interest on the part of the Christian emperors and of local Christian citizens to build memorial churches to the memory of Jesus' ministry around the lake. Great churches were built at Heptapegon west of Capernaum, at Capernaum, and at Hippos, and a great monastery was built at Gerasa (Kursi).

Galilee boat (also known as the Kinneret boat, after the Hebrew name for the Sea of Galilee) two-thousand-year-old fishing boat recovered intact in 1986 from the Sea of Galilee. The vessel was discovered buried in sediment during a severe drought that caused the lake's waters to recede and revealed vast expanses of the lake bed. To prevent the hull from imminent destruction by treasure hunters, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums mounted an exceptional, around-the-clock salvage excavation. Once the hull had been cleared of overburden and studied in situ, it was encased in a fiberglass and polyurethane "cocoon," and sailed down the lake to the Yigal Allon Center at nearby Kibbutz Ginosar, where it is currently undergoing conservation.

The boat is 26½ feet (8.2 meters) long, 7½ feet (2.3 meters) in breadth, and was preserved to a height of 4½ feet (1.2 meters) in the stern. The hull was built in "shell-first" technique; its planks were edge-joined and fastened together with mortise-and-tenon joints. The hull appears to have been built to a large degree of timbers that had seen use in earlier vessels. Most of the boat's planking was made of imported Lebanese cedar, and the frames of locally available oak. Single timbers of five other types have also been identified in the boat's structure: Aleppo pine, hawthorn, redbud, sidder, and willow.

A study of the construction techniques, related pottery, and radiocarbon dating places the boat's lifetime sometime around 100 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. This was a workboat that would have been used for fishing, as well as transporting passengers and cargo. The boat had a long lifetime of service on the lake; when it was old and decrepit it was brought ashore to have all of its reusable timber removed for secondary use. The remaining hull, no longer of any commercial use, was pushed out into the lake where it was soon covered with sediment, which preserved it.

The Galilee boat gives us a unique and intimate view of life on the Sea of Galilee in the waning years of the Second Temple period, a time of demographic expansion when the Kinneret was ringed by Jewish fishing settlements. In 67 C.E. Jews, apparently using boats of this type, were defeated by Roman soldiers in the Battle of Migdal. Josephus gives a detailed account of this conflict, which left the lake's waters crimson with Jewish blood (*War* 3:522–531).

gall Like liver or, more usually, its product (bile), gall carries the metaphorical associations of bitterness, anger, or, most commonly, poison (Lam. 3:19; Job 20:14, 25; Acts 8:23). It functions apotropaically when Tobias cures his father's blindness by anointing his eyes with a paste made from the gall of a miraculous fish (Tob. 11:8); gall was believed to have some medicinal properties. Some suggest that the "gall" offered to Jesus while he was being cru-

cified (Matt. 27:34) may have been myrrh or a narcotic.

Gallus, Cestius *see* CESTIUS GALLUS, GAIUS

galut *see* DIASPORA

Gamala Jewish city of the northern Golan Heights destroyed in the First Revolt and never rebuilt; the site of possibly a first-century-C.E. synagogue. The city of Gamala is well known from Josephus (*War* 4.1ff). There the inhabitants resisted the Romans under Vespasian as long as they could, but finally all but two women were slain by the Romans. Identified with a ridge known as as-Salam in Arabic that is about 10 kilometers east of the northeast shore of the Sea of Galilee, the site was built on a natural, steep ridge so that its appearance closely resembles a camel's hump (hence the Aramaic name). The excavators at Gamala have traced the city wall and identified a total area of about 75 acres within the walls. Furthermore, they have excavated a ritual bath, several rooms of residences, and a possible synagogue. Other installations brought to light include a town gate, cisterns, the lower city, and an aqueduct to the lower city.

Whether the building identified as a synagogue is indeed correctly identified has absorbed the debating energies of many scholars. The building in question is a rectangle with one wall against the city wall and one wall cut from bedrock. Its interior columniation was arranged in a rectangle around all four walls, with double columns or "heart-shaped" columns at the corners of the rectangle. The column capitals were carved with meander decorations. The central space between the columns steps down lower than the aisles between the columns and the walls, rather like benches, which is the strongest evidence that this is an assembly area. The central space was divided visually into two spaces by at least two columns across the space. This assembly area is entered from two doors to the southwest, where the doors give entry from a short hallway rather than directly from the street. Another door in the northeast corner opens outward to a staircase down to the side street. The aisles are paved with basalt flagstones, though the lower, central area is paved with pressed earth. A square niche, which some have identified as the place of the Torah shrine, is to be found in the corner to the left of the entrances.

Since the building is built against the city wall, its orientation is southwest to northeast. It was not built to orient to Jerusalem, though the facade does more or less point in that direction. Decoration within the building is confined to geometric motifs, such as rosettes, swastika meanders, and vines, which are in low relief or incised. The community ritual bath (so called because of its large size) was found only a few meters southwest of the putative synagogue and has been interpreted as part of the synagogue complex. That the building was used for some kind of gathering seems clear, though whether it is a synagogue in the narrow sense is still debated. It was probably built in the first century B.C.E. and destroyed during the First Revolt in 68 C.E. Huge ballistae from Roman siege engines and arrow heads from Roman archers littered its floors, as they litter the floors of all areas within the city that have been excavated.

Gamaliel I also known as Gamaliel haZaken (the Elder); president of the Sanhedrin, active in the first half of the first century C.E. He was a grandson of Hillel. He is known for letters he wrote, while the Temple still stood, to Jewish communities in the land of Israel and, during the diaspora, regarding the separation of tithes and the intercalation of the year (T. Sanhedrin 2:6). He was responsible as well for a number of ordinances aimed at improving the status of women (M. Gittin 4:2–3; M. Yebamot 16:7). He is referred to at Acts 5:34 as tolerant of followers of Jesus and at Acts 22:3 as a teacher of Paul.

Gamaliel II also known as Gamaliel of Yabneh. A grandson of Gamaliel the Elder, he followed Yohanan b. Zakkai as patriarch around 80 C.E. He played a significant role in the development of the center of rabbinic learning at Yabneh and in the struggle to establish that center, its patriarch, and court as the center of Judaism. The result was a struggle for power with elder rabbis of his generation, a fight which led him to excommunicate his own brother-in-law, Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (B. Baba Metzia 59b). Of special concern was Gamaliel's establishing of his court's right to set the calendar. He clashed with Joshua (M. Rosh Hashanah 2:8–9) over this issue and, as a result, for a time was removed from the office of patriarch (B. Berakhot 27b–28a).

Gamaliel's legal statements are cited frequently in the Mishnah, and he was recognized as one of the greatest authorities of his generation. He is known for ordinances aimed at shaping Judaism in the face of the destruction of the Temple, for instance, by formulating the ritual for Passover eve (M. Pesahim 19:5) and by establishing individual prayer as normative.

Gamaliel's knowledge of and participation in Hellenistic culture are clear from his positive attitude towards the study of Greek (T. Sotah 15:8; B. Sotah 49b) and his use of a bathhouse of Aphro-

dite in Acre (M. Abodah Zarah 3:4). At the same time, he was a fierce proponent of Judaism against heresy and idolatry. Later sources associated him with the Amida's benediction that excluded Christians from membership in the Jewish community (B. Berakhot 28b).

Gamaliel III son of Judah the Patriarch; also called Gamaliel b. Rabbi; active in the first half of the third century C.E. While few of his dicta are preserved, he was a teacher to important authorities of the first Amoraic generation, including Samuel, Yohanan, and Hanina. His father appointed him patriarch (B. Ketubot 103b). At M. Abot 2:3, Gamaliel preaches suspicion of the Roman government.

Gamaliel IV son of Judah II Nesiah; active in the second half of the third century C.E.; father of Judah III. He is infrequently cited, and his exact period of activity is unclear.

Gamaliel V son of and patriarch following Hillel II. Little more than his name is known.

Gamaliel VI the last patriarch. He defended Jews against Christians and, without governmental approval, built a synagogue. As a punishment, in an edict dated 415 C.E., the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II deprived him of the post of patriarch and of its associated honorific titles. His death in 426 C.E. marked the end of the patriarchate.

gambling frowned upon in Jewish law and considered a form of theft. Professional gamblers were disqualified from serving as witnesses or judges in court. Playing dice and betting on pigeons were specifically denounced by the rabbis. However, gambling for entertainment was not prohibited, as illustrated by the popularity of the game of dreidel on Hannukah.

gaon (pl., geonim) title of the head(s) of the Babylonian academies at Sura and Pumbedita, beginning in the sixth century C.E. The geonim determined the educational activity of the academies and sat as heads of a court system modeled after the Sanhedrin. The gaon generally was elected by the academy. Occasionally he was appointed by the exilarch, from whose office the gaonate was distinct.

garments, rending of ritual act of mourning. The act might be a reaction to death (2 Sam. 3:31, 13:31; Jdt. 14:19; 2 Macc. 4:38) or acute personal loss (2 Sam. 13:19). It was also a sign of repentance (Joel 2:12–13; Ezra 9:3–5) and a ritual response in a trial for blasphemy (Mark 14:63; M. Sanh. 7:5). *See also* SACKCLOTH AND ASHES.

gathering together of the exiles (Heb.: *kibbutz galuyot*) eschatological hope that all Israel will be restored to the Land of Israel by the Messiah at the end of days; the gathering of all the Jews into the Holy Land

Gaton Kabrath Gaton, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Gattung *see* GENRE

Gaza coastal city of importance from the biblical period, but also throughout the period from the sixth century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. Gaza formed a major port and formed the west end of a caravan route across the Negeb toward the eastern desert kingdoms. In the Persian period Gaza belonged to the Fifth Satrapy. At the end of the Persian period, Alexander the Great conquered the city after a two-month siege. The city wall of this siege was excavated in 1922. After Alexander's death, the city changed loyalties back and forth between Greek Egypt and Greek Syria. Gaza was under Ptolemaic rule from 301 to 198 B.C.E. It was a major economic center, forming the last staging point for goods imported to Egypt from Palestine and vice versa. From this point onward, Gaza gradually developed more and more autonomy, though this was threatened by the conquest of Gaza by Jonathan the Hasmonean in 145 B.C.E. and by John Hyrcanus I about 125 B.C.E. The Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus destroyed and annexed Gaza at the beginning of the second century B.C.E. Gaza came under Roman rule in 63 B.C.E. and began to mint its own coins in 61 B.C.E. The city passed to Herod the Great in 40 B.C.E. Herod did not trust Gaza to remain loyal to him, probably because of its small Jewish population and because of the economic connections Gaza maintained with Egypt and with the Kingdom of the Nabateans east and south of the Dead Sea. At the death of Herod, the city was almost an independent polis under the authority of the Roman governor at Damascus.

Gaza flourished under the Romans and became the major slave market of the region. Captured Jewish slaves from the Bar Kokhba Revolt were sold in the markets of Gaza. Archaeological evidence from the Roman period suggests that the city was decorated and maintained as a Roman city, with sculpture everywhere. Gaza ceased to mint its own coins about 238 C.E. These coins feature Marnas, a local deity identified with Zeus, but also Tyche (Fortuna), and Io. The Jewish population of Gaza must have grown during the late Roman and Byzantine periods, for a beautiful synagogue was built there in 508 C.E. and has been recently excavated. A Byzantine dye works also came to light west of the synagogue. The dye works or industrial complex was surrounded by a mud brick wall on a stone foundation. It consisted of only two rooms

with reservoirs, presumably for dyes. The Christian population of the Roman and Byzantine periods also flourished and built churches of note. Christian and Jewish epitaphs are known from the ancient cemeteries of Gaza. Gaza also figures in the sixth-century-C.E. mosaic map from Madaba in Jordan, its harbor shown with the name Maiumas Neapolis. The city wall of Byzantine Gaza has also been partially excavated.

Gaza Synagogue Byzantine synagogue with an elaborate mosaic floor. This synagogue was found accidently in 1965 when Gaza was under Egyptian administration. Its position near the sea shore suggests that it belonged to the Byzantine port city of Gaza called Neapolis Maiumas or Constantia Maiumas Neapolis. Emergency excavations by the Israelis in 1967 yielded much additional data. This was a large building about 30 meters by 26 meters in extent. The form of the building was a basilica with double rows of columns on two sides, that is, a nave and four side aisles. The building has its facade on the west side, probably with three portals. The excavator believes that an apse stood at the opposite, east end of the building, probably for the Ark of the Law. Fragments of an exquisite marble chancel screen of openwork in a floral motif revealed that such a screen stood around the ark at the east end. Carved into one fragment of the chancel screen was a menorah with lulab and shofar.

The earliest floor of the synagogue was a splendid mosaic that depicted King David dressed as Orpheus playing the harp. Above the harp is a single Hebrew word, David, so the interpretation is unambiguous. King David wears royal Byzantine garb and a gold crown or wreath. Around the king stand several animals, apparently soothed by his music: a lion cub, a giraffe, and a snake. The whole is surrounded by geometric designs. The south aisle is an inhabited scroll with representations of two peacocks, a hind, a nursing lioness, a feline chasing a deer, a wading bird, a bird in a cage, two giraffes, and foxes. This mosaic is in the same style as the synagogue of Maon, not far away.

The dedicatory inscription of the synagogue is in Greek and reads, "Menachem and Jeshua, sons of the Blessed Jesse, wood merchants, being thankful, give to the holy place this mosaic floor as an offering. . . ." "Holy place" refers to the synagogue. The date corresponds to 508 C.E. A bilingual inscription within a wreath carved on a white marble column, now in reuse in the modern mosque, mentions Hanania bar Iaakov in Hebrew and Anania the son of Iako in Greek. From the interior of the building came pottery lamps of the late Byzantine period. The excavator theorizes that the building was destroyed in the Arab conquest.

Geba city along the northern boundary of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. 18:24), about 5 miles north of Jerusalem. In some biblical passages, confusion among the names Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon, and the existence of more than one Geba, render it difficult to determine with certainty which city is meant. The Geba referred to at M. Kelim 17:5 and T. Kelim Baba Metzia 6:10 as inhabited by Kutim is the present-day Jaba, 4 miles north of Samaria.

Gebiha of Be-Katil Babylonian amora of the fifth century C.E.; during the last fourteen years of his life (419–433), head of the academy at Sura

Gedaliah, Fast of commemoration of the death of Gedaliah. Gedaliah was the son of Ahikam, son of Shaphan; he was appointed by Nebuchadnezzar to be governor over Judah and subsequently was murdered at Mizpah by rivals for control (2 Kings 25:22ff.). Scripture states that the assassination took place in the seventh month (Tishrei) but does not specify the date. Rabbinic sources place it on the third of Tishrei (B. Rosh Hashanah 18b). Medieval sources hold that the assassination took place on the New Year itself, that is, the first and second of Tishrei. Since fasting is prohibited on those dates, the fast takes place on the third or, in the event that the third is the Sabbath, on the fourth.

Gedara *see* GEDOR

Gedor talmudic name for Gedara, a Hellenistic town on a hill in Transjordan; one of the stations on which flares were lit to signal the occurrence of the new moon (B. Rosh Hashanah 23b); believed to have been fortified by Joshua (M. Arakhin 9:6; alternative reading: Gedod); the capital of Perea (Josephus, *War* 4:413). In scripture, the name Gedor also refers to other cities, including one in Judah (Josh. 15:58), one that is probably identical with Gederah (1 Chron. 4:18), and one in the area of Simeon (1 Chron. 4:39).

Gelil *see* GALILEE

Gemara the part of the Talmuds devoted to the commentary on the Mishnah. The Mishnah and Gemara constitute a Talmud.

gematria exegetical technique in which words are explained through reference to the numerical value of their constituent letters. The method was known to the Babylonians and Greeks and is referred to in rabbinic statements from the second century C.E. and on. In the talmudic literature, gematria occurs almost exclusively in homiletical settings, appearing only occasionally in legal contexts, for instance,

in the creation of mnemonic devices. An example of gematria occurs at B. Shabbat 70a, where Nathan interprets the statement "these are the words (*eleh haDebarim,* Exod. 35:1) to refer to the thirty-nine categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath. He derives this number from the numerical equivalent of *eleh*—thirty-six—plus two for the plural form *debarim* and one more for the definite article *ha*.

gemilut ḥasadim (acts of loving kindness) supererogatory acts of humanity, over and above the religious duties of service to fellow human beings that the Torah requires

gender roles, in rabbinic Judaism Men are the principal active force in the law of rabbinic Judaism, and women are acted upon, an arena for concern in particular when women represent points of danger, for example, when their status is unclear. In such instances, the law focuses on them, for example, when a woman is betrothed and married, when the marriage comes to an end, and at similar turning points. The principal focus of a social vision framed by men, such as that of the Mishnah, not only encompasses but focuses on woman, who is perceived as the indicative abnormality in a world in which men are normal. But to place into perspective the Mishnah's vision of woman, we have to locate woman within the larger structure defined by the household. This is for two reasons. First of all, as a matter of definition, woman forms the other half of the whole that is the householder. Second, since the household forms the building block of the social construction envisioned by the Mishnah's framers, it is in that setting that every other component of the social world of the system must situate itself. In this conception, which sees Israel as made up, on earth, of households and villages, the economic unit also frames the social one, and the two together compose the political one—hence, a political economy (joining the Greek words for city and household, i.e., *polis* and *oikos*), initiated within an economic definition formed out of the elements of production. This explains why women cannot be addressed outside of the framework of the economic unit of production defined by the household, for, throughout, the Mishnah makes a single cogent statement that the organizing unit of society and politics finds its definition in the irreducible unit of economic production. The Mishnah conceives no economic unit of production other than the household, though it recognizes that such existed; its authors perceive no social unit of organization other than the household and the conglomeration of households, though that limited vision omits all reference to substantial parts of the population perceived to be present, such as craftsmen, the unemployed, the landless, and the like. The framers of the Mishnah, for example, do not imagine a household headed by a woman; a divorced woman is assumed to return to her father's household. The framers make no provision for the economic activity of isolated individuals, out of synchronic relationship with a household or a village made up of householders. Accordingly, women, as much as craftsmen and day laborers or other workers, skilled and otherwise, enter the world of social and economic transactions only in relationship to the householder. The upshot, therefore, is that the social world is made up of households, and, since households may be made up of many families (e.g., husbands, wives, children, all of them dependents of the householder), households in no way are to be confused with the family. The indicator of the family is kinship, that of the household, "propinquity or residence." But even residence is not always a criterion for membership in the household unit, since the craftsmen and day laborers are not assumed to live in the household compound at all. Accordingly, the household forms an economic unit, with secondary criteria deriving from that primary fact.

The mishnaic law of women defines the position of women in the social economy of Israel's supernatural and natural reality. That position acquires definition in relationship to men, who give form to the Israelite social economy. It is effected through both supernatural and natural, this-worldly, action. What man and woman do on earth provokes a response in Heaven, and the correspondences are perfect. Thus the position of women is defined and secured in Heaven and here on earth, and that position, always and invariably relative to men, is what comes into consideration. In the Mishnah, the principal point of interest is the time at which a woman changes hands, that is, when she becomes or ceases to be holy to a particular man by entering or leaving the marital union. These are the dangerous and disorderly points in the relationship of woman to man and therefore to society. Five of the seven tractates of the Mishnah that pertain to women and family are devoted to the transfer of women—the formation and dissolution of the marital bond. Of these, three (Kiddushin, Ketubot, and Gittin) treat what is done here on earth by man, that is, formation of a marital bond through betrothal and the marriage contract, its dissolution through divorce, and the consequences. One of

them (Sotah) is devoted to what is done here on earth by woman. Yebamot, greatest of the seven tractates in size and in informal and substantive brilliance, deals with the corresponding heavenly intervention into the formation and dissolution of marriage: the effect of death upon the marital bond, and the dissolution, through death, of that bond. The other two tractates, Nedarim and Nazir, draw into one the two realms of reality, heaven and earth, as they work out the effects of vows—generally taken by married women and subject to the confirmation or abrogation of the husband—to heaven. These vows make a deep impact upon the marital relationship of the woman who has taken such a vow.

genealogy The Hebrew scriptures record over twenty genealogies; they appear as early as the primeval history and as late as the Chronicles. Emphasized in the postexilic period, especially in considerations of priestly purity (Ezra 2, 10:18–44; Neh. 12:22–23), the genealogy became increasingly important with the growth of diaspora communities and the consequent loss of geographical indicators of family and caste membership. Descent determined permitted marriages, priestly privileges, and social status. The Apocrypha provide genealogies for Tobit, Mordecai (in Additions to Esther), and, with the longest list, Judith. Josephus records that priestly genealogies were preserved in public archives (*Vita* 1).

The Gospels provide Jesus with two genealogies: Matthew's is divided into three cycles of fourteen generations (the last preserves only thirteen names) and underscores Jesus' Jewishness by highlighting Abraham, David, and the Babylonian expulsion. Matthew also explicitly names four women along with Mary: Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and "she of Uriah" (Bathsheba) may prefigure the sexual irregularities of Jesus' own birth, the exercise of higher righteousness by those in weak positions, and/or the welcome of Gentiles into the Church. The Lucan genealogy traces Jesus' line back to Adam and so locates Jesus within the context of world history. While both genealogies name David, the lines pass through different sons and so are not consistent (Solomon and so the royal line in Matthew; Nathan in Luke). Both genealogies are those of Joseph, although the Gospels teach a virgin birth. Later Christian teaching made both Mary and Joseph Davidides. *See also* DAVID, SON OF.

Genesis Apocryphon a compilation of narratives about the patriarchs. This Aramaic text is extant in one damaged manuscript, discovered among the first Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran Cave 1, but its revision of the Genesis stories reveals no tendency that indicates that it was composed in the Qumran Community. The date of its composition seems to have been around the turn of the era.

The extant portion of the scroll covers the period from Lamech to Abraham, but its badly deteriorated condition permits substantial reconstruction of only five of its twenty-two columns (2, 19–22). Columns 2–5 contained the story of Noah's birth. A series of episodes from the life of Abram probably began in column 18, and columns 19–22 retell the events in Genesis 12:8–15:4.

In freely recasting the events in Genesis, the author employs novelistic devices, the first-person singular voice, and some independent genres to create a running narrative that is richer and more complex than its Genesis counterparts. In general, the document focuses on the characters in the story, their human emotions and reactions to their circumstances.

The story of Noah's birth closely parallels the account in 1 Enoch 106–107 and emphasizes Lamech's suspicion that his wife has conceived a son by one of the fallen watchers. The story's genre is known from accounts of the conception of such biblical heroes as Samson and Samuel, and some of its details recall the story of Melchizedek's conception and birth in 2 Enoch 71 and Jesus' conception in Matthew 1:18–25.

The story about Abram's sojourn in Egypt is interpolated with a dream predicting the events to come, a lengthy description of Sarah's beauty cast in a traditional genre, and Abram's prayer for Sarah's release. Thus, picking up characteristics associated with Joseph and Daniel in the Bible, the author depicts Abram as a seer and interpreter of dreams, a sage, an effective intercessor with God, and a healer, who is set in opposition to the magicians and physicians of Egypt.

The Genesis Apocryphon is one of a range of texts often described as "rewritten Bible," but it differs from its counterparts in the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in its lack of emphasis on the Torah and moral instruction and its interest in the humanity of its characters. A few elements of its chronology appear to be dependent on Jubilees; its focus on individuals is somewhat paralleled in the Book of Biblical Antiquities as well as in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*.

Genesis Rabbah systematic verse-by-verse reading of the Book of Genesis, compiled about 400 C.E., against the background of the historic change represented by the conversion of the Roman

Empire to Christianity. Rome now claimed to be Israel, that is, Christian and heir to the testament of the founders. Sages of Genesis Rabbah affirmed that Rome is Esau, or Moab, or Ishmael. That concession—that Rome is a sibling, a close relative of Israel—represents an implicit recognition of Christianity's claim to share the patrimony of Judaism, to be descended from Abraham and Isaac. Sages in Genesis Rabbah represent Rome as Israel's brother, counterpart, and nemesis, and as the one thing standing in the way of Israel's, and the world's, ultimate salvation. It is not a political Rome but a messianic Rome that is at issue: Rome as surrogate for Israel, Rome as obstacle to Israel. By rereading the story of the beginnings, sages discovered the answer and the secret of the end. Rome claimed to be Israel, and, indeed, sages conceded, Rome shared the patrimony of Israel. That claim took the form of the Christians' appropriation of the Torah as "the Old Testament," so sages acknowledged a simple fact in acceding to the notion that, in some way, Rome, too, formed part of Israel. But it was the rejected part—the Ishmael, the Esau, not the Isaac, not the Jacob. Rome, then, marked the conclusion of human history as Israel had known it. Beyond lay the coming of the true Messiah, the redemption of Israel, the salvation of the world, the end of time.

Genesis, Targum to *see* PALESTINIAN TARGUMS TO THE PENTATEUCH

Geniba Babylonian scholar active in the late third century C.E.; referred to without the title "rabbi." Geniba is called a man of contention (B. Gittin 31b, 62a), and B. Gittin 7a reports his execution at the hand of Mar Ukba, possibly as a result of Geniba's teaching that rabbis (not exilarchs) appropriately should rule the Jewish nation.

genius (pl., genii) also known as a *nike* (victory) in the singular; a very minor motif in Jewish art, usually confined to late synagogue art. The few times that we can identify them, genii are represented as winged figures. Apparently, two genii or *nikae* flank either side of a wreath from a synagogue window lintel at Ramah. Two such *nikae* are known from a synagogue lintel at ed-Dikke in the Golan Heights, and apparently two pairs were chiseled off two large, handsome synagogue lintels at Baram. The same fate befell two genii in a beautifully cut lintel from the synagogue at Capernaum. Both at Baram and at Capernaum, these genii flanked a wreath, perhaps with a flower at the center. It is possible that these fell to Jewish iconoclasm; it is at least equally possible, however, that the iconoclasts were Muslims.

geniza the Aramaic loan word for a storeroom in a synagogue. Linguistically, the word *geniza* comes from the Hebrew and Aramaic root meaning "to hide, or store up," and means simply a place of "hiding" or "storing up." The *geniza* developed out of a need for a place to retire old, sacred manuscripts. Since the worshipers at these synagogues did not want to desecrate old manuscripts of the Torah and other sacred writings that contained the holy name of God, the practice arose of permanently consigning these documents to a spare room or space in the synagogue. This same type of meaning for the word *geniza* is found in the Talmud Sabbath text. The rabbis teach that sacred objects that were no longer fit for worship (Sabb. XVI.1) most be removed. It seems, from the storerooms that have been discovered to date, that the practice of storing biblical and other sacred manuscripts that contained the holy name of God was carried over to any document, either printed or handwritten, that contained the name of God.

By far the most famous *geniza* is the Cairo Geniza. This *geniza* from the Old Synagogue at Fustat in Cairo was discovered in the late nineteenth century and contained tens of thousands of documents in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Samaritan, and Greek. The documents ranged from legal texts concerning the synagogues or its members to biblical documents and rabbinic interpretations. Perhaps the most famous document from the Cairo Geniza is an example of the Damascus Rule, a text in many ways similar to the document among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran known as the Damascus Document. There are, however, some salient differences in references to the Damascus Document's founder and its ideology. In any case, its rules referring to the "Sons of the Zadok" are important for understanding early Jewish movements contemporary or even earlier than Qumran. *See also* CAIRO GENIZA.

genre a particular type of literature. The term, from the French, is widely used in scholarly writings; the German equivalent is *Gattung*. A genre might comprise only examples of a very short literary form, such as songs, proverbs, or letters, or it might embrace a very large work, even containing subgenres, such as history or tragedy.

Gentiles (nations; Heb.: *goyim*; Gr.: *ethnē*) generic Israelite expression for all of humanity except Israel. Most often this common biblical expression has a pejorative connotation that parallels the Greek use of "barbarians." By virtue of its covenantal relationship to YHWH and its observance of the Torah, Israel is contrasted with the rest of human-

ity, which stands outside the scope of God's covenantal love. A number of biblical voices sing a different tune, however. In the earliest stratum of the Pentateuch, Abraham's election from the Gentile people of Chaldea has implications for a blessing on "all the families of the earth" (Gen. 12:3). Second Isaiah sees "the servant of YHWH" as a "light to the nations" (Isa. 49:6). The Book of Jonah sharply criticizes the prophet who refuses to seek Nineveh's repentance. The touchy matter of intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles receives very different treatments in Ezra-Nehemiah and Ruth.

Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman period attests a whole spectrum of beliefs between these extremes. The Letter of Aristeas and the Jewish Sibylline Oracles assert that Gentiles can obtain God's favor if they avoid the major sins of idolatry, murder, and sexual promiscuity. Stories about Abraham's conversion from idolatry may have encouraged the kind of conversation depicted in Aristeas to Philocrates (Jub. 11:14–12:24; Apoc. Abr. 1–8). The tales in Daniel 1–6 describe Gentile kings acclaiming the unique sovereignty of Israel's God. 1 Enoch envisions divine blessing for "all of the children of the whole earth," providing they adhere to the Torah as expounded in Enochic circles (10:21, 90:38, 91:14, 100:6, 105:1). Its stories about Abraham notwithstanding, the Book of Jubilees sees the covenant and Torah as the distinguishing mark of Israel and warns its readers to avoid the Gentiles. Some works written in response to the persecution by Antiochus IV are especially bitter in their anti-Gentile invectives and explicit in their expectation that God will destroy them in the coming judgment (e.g., Dan. 7–12; Testament of Moses). 1 and 2 Maccabees distinguish between Gentile persecutors and others who are friendly to Israel. The two major apocalypses written after the trauma of 70 C.E. (4 Ezra and 2 Baruch) are wholly antagonistic to the Gentiles.

Although Jesus of Nazareth seems to have confined his ministry to Jews, early Christians, experiencing Jewish resistance to their proclamation that Jesus was the Messiah, rapidly developed a mission among Gentiles. Conceiving themselves as the eschatological community of the elect, they proclaimed their gospel to the Gentiles, to different degrees abandoning the Torah as the source and criterion for righteous contact. The position developed by Paul (Romans and Galatians) is analogous to the viewpoint in the Sibylline Oracles and Aristeas, but he differs in that he claims that Gentiles who follow his gospel are true children of Abraham. In Romans 9–11, he expresses the expectation that Israel would eventually come to faith in Christ. In the succeeding decades, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John were becoming increasingly pessimistic about this prospect. By the mid-second century a mainly Gentile church was claiming, ironically, that its christological faith defined it as the true Israel, over the Jews for whom Torah observance was the criterion to covenantal fidelity.

The rabbinic sources do not exhibit an interest in Gentiles as Gentiles. They deal with them only in relation to those matters that are important to Jews: the holiness of the Land of Israel, the observance of the Jewish holidays, especially the Sabbath and Passover, the Temple and the sacrificial cult, the purity laws, and the social and legal institutions that function within Israelite society. In each of these areas of concern, the Jewish sources sharply distinguish between the activities of Jews and those of Gentiles. Even when Jews and Gentiles do similar things, such as offering sacrifices at the altar in Jerusalem, they are required to do them in different ways. While the Jewish documents state that Jews and Gentiles lived in the same neighborhoods and courtyards, jointly owned fields of produce, traded with one another in the market, and even ate at one another's homes, the same documents go to great pains to demonstrate that in those areas that define Judaism, Jews and Gentiles do not interact in normal ways. This results from the fact that 613 obligations are placed upon Jews, while only seven commandments are assigned to the Gentiles.

Although some Jewish documents argue that YHWH treats the Jews in a special manner, others stress that Gentiles should be allowed to live as Gentiles, especially outside of Israel. The Jewish texts speak of Gentiles who study Torah, those who honor their parents, and those who observe many of the other commandments. While those who observe the laws because they are commanded (Jews) receive a greater reward than those who merely observe them (Gentiles), those who observe the laws are more honored than those who do not do YHWH's will. While Gentiles are often pictured as sexually uninhibited and untrustworthy, they are also described as righteous and the progenitors of rabbis and even kings of Israel. The biblical Job is often identified as a righteous Gentile. Rabbi Joshua maintained that righteous Gentiles would receive a share in the world to come. Others claimed that a Gentile who studied Torah was like the Jewish high priest.

ger (pl., *gerim*) convert. The Bible does not have a concept of conversion. The idea arose around the

first century C.E. Apparently, Jews did not engage in missionary activities among Gentiles (Matt. 23:15 is probably an exaggeration). Several sources state that Gentiles outside of the Land of Israel should be allowed to worship their own deities. Some rabbis were vehemently opposed to accepting converts, claiming that they were the source of the troubles that often plagued the Jews. Many other sages, however, favored accepting converts into the community, describing Abraham as the first Jew to seek converts and teaching that all Jews should follow his lead by attempting to win over Gentiles to the worship of YHWH. Several sages believed that Gentiles would be attracted to Judaism by the spirituality of the Jews worshiping at the Temple or their honesty in their business transactions. For the most part, converts were equated with native-born Israelites. However, some theoretical distinctions were maintained. Apparently converts could not marry into a priestly family, especially into the high priest's clan. Also, several sages believed that converts could not own a parcel of the Land of Israel, and some held that they could not address YHWH as "the God of our ancestors" in public worship. *See also* CONVERSION; PROSELYTIZATION.

Gerasa ancient city in Transjordan, north of the Jabbok River. The Hellenistic city was founded by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Later, Gerasa was captured by Alexander Yannai and remained a Hasmonean possession until the time of Pompeii. Under Roman rule it was a center of the caravan trade, which reached the peak of its development under the emperor Hadrian in the early second century C.E.

Gerasa Synagogue synagogue with an elaborate mosaic pavement, located today in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in the city of Jerash. The synagogue is located on the west side of the ancient city on high ground. The synagogue is part of a complex composed of a colonnaded atrium, a narthex, and a prayer hall. The atrium is a square, open courtyard with columns. The narthex of the synagogue is entered from the atrium and up a flight of steps through three doorways in the eastern wall of the narthex. The narthex was paved with an elaborate mosaic floor depicting Noah and his family leaving the ark after the flood. Animals, birds, flowers, and plants are depicted in great detail, and the animals march two by two with one of each sex. The arrangement is in three ranks of birds, animals, and creeping things. Directly opposite the main entryway in the floor is a menorah flanked by lulab, etrog, shofar, and incense shovel. A Greek inscription around the menorah reads, ". . . the [holy] place. Amen, Selah, Peace to the synagogue."

The prayer hall is a basilica type with two rows of columns dividing the interior into a nave and two side aisles. The interior space was about 10 meters by 7 meters in extent. Stone benches extended along the walls of the two aisles. There was likely a *bimah,* but it is not clear whether it had an apse. The nave was paved with a mosaic of geometric patterns, though it was mostly destroyed by later building. The north aisle was paved in similar fashion and bears an Aramaic inscription in five lines: "Peace upon all Israel. Amen, Amen, Selah. Phinehas bar Baruch, Jose bar Shmuel, and Judan bar Hezekiah." These were apparently donors.

In 530 C.E. the synagogue was destroyed and a church was built on top its ruins; this was during a period of extensive church building at Gerasa. Thus it appears that the Jewish community went out of favor during the reign of Justinian I. We otherwise know almost nothing of the Jewish community of ancient Gerasa.

Gerim (Heb., Proselytes) a minor tractate published with the Babylonian Talmud. The first chapter describes the initial procedures for accepting proselytes. The second provides regulations for a proselyte's circumcision, immersion in a ritual bath, and offering of a sacrifice. The third chapter contains a dispute between Meir and Judah concerning the status of a resident alien. The fourth and final chapter exhorts Jews to maintain friendly relations with proselytes.

Gerizim, Mount now called Jebel et-Tor, a sacred mountain facing Mount Ebal. A. M. Schneider began excavating Zeno's Theotokos Church in 1928. Hadrian's temple at Tel er Ras, one of Gerizim's three peaks, was discovered as a result of Robert J. Bull's careful evaluation of the evidence (Drew University expeditions, 1964, 1966, and 1968). This in turn led to the discovery of an altar of the Samaritan temple at the same site.

The Samaritans, under the leadership of Sanballat (c. 330 B.C.E.), built their Hellenistic period temple to YHWH on Mount Gerizim at a site now called Tel er Ras. Antiochus Epiphanes in accordance with an alleged Samaritan petition renamed their temple for the Greek god, Zeus Xenios. The Samaritan temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C.E. although he did not destroy the city of Shechem until 107 B.C.E.

According to Josephus, during the Jewish Revolt, the Romans surrounded Mount Gerizim in 70 C.E. and killed over eleven thousand Samaritans. In the

second century C.E., Hadrian rebuilt the temple to Zeus. During the fifth century C.E., Zeno built a church, subsequently destroyed by the Samaritans, on Mount Gerizim. This church was rebuilt by Justinian, but it was demolished during the Arab invasion.

gerogeret *see* FIG'S BULK

gerousia (Gr., council of elders) In the Second Temple period this council seems to have had the high priest at its head and was probably an advisory body to him. But it was also a body with some authority, at least at certain times. Many equate it with the Sanhedrin and *boulē*.

Geshem an opponent of Nehemiah, who, together with Sanballat of Samaria and Tobiah the Ammonite, opposed the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, tried in vain to trap Nehemiah in order to assassinate him, and spread rumors that he was planning to rebel against the Persian imperial authorities (Neh. 2:19, 6:1–7). The name (also spelled Gashmu) occurs on a silver bowl found at Tell el-Maskhuta in lower Egypt ("Qaynu, son of Gashmu, king of Kedar") and in a Lihyanite inscription, both of which may refer to the biblical Geshem, a Kedarite Arab prince of the fifth century B.C.E., following the Kedarite expansion into the Transjordanian region.

Gessius Florus the last Roman procurator of Judea (64–66 C.E.) before the war with Rome. He was from Clazomenae, a city in western Asia Minor north of Ephesus. He owed his appointment to his wife's friendship with Nero's wife, Poppaea. He is charged by Josephus with unparalleled and open venality, injustice, and inability to keep order in Judea in an increasingly turbulent situation. He robbed individuals and cities and took a share of brigands' spoils.

get *see* DIVORCE

Gezer (Tell Jezer) ancient city located about 8 kilometers south-southeast of Ramleh. This site is the last city located in the Judean range before it runs into the Shephelah. It guarded one of the most important trade crossroads in antiquity. Because of this prominent location, there are archaeological remains at Gezer from the Caltholithic period through the Roman period. The site seems to have been fortified as early as the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1800 B.C.E.).

Since Gezer was such a prominent site in ancient Near Eastern history, there are many references to Gezer in both the Hebrew Bible and the extrabiblical material. The earliest biblical references are found in Joshua 10:33, 12:12, 16:10, and Jude 1:29, which mention Gezer in conjunction with the Israelite conquest of the Canaan. The name Gezer or its Greek equivalent, Gazara, is mentioned in numerous other passages in the Hebrew Bible and in 1 Maccabees 4:15. The city name is also attested in the Egyptian records of Thutmose III from the fifteenth century B.C.E., the Egyptian Amarna letters from the fourteenth century B.C.E., and from Assyrian records. Extrabiblical references continue down through the writings of the Greek historian Josephus in the first century C.E. The identification of Tell el-Jazar with ancient Gezer was made certain by the discovery of numerous boundary markers from the Herodian period which mention the name Gezer in both Hebrew and Greek.

Recent archaeological excavations found twenty-six strata at Gezer. Most of these levels are earlier than the Persian period. There are four strata from the Persian period through the early Arab period. Stratum IV contains small finds from the Persian period, but, there is not sufficient evidence from the city itself to reconstruct much of its history during this period. Strata III and II are Hellenistic and show remains from both the third and second centuries B.C.E. There is evidence that the city gates and walls were rebuilt during this time period. Gezer seems to have served as a fortress guarding this important travel route for the Judean kingdom down through the Hasmonean period. With the destruction of Stratum II during the end of the second century B.C.E., Gezer was never rebuilt to anywhere near its former strength or size.

Stratum I contains remains from the late first century B.C.E. through the first century C.E. This corresponds roughly to the Herodian period. During this era, Gezer was not rebuilt as a fortified city, but rather seems to have functioned only as a large private estate. The name of the owner or administrator (Alkios) is known from several Greek inscriptions, but it is uncertain if this man was a Jewish leader or not. This stratum seems to have died out around the end of the first century C.E. Evidence is found from some tombs, nonetheless, indicating that the site had some sparse occupation through the Byzantine period, but the city does not seem to have been rebuilt.

gezerah decree; often a precautionary decree, beyond the strict requirements of the law; may also mean an analogy or parallel

ghost the "spirit" of a dead person, thought to survive death as a discrete, and potentially active or sentient, being. Belief in ghosts was widespread in the ancient world, as was the idea that ghosts knew the future and could thus be used for necromancy. Common in the Hebrew Bible is the idea

that ghosts, or the "shades" of the dead, reside in Sheol, a dark and shadowy underworld realm, where they exert little or no influence on the living. Also frequent in the Bible and in Jewish tradition in general is a polemic against necromancy.

While belief in ghosts was commonplace in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world, ghosts as such never became a substantive part of Jewish tradition and did not play a major role in early Jewish thought or literature. The New Testament Gospels do, however, contain several references of interest. When Jesus walks across the water of the Sea of Galilee, his disciples mistake him for a ghost (Mark 6:48–50; Matt. 14:25–26). In the Gospels of Luke and John, the resurrected Jesus demonstrates to his disciples that he is not a ghost by having them handle his body and by his eating a piece of fish (Luke 24:36–43), displaying the bodily marks of his resurrection (John 20:19–20), and preparing a meal for the disciples (John 21:9–14).

giant person whose great stature is usually associated with military prowess (Deut. 3:1–11, Og; 1 Sam. 9:2, Saul; 1 Sam. 17:4–11, Goliath; 1 Macc. 3:3, Judas Maccabee). Genesis 6:4 suggests a similar notion. According to 1 Enoch 6–7, which is closely related to this passage, the mating of the sons of God (also called watchers) and the daughters of men produced three classes of giants, whose great stature is doubtless related to the heavenly origin of their fathers, but whose bellicose deeds threaten the earth and its inhabitants. The story may be a polemic against the claims of Alexander's successors (the Diadochi) that they are children of the gods. The description of their bloody deeds fits well with the Jewish experience of the wars of the Diadochi, who repeatedly led armies through Palestine during the last decade of the fourth century B.C.E. The stories are also reminiscent of Greek myths about the primordial wars of the giants (Gigantomachia). The Qumran scrolls included multiple copies of an Enochic text known as the Book of the Giants, which described the exploits and fate of the children of the watchers. It later became popular among the Manichaeans. *See also* WATCHERS.

Gibeonites people of a Hivite city who, alarmed by the Israelite advance, formed an alliance with Joshua (Josh. 9:3–27). Because of the false pretense under which they achieved the agreement, Gibeonites were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation [of israel]" (Josh. 9:21). Rabbinic authorities deemed the *netinim* to be descended from the Gibeonites and granted them a reduced status within the Israelite nation, together with impaired priests, converts, freed slaves, *mamzerim,* and others (M. Kiddushin 4:1). *See also* NATIN.

Giddel Babylonian amora of the late third century C.E.; one of the best known of the younger disciples of Rab. Most of his statements are in the name of his teacher.

gift in contemplation of death bequest made by an individual on his or her deathbed. In the talmudic literature, this "gift of one lying sick" (*mattenat shekib mera*) serves as a substitute for a last will and testament. Under rabbinic law, a dying person's gift of all of his or her property is valid only if death in fact ensues, in which case the individual's words effect the transfer of real property, chattels, and commercial paper. The dying person's words thus take the place of the deed through which real property normally is transferred, the act of pulling (*meshikhah*) used in the transfer of chattels, or the meeting of the creditor, debtor, and proposed assignee needed for the transfer of demands. If in designating the gift, the individual retained sufficient property to support himself or herself upon recovery, the act is treated as an outright gift, unrelated to the person's illness. This gift is valid and irrevocable even if the person should live (M. Baba Batra 9:6).

Gig. *see* DE GIGANTIBUS

gird one's loins to steel or ready oneself; literally, to tighten a girdle that was worn folded up and around the waist (loins). Since this girdle was evidently worn loosely at leisure, one tightens it, or "girds up the loins," before going out. Hence the expression came to mean "to get ready" or "to prepare oneself" (cf. 1 Kings 18:46; Jer. 1:17). The usual English phrase, "to gird one's loins," actually represents several different Hebrew expressions in the Bible. In later Hebrew literature, such as the Qumran scrolls, a different phrase, "to strengthen one's loins," occurs, an idea related to the biblical idea of "girding loins" (cf. 1 QS^a 1:17, Hodayot 2:5). In other Second Temple period Jewish literature, "to gird one's loins" occurs in the Greek translation of the Jewish Bible, the so-called Septuagint, but rarely elsewhere in its figurative sense. In several cases, the phrase literally describes the girding of someone's waist (cf. Jos. Asen. 10:14, 14:12, 14).

Giscala *see* GUSH HALAB

Gittin Mishnah tractate on writs of divorce. The tractate describes how the writs are prepared and delivered (chaps. 1–3); the law of agency in receiving and handing the writs over (chaps. 6–7); stipulations and conditions in the writs (chap. 7); and invalidity by reason of improper delivery, improper

preparation, improper stipulations, or invalid witnesses (chaps. 8–9).

Glabrio, Manius Acilius consul in 91 C.E. Dio mentions that Domitian executed his cousin, Flavius Clemens, and Acilius Glabrio for atheism, a charge leveled against those who were "drifting into Jewish ways," and exiled Clemens's wife, Domitilla. Glabrio was also charged with fighting as a gladiator. Suetonius mentions the executions of Clemens and Glabrio without any reference to either atheism or Jewishness. He claims that Glabrio was executed along with two others as a suspected revolutionary. Many scholars in the past have claimed that Domitilla, Glabrio, and Clemens were possibly victims of Domitian's persecution of the Christians. However, Domitilla is identified as a Christian martyr only in the fourth century, and Clemens is mentioned first in the eighth century. The evidence from the catacombs indicating that Glabrio and Domitilla were Christians should probably be discounted because it comes from the second and third centuries. Most likely Dio's mention of "Jewish ways" refers to Judaism and not to Christianity.

glass, gold an artisan-made decorative element in which a piece of gold leaf design or art was sealed on both sides by blown glass. Gold glass was often placed with a corpse in the graves of Jews and Christians during the early part of the common era. Though the exact function of gold glass is not certain, its use in burials and inscriptions found on the various examples indicates that it was associated with some sort of liturgical drinking that brought a blessing or life to the deceased.

The technique for making gold glass originated in Egypt. A decorated piece of gold leaf was first placed on a flat, hot-blown glass surface, sometimes with colors added to highlight the design in the gold leaf. Next, more hot-blown glass was added on top of the gold leaf, so that the gold leaf was sealed and protected by the glass, but the design was still visible.

Some of the examples could be either Christian or Jewish, because the symbols found on them are known to be used by both groups. Such examples include representations of Moses striking a rock, Adam and Eve, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, Jonah, and the spies carrying a hoard for grapes. Another group contains motifs that can only be Jewish. This group consistently exhibits an upper and a lower register, with the Torah shrine displayed prominently in the center of the upper register. Various other symbols were used on differing pieces of gold glass belonging to this type. One contains two lions guarding each side of the Torah shrine. Another also contains lions in the upper register with a menorah in the lower register. Other symbols include lulabs, lamps, shofars, etrogs, doves, and a tree of life. In every case, though, it is the Torah shrine in the center of the upper register that is emphasized—thus indicating the importance of the Torah.

The fact that many of the examples of gold glass are found in burials leads to the conclusion that these items carried an eschatological significance. Inscriptions found on various specimens indicate that they were used for a liturgical blessing that involved drinking. One intriguing example contains an inscription that reads, "O sweet spirit, Auxanon: drink and you will live," indicating some sort of libation bringing life. Other examples with inscriptions describe this drinking as a blessing. One reads, "House of Peace [the grave itself]: Take the blessing with all who are yours." Another simply reads, "A blessing to all."

These inscriptions and others are intriguing but somewhat mystifying, because they are too short to allow for a definitive interpretation. Further clarity is suggested by an inscription that reads, "Take the Eulogia with all who are yours." From a drinking pitcher with the label "eulogia" now in the Jewish Museum of New York, it seems that this is a reference to some sort of pitcher used in worship and in blessing the dead. If this interpretation is correct, gold glass would have been used in a liturgical blessing of the dead that involved drinking or libations.

glassmaking the art of manufacturing glass in antiquity. Ancient glass was made by mixing soda and lime and bringing them to a high temperature in a wood-fired furnace until they melted. The glassmakers added both colorants and agents to make the glass easier to work. By the Persian period, glassmaking was an established industry in the ancient Near East, as core-formed vessels were manufactured in Egypt as early as 1500 B.C.E. These vessels were made by winding molten glass around an organic core, which was later removed to make the vessel hollow. Vessels continued to be made in this manner up through the first century B.C.E. Very early in the history of glassmaking, in addition to making vessels using molten glass, glass was made into beads, jewelry, and bowls using the cold-working processes. Cold-working is the method of changing the shape and appearance of glass that has cooled down. Cold-working includes cutting, working the glass on a lathe, and some types of polishing. The lathe was used to

make bowls from a solid piece of cold glass. These lathe-cut bowls, and ones similar to them, appear in the Mediterranean area from the fifth century B.C.E. to the mid-first century C.E. The earliest known glass-blowing factory was excavated in the Old City of Jerusalem and dates to the middle of the first century C.E.

There is no conclusive evidence as to the structure of ancient glass furnaces. Some appear to have been built upon stone that could withstand large amounts of heat. Some used fired ceramic bricks built into an arch over the furnace area to retain the heat created by a central, wood fire. Glassworkers likely received their glass ready-made from a glassmaker who sent it to them in large pieces. If they were engaged in cold-working, they would have broken the glass into the appropriate sizes and shaped it using the aforementioned techniques. Glassblowers placed the pieces of glass in a crucible, which is a deep bowl of limestone or perhaps clay, and placed crucible and raw glass in the furnace, where it would melt into a workable liquid. The glass was removed from the crucible by winding it around one end of a metal or possibly ceramic pipe, and then the glass was inflated by the worker blowing into the other end of the pipe. The glass could be shaped using a number of tools made of metal or wood. Soon glassblowers learned to blow glass into molds to make four-sided and six-sided vessels. Because the glassblowers usually had to rely on an outside source for their glass supply, they recycled broken pieces by simply remelting them in their crucibles. Glass continues to be blown in much the same manner today.

glass vessels containers and objects manufactured of glass in antiquity, such as bowls, bottles, cups, lamps, jewelry, and other forms. The first glass containers were made about 1500 B.C.E. and became commonplace during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. Long cylindrical, round, or small two-handled flasks were common forms continuing into the Roman period. The casting industry of the Persians continued to influence the tableware of the next century. In the latter half of the third century B.C.E., a purely Hellenistic style of cast glassware emerged, the most popular being large- to medium-sized plates with outsplayed (outturned) rims and sides, broad dishes with upright sides and rounded bottoms, large hemispherical and footed bowls, jars, and two-handled cups. By the late 30s B.C.E., the Syro-Phoenician coast was identified as an important glassmaking center. These craftsmen produced cast monochrome and naturally colored ribbed and pillar-molded bowls. Aside from the lack of ribs, most linear-cut bowls are identical, representing two of the earliest Mediterranean styles of early imperial cast tableware. These were replaced by large intentionally or naturally colored monochrome bowls, which gave way to a succession of natural, bluish-green ribbed bowls. This was the last type of Roman cast glassware.

During the third to second century B.C.E., with the popularity of monochrome open shapes, glass became an everyday item resulting in a continuously developing style. In each period new forms, decorative motifs, handle types, and color combinations replaced those of the previous period. In addition, the Mesopotamian millifiori glass (a style of glass that resembles thousands of flowers fused together) was revived again by the Greeks, in the third century B.C.E., in the form of bowls and cups that endured into Roman times.

By the first century B.C.E. in Phoenicia or Palestine, the need to mass-produce led to the development of inexpensive glass. Mold-blown glass was both opaque and translucent. Deep blues, emerald greens, browns, and opaque whites were popular. Decoration was added by applying threads of different colors. By the middle of the first century B.C.E., drinking glasses were a natural green or were intentionally colorless. Quality glass was colorless.

During the first four centuries C.E., throughout the Roman Empire, the standardized needs of daily life for eating and drinking dictated shapes. Bottles, bowls, dishes, jars, jugs, and cups looked much the same everywhere. Glass had other specific uses as well, such as window glass, lamps, bracelets, faux gemstones, amulets, religious articles, gaming pieces, and small sculptures. Romans valued glass containers as shipping and storage vessels, as they were transparent, reusable, odorless, and imparted no taste. Utilitarian glass was commonplace, but beautiful luxury pieces were being produced as well. Decorations were varied in method and motif to enhance the beauty of the product.

When the western provinces of the Roman Empire fell in the fifth century C.E., all but the simplest forms seemed to be forgotten, but mold-blown wares continued in production in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Nevertheless, the golden age of Roman glassmaking died throughout the Mediterranean.

West of Palestine in the Sassanid Empire, Persian craftsmen applied thread decoration on cut glass from the mid-third to the mid-seventh century C.E.

Some of the Sassanid forms found their way into Byzantine Palestine in the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. Other local forms, both free-blown and mold-blown, continued in production.

glorify, magnify, sanctify God To glorify God is to declare that God is glorious; to magnify God is to declare that God is great; to sanctify God is to declare that God is holy. Verbs such as these are grouped together by linguists into a special category called delocutive verbs. When human beings are the subject and God is the object, the verb is not denominative as are most verbs in a language; that is, the intent is not that humans "make God glorious or great or holy." Rather, the verb indicates an act of speech, a declaration that God is such or such. A number of other verbs are used in a similar way in a liturgical context, including "to exalt," that is, to declare that God is high" (e.g., Ps. 113:4), and "to praise," that is, to declare praise, perhaps with music or instrument.

Often in hymns there are a series of imperative verbs summoning the addressee to glorify, magnify, and sanctify God (e.g., Ps. 29:1–2, Ps. 34:3, Ps. 96:1–3; Ecclus. 43:30; Song of the Three Children). Similarly, the worshiper can fulfill the injunction by a declarative statement, for example, "O Lord, you are great and glorious" (Jdt. 16:13) and "glorious is your name forever" (Prayer of Azariah 1:3). In the Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot) from Qumran, the community is commanded "to proclaim and say: Great is God who does [wonders]" (4QH^a 7 ii. 4).

God is sanctified especially by the pronouncement, "Holy, holy, holy," modeled upon the triple acclamation of the angelic beings in Isaiah 6:3. The Hymn to the Creator, found in 11QPs^a xxvi, begins, "Great and holy is the Lord, the holiest of the holy ones for every generation." Later the sanctification of God is embodied explicitly in the Kedushah of the daily synagogue liturgy.

glory (Heb.: *kabod*) Judaism asserts that God in himself is without form or image (e.g., Isaiah 40:18) and therefore beyond the range of the human senses, and yet he has created the world and reveals himself in it. One important term for the manifestation both in the physical world and in history of God's invisible nature is "the glory of the Lord" (*kebod haShem*). This concept is already well developed in the Bible (Ps. 19:1: "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the expanse shows his handiwork"). God's glory is seen here as a power diffused through creation, but in other texts it takes on a more concrete, localized character and is associated with particular moments of divine revelation. In these theophanies it is often depicted in terms of light or fire, and it is sometimes associated with a cloud that signalizes the presence of God. Thus when Israel received the Torah, "the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it . . . and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire" (Exod. 24:16–18). Individuals could also have specific experiences of God's glory: Ezekiel was called to the prophetic office with an overwhelming vision of the glory of God (Ezek. 1:1–28).

In the literature of the Graeco-Roman period, the glory was especially associated with God's heavenly throne. Thus, in the vision in 1 Enoch 14, the seer describes God as "the great Glory," who is seated on the throne (v. 20), and in the parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), the son of man, the chosen one, is seen seated on the throne of (his) glory (61:8, 62:2–3, 69:27–29).

In later Jewish literature the doctrine of God's glory was closely bound with the doctrine of the Shekhinah, God's presence in the world, and in some contexts the two terms became interchangeable. The tendency towards hypostatization was accentuated by the Merkabah mystics. When the adepts ascended to heaven and stood before God's throne, called the throne of glory, what they saw on the throne was not God himself but the divine glory. In certain circles (following Ezek. 1:26), the glory was given human shape and the dimensions of its limbs became the subject of speculation in the esoteric tradition known as Shi ur Komah, "the measurements of the body [of god]." The transformation of the glory of God into an entity or being, mediating between the transcendent God and the world, was completed by the philosopher Saadia (882–942), who defined it as "a special light which God creates and makes manifest to his prophets that they may infer therefrom that it is a prophetic communication emanating from God that they hear" (Book of Beliefs and Opinions I, 13). Maimonides (1135–1240) distinguishes between God's glory in the sense of "the created light that God causes to descend in a particular place in order to confer honor upon it in a miraculous way," and God's glory in the sense of his "essence and true reality," which is beyond human perception. The latter sense he sees reflected in Exodus 33:18–20, where Moses asks to see God's glory and is told that no one can see God and live (Guide of the Perplexed I, 64). Similar ideas were taken up by the Haside Ashkenaz and married with the speculations of the Merkabah mystics. In some texts the manifestation on the heavenly throne was depicted as an angelic being called "the special cherub" or

"the holy cherub," which represented the hidden glory of God. Through two hymns, the Song of Glory (Shir haKabod) and the Song of Unity (Shir haYihud), both composed in the circles of the Haside Ashkenaz, elements of this teaching entered the synagogue liturgy and were popularized.

The term "glory" occurs frequently in the liturgy in another context, that of giving glory to God (already in the Bible, e.g., Ps. 29:1–2). Here "glory" is used in the sense of respect, honor, or reverence. The difference between these two senses of the term is clearly recognized by the classical authorities, though there is some attempt to link them (note, e.g., Maimonides: "Glory is sometimes intended to signify the honoring of God. . . . The true way of honoring him consists in apprehending his greatness" [Guide of the Perplexed I, 64]).

glossolalia speaking in tongues, from the Greek *glossa* (tongue) and *lalia* (speech); a form of ecstatic speech mentioned in three books of the New Testament (Mark 16:17, Acts 2:3–11, 1 Cor. 12–14) and practiced in certain Christian groups today. Paul describes glossolalia as one of the gifts of the spirit (1 Cor. 12:4–11). As practiced in the Corinthian church, glossolalia consisted of babblings intelligible to the speaker but not to the hearers (14:2, 6–11). Although Paul claims for himself preeminence in this gift (14:18), the main force of his discussion of glossolalia is to deemphasize its importance: prophecy, namely inspired speech uttered in intelligible Greek, is preferable because it benefits not only the speaker but also the rest of the community (14:1, 19, 22). Paul exhorts the Corinthians to limit this spontaneous and potentially chaotic practice, advising those who speak in tongues to speak one at a time and only two or three at each service (14:27). Accounts of the early Christian mission in Acts present glossolalia as a sign of conversion associated with the gift of the Holy Spirit (2:1–13, 10:44–46, 19:6). The story of the first Christian Pentecost in Acts 2:1–13 differs from Paul's presentation of glossolalia in that the "tongues" are not unintelligible babblings but foreign languages: Jews from throughout the world who were assembled for the feast were able to hear the words of the Spirit in their own languages (2:5–12).

While inspired speech is common in antiquity (e.g., the prophets of the Tanakh or Old Testament and Greek oracles such as the one at Delphi), there is no known parallel for unintelligible babblings and only one known example, outside the New Testament, of inspired speech given in a foreign language: when Mys the Carian consulted the oracle of Ptoan Apollo, the prophetic priest uttered an oracle that no one but Mys could understand, as it was in Carian (Herodotus 8.135; Plutarch, *Mor.* 412a). *See also* ANGELS, TONGUES OF.

gnosis (Gr., knowledge) Although it could mean knowledge in general, in the Graeco-Roman world *gnosis* was often used to refer to esoteric knowledge. In some religions and cults, possession of secret knowledge was essential for salvation, as in Gnosticism.

Gnosticism (from Gr., knowledge) a diverse group of religious movements that developed within the Roman Empire during the second through fifth centuries. In one way or another Gnostic movements affirmed the superiority of the spiritual, heavenly world over the visible material world, which was regarded as evil. The human spiritual soul, trapped in a material body, must gain revealed knowledge (hence the name Gnosticism) in order to escape the material world and return to its home in the heavenly world. According to Gnostic mythology, the heavenly world originated from a divine unity that produced various heavenly powers, often called aeons. The heavenly world called the All (Gr.: Pleroma) is associated with spirit, light, intellect, and goodness. The material world, associated with matter, darkness, passions, and evil, is produced because of a flaw or fall of a heavenly being, most often identified as Wisdom (Gr.: Sophia). Her desire and passion produces an offspring who is cast out of the heavenly world and creates its own material, human world. The Gnostic drama consists in the struggle of Wisdom, who also has fallen from the heavenly world, and of enlightened humans to escape the evil world of the evil creator god (Gr.: *demiurge*) and return to the heavenly world.

Many Gnostic groups and teachings have clear links to Christianity, some to Graeco-Roman religion and philosophy, and some to Judaism. In a large number of cases the Gnostic stories have been based upon exegesis and parody of the biblical narratives, so much so that some theories locate the origins of Gnosticism among Jewish circles that had moved from apocalypticism or mysticism toward a more radical type of speculation about the divine and the universe. There is no explicit historical evidence, however, for the existence of such groups. The Gnostic texts depict a conflict between the true God and the evil creator god. A heavenly Adam/Eve figure is vivified by the divine light, a force that had fallen with the creator god. The fall of Eve and the flood story in Genesis 3–9

are understood as attempts by the creator god to prevent Adam/Eve from recognizing his or her heavenly nature and origin. Some Gnostics identified themselves with Seth and his sister Norea who embodied for them the spiritual seed of Adam. Through revelations from the heavenly Seth, the Sethians hope to return to the spiritual heavens. Other traditions are built around Enoch, heavenly and fallen angels, David, Wisdom, and others. Some Gnostic works, found in manuscript at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in the late 1940s, contain material closely related to Judaism. Others combine such material with Christian figures, such as Jesus who is identified as the heavenly revealer of Wisdom. Still others use biblical imagery in a thoroughly Graeco-Roman thought context. The most famous Christian Gnostic group was founded by Valentinus, an Alexandrian who moved to Rome in 140 and taught there for twenty years after being expelled from the Christian community.

The writings of many second- and third-century Christian teachers testify to the grave threat Gnostic movements presented to Christians. Rabbinic literature is more reticent concerning its opponents, but a number of passages may be polemics against Gnostic tendencies. By the fifth century imperial and ecclesiatical opposition and cultural change led to the demise of most Gnostic groups.

God a general designation for the deity presented as the central figure in the Hebrew Bible, who created and sustains the world, who guides the course of history, and who maintains a special relationship with the people of Israel. Earliest Christianity, which began as a Jewish sect, held that this same deity had revealed himself in a special way through Jesus of Nazareth and expanded the special relationship with Israel to include people of all nations and races. The general term for god or gods in Hebrew is *el* or *elim,* but when used for the God of Israel it is often used in the longer plural form *elohim,* a designation that occurs more than 2,600 times in the Hebrew Bible. The personal name for the God of Israel was YHWH (of uncertain etymology), often vocalized today as "Yahweh," and referred to as the Tetragrammaton because it consists of four consonants. This name was held with such sanctity that the name Adonai (Lord) was orally substituted when the Torah was read in synagogue services. Since the name YHWH was so rarely pronounced, its original vocalization was forgotten. In Christian versions of the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible), the name YHWH was translated Kyrios (Lord), a title that was also applied to Jesus in the New Testament (Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11). Elohim and YHWH are usually considered synonymous in the Hebrew Bible, and sometimes occur together as the compound name YHWH Elohim (Gen. 2:4; Exod. 9:30; Josh. 7:7).

God's role as creator is emphasized in the title "the one who made heaven and earth" (Gen. 14:19, 22; 2 Kings 19:15; Pss. 115:15, 146:6), while competitive deities could be dismissed as "gods who did *not* make heaven and earth" (Jer. 10:11). The special relationship between God and Israel was emphasized by referring to the legendary figures of the patriarchs, the traditional ancestors of Israel, in the title "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (Exod. 3:6; 4:5; 1 Kings 18:36; 2 Chron. 30:6), or more generally as "the God of our fathers" (Deut. 1:11; Josh. 18:3; Judg. 2:12; Ezra 7:27). God's control of history together with his special relationship to the people of Israel was commemorated by the frequent reference to him as "the one who brought Israel out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. 19:36; Num. 15:41; Deut. 5:6; Josh. 24:17; 2 Kings 17:36; Jer. 2:6; Amos 2:10; Mic. 6:4).

The sovereignty of God was understood through the metaphor of divine kingship. Just as an earthly king is surrounded by courtiers, so God was conceived of as enthroned in his heavenly court attended by a host of angelic beings standing in his presence (1 Kings 22:23; Job 1:6–12, 2:1–6; Isa. 6:2–3). God was also understood as one who tempers justice with compassion (important qualities in earthly monarchs), and as the champion of those for whom society made no provision, for example, strangers, widows, and orphans (Exod. 22:21–22; Deut. 10:18). The relationship between God and Israel was also formalized as a covenant, that is, a legal relationship with the responsibilities of the people of Israel stipulated in terms of the 613 laws found in the Pentateuch, believed to have been revealed to Israel on Mount Sinai. Monotheism, in the strict sense of belief in one unique God, was one strand of thought that emerged only tentatively in postexilic Israel (Isa. 45:14–25). Henotheism, the belief that one deity presided over a particular people and territory, was more common in ancient Israel. It is in this sense that God is occasionally called a "jealous" God (Exod. 34:14), that is, he requires exclusive devotion and is intolerant of competing deities, as underscored by the First Commandment (Exod. 20:3–5; Deut. 5:6–10).

It is often claimed that Jewish writings of the Graeco-Roman period, especially the apocalypses, increasingly depicted God as remote from the world and humanity, enthroned in heaven among

myriads of angelic attendants. While such a tendency may be observed in some texts, it is also the case that the gap between heaven and earth is bridged by a special class of heavenly beings who function both as intercessors in the divine throne room and agents who carry out divine missions on earth and bring messages from God to humanity. *See also* EL; GOD, IN HELLENISTIC JUDAISM; GOD, IN RABBINIC JUDAISM; GOD, NAMES OF; I AM.

God, in Hellenistic Judaism Belief in and fidelity to God was the heart of Jewish religion in the Hellenistic period, although the interaction with Greek traditions introduced new accents. God was, first of all, the Creator (Sibylline Oracles 1.5–60; 3.20) and this fundamental affirmation came to be expressed in terms of a doctrine of creation from the invisible or "from nothing" (Joseph and Asenath 12:1–2; Wisdom of Solomon 11:25; 2 Enoch 24:2; 48.5; Philo, *On the Special Laws* 187 and *On Dreams* 76). As creator, God was understood to be responsible for and involved in the world. Hellenized Jews understood this involvement as divine "providence" and took the side of those Greek philosophers, primarily Stoics, who argued for the reality of divine supervision of human affairs. In the words of Philo, whose *On Providence* consists of philosophical theodicy, God is a "king invested with a kindly and law-abiding sovereignty who governs the whole heaven and earth with justice" (in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.14.2). The historian Josephus can present his *Antiquities of the Jews* as a lengthy illustration of divine providence at work in the world (*Ant.* 1.14). Contrary data, such as the suffering of the righteous, could be explained as divine chastisement (2 Macc. 6:12–17). Prayers addressed God as the caring Father and Savior (Tobit 13:1).

Hellenistic Jews affirmed that the Creator alone was God and, perhaps inspired by the prophets (e.g. *Isa.* 45:20; 46:5–7), they polemicized against idolatry (Wisdom of Solomon 13–15; Sibylline Oracles 3.545–49; 4.6–11; 8.375–98) and Greek mythology (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.15). Scriptural anthropomorphism could be embarrassing, but apologists from Aristobulus in the second century B.C.E. (in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 7.10; 13.12) took pains to interpret them allegorically.

A common affirmation of Hellenistic Jews was that God is self-sufficient, in need of nothing (Letter of Aristeas 211; Philo, *On the Change of Names* 27 and *On the Virtues* 9; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.111). This exalted deity worked through various intermediary powers. Popular stories featured angels, such as Raphael (Tobit 12:11–15). In the sapiential tradition, the figure of divine Wisdom, Sophia in Greek, performs that role. Still a personification of a divine attribute in Sirach 24, Wisdom becomes a more serious ontological principle in Wisdom of Solomon 7, influenced by Stoic notions of the pervasive spiritual force that holds all things together.

Philo of Alexandria combines the sapiential tradition with Greek philosophy. God the Creator now bears the title of Demiurge or Craftsman used in Plato's *Timaeus*. God's Wisdom is also called the Logos or Word (*Allegory of the Laws* 1.65). The roots of that concept are complex. Popular traditions play a part and the Logos can be called an archangel (*On the Confusion of Tongues* 146; *Who is the Heir* 205). Yet the title is reinterpreted in philosophical categories, as the Platonic realm of ideas or forms in the mind of God (*On the Creation* 20, 24) and as the divine spirit immanent in the world (*On the Cherubim* 36). Some of Philo's language for the Logos, "a second to God" (*Allegory of the Laws* 2.86) or "son of God" (*On the Immutability of God* 31), could be taken to compromise monotheism, although Philo considered himself a strict monotheist. The category provided a useful conceptual framework for Christians when they began to reflect on their claims for Jesus' special status.

God, in rabbinic Judaism the divine Being, one, sole, and unique; the creator of heaven and earth; the giver of the Torah to Moses. God is known through self-revelation in the Torah, in which he appears in various forms: "with a stern face, in Scripture. When a man teaches his son Torah, he has to teach him in a spirit of awe; with a neutral face, in Mishnah; with a friendly face, in Talmud; with a happy face, in lore. Then said to them the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Even though you may see all of these diverse faces of mine, nonetheless: *I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt*'" (Exod. 20:2). God is represented as "an icon that has faces in all directions, so that if a thousand people look at it, it appears to look at them as well. So too when the Holy One, blessed be He, when He was speaking, each and every Israelite would say, 'With me in particular the Word speaks.'" The reason for God's variety is made explicit. People differ, and God, in whose image all mortals are made, must therefore sustain diverse images—all of them formed in the model of human beings: "And it was in accord with the capacity of each one of them to listen and understand what the Word spoke with him."

God is known in the Judaism of the dual Torah as premise, presence, person, and personality. As

premise, God created the world and revealed the Torah to Israel. As presence, God is present in discourse and in making a decision. He constitutes a person in certain settings, but not in others. As a "You," God hears prayer; also, when the Torah is studied among disciples of sages, God is party to the discussion. As a personality, God emerges as a vivid and highly distinctive personality, actor, conversational partner, and hero. God is given corporeal traits. God looks like God in particular, just as each person exhibits distinctive physical traits. When God participates as a hero and protagonist in a narrative, He gains traits of personality and emerges as Godlike humanity: God incarnate. In the unfolding of the canonical writings of the Judaism of the dual Torah, God gained corporeality and personality and thus became incarnate, just as the Hebrew scriptures had long ago portrayed Him, in richly personal terms: God wants, cares, demands, regrets, says, and does—just like human beings. In Judaism in the age of the Bible, God is not merely a collection of abstract theological attributes and thus rules for governance of reality or a mere person to be revered and feared. God is not a mere composite of regularities, but a very specific, highly particular personality, whom people can know, envision, engage, persuade, and impress. Sages painted this portrait of a personality by making up narratives, telling stories in which God figures as do other (incarnate) heroes.

The unfolding of this account of God is to be traced from the Mishnah through the Babylonian Talmud. As Israel strives to form a kingdom of priests and a holy people, its way of life is shaped by its generative anthropology: humanity is like God. The Torah has revealed, and through sages continues to reveal, whatever it is about God that humanity is going to know. Therefore it is the task of humanity to study the Torah in order to strive to imitate God, which means conforming to the ways of God as the Torah defines those ways. Accordingly, through the successive documents of the oral Torah, we trace the history of the Torah's account of what it means to be "in our image, after our likeness." Israel knows God through the Torah, which reports to Israel exactly what God has told and what sages have handed on from the revelation at Sinai. In the first of the documents that make up the oral part of the Torah, the Mishnah, we may accurately speak of what Israel knows about God. But in later compilations, Israel no longer knows only *about* God. God is set forth as more than the principle and premise of being that is apprehended by philosophers and more, even, than the presence that is experienced by pious people through prayer. Rather, Israel knows God as a person and, at the end of the formation of the oral Torah, as a fully embodied personality.

In the first document of the oral Torah (the Mishnah and its related writings), God makes an appearance as principle or premise and also as presence; the God of Judaism is never merely the God that followers must invoke to explain how things got going and work as they do. In the next stage in the unfolding of the oral Torah, represented by the Talmud of the Land of Israel (the Jerusalem Talmud) and related writings, God is portrayed not only as principle and presence, but as a person. In the third and final stage, God emerges as a fully exposed personality, whom we can know and love. Since God is known through the Torah, sages recognize no need to prove the existence of God. The Torah proves the existence of God, and the glories of the natural world demonstrate the workings of God in the world. What humanity must do is explore what it means to be "in our image, after our likeness," that is, to be "like God." That fact explains why through its account of God, rabbinic Judaism sets forth its ethics, the account of the proper way of life. The sages bear the task of setting forth, through the oral Torah that they transmit, the answer to the question of how humanity should form itself to be "in God's image," "after God's likeness," and precisely what that means.

In the oral part of the Torah, as much as in the written part, God, who created the world and gave the Torah to Moses, encounters Israel in a vivid and personal way. But while some of the documents of the oral Torah portray God only as a premise, presence, and person, not as a personality with whom human beings may identify, others represent God as a personality, specifically, like a human being, whom people may know, love, and emulate. The categories of premise, presence, and person hardly require much explanation. As premise, God forms (in philosophical terms) the ground of being. That is how God plays a principal part in the Mishnah. Otherwise uncharacterized, God may form a presence and be present in all things. As a person, again without further amplification, God is a "You," for example, to whom people address prayers. When He is portrayed as a personality, God is represented in an incarnate way, not merely by appeal to anthropomorphic metaphors, but by resort to allusions to God's corporeal form, attitudes and emotions like those of human beings, and capacity to do the sorts of

things mortals do in the ways in which they do them, again, corporeally. In all of these ways, the incarnation of God is accomplished by treating God as a personality.

The Babylonian Talmud (Bavli) represents God in the flesh in the analogy of the human person. Prior to the Bavli, the faithful encountered God as abstract premise, as unseen presence, as a "You" without richly defined traits of soul, body, spirit, mind, or feeling. The Bavli's authorship, for the first time in the formation of Judaism, presented God as a fully formed personality, like a human being in corporeal traits, attitudes, emotions, and other virtues, in actions and the means of carrying out actions. God then looked the way human beings look, felt and responded the way they do, and did the actions that they do in the ways in which they do them. And yet in that portrayal of the character of divinity, God always remained God. The insistent comparison of God with humanity, "in our image and likeness," comes to its conclusion in one sentence that draws humanity upward and does not bring God downward. Despite its treatment of the sage as a holy man, the Bavli's characterization of God never confused God with a sage or a sage with God. Quite to the contrary, the point and purpose of that characterization reaches its climax in a story that demands, in the encounter with the sage of all sages, that God be left to be God.

God, living an expression that explicitly or implicitly contrasts the God of Israel with the nonexistent or impotent deities of the Gentiles. The term appears in propaganda stories, where it may be placed on the lips of Gentiles who confess the power and uniqueness of Israel's God (Dan. 4:34, 6:26). In Bel and the Dragon, a contrast between the dead Bel and the living God is central to the narrative (vv. 5, 24–25). Major anti-idol polemics in Jubilees 12:2–5, the Letter of Jeremiah 24–27, Joseph and Asenath 11:8–10, and the Apocalypse of Abraham 1–8 employ exhortative, argumentative, and narrative forms to contrast the deadness of idols with the true and living God (cf. also Acts 14:15; 1 Thess. 1:9).

God, names of The personal and cultic name of the God of Israel has always been YHWH, although throughout the millennia there have been many other ways of referring to God: titles, circumlocutions, and general names. In ancient Israel, the name YHWH, which scholars refer to as the Tetragrammaton (today vocalized as Yahweh), was the specific name of Israel's God. When the high priest addressed God in the Temple's Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he uttered this name. When the priests blessed the people in the Temple, they used this name. By the third century B.C.E., God's name had become so hallowed that it could not be pronounced outside of worship, and the term *adonai* (my lord) was regularly substituted. In the Middle Ages, scribes developed a reminder for substituting *adonai*: when copying biblical manuscripts, they placed the vowels for *adonai* under the consonants for YHWH, resulting in YeHoVaH. Christian scholars misunderstood this practice and considered it God's name: Jehovah. In ancient Israel, the general word for a god was *el,* which was usually combined with a location, such as *el Bethel,* or an epithet. The most frequently used epithets are *el elyon* (God Most High), *el shaddai* (God Almighty), and *el olam* (Everlasting God). The word *el* provides the linguistic base for one of the most common general names for YHWH—Elohim—which constitutes a plural form of *el.* Next to YHWH, Elohim forms the most frequently used name of God in the Hebrew Bible, even though it has no personal or cultic associations.

The rabbis developed several new titles for YHWH, which they often used in place of the name: *haKadosh Barukh Hu* (the Holy One, Blessed be He), *Ribbono Shel Olam* (Lord of the World), and *haRaḥaman* (the Merciful One). They also developed several circumlocutions to avoid God's name: *haMakom* (the Place), *Shekhinah* (the Presence), and *Memra* (the Word). In a similar vein, orthodox Jewry later developed the terms *elokim* (for *elohim*), *haShem* (the Name), and *adoshem* (for *adonai*).

During the rabbinic period, the idea developed that if a document containing one of God's holy names was discarded, the name would be profaned. To avoid this possibility, the rabbis prohibited the writing of God's name exactly and ruled that any document that might contain God's name should be thrown into a *geniza* (a special storehouse) rather than be discarded as mere trash. *See also* ABBA; EL; GOD; I AM; TETRAGRAMMATON.

God, unknown translation of the Greek term *agnostos theos.* The expression has been found in various Greek inscriptions dedicated to "unknown gods," that is, deities not otherwise identified (cf. Acts 17:23). The Jewish God was also often treated as unnamed and not identified with any known god.

God-fearers a common translation of the Greek expressions *theosebeis* and *phoboumenoi tou theou.* Among Jews in the Graeco-Roman period, "God-fearer" could be used to describe anyone

who was pious or feared God. Many scholars believe that this term also had the technical meaning of Gentile sympathizers who followed many Jewish practices without becoming full converts (especially males for whom circumcision would have been a difficult step to take). Some scholars oppose this definition, however, arguing that the term refers only to pious Jews. Although proselytization was not a major activity among Jews, as it was among Christians, Judaism was willing to accept converts from an early period. *See also* PROSELYTIZATION.

Gog and Magog Gog may reflect Gyges, a seventh-century-B.C.E. king of Lydia, and Magog possibly means "land of God." In Ezekiel 38 and 39, Gog symbolizes the enemy of Israel who marches from the north and ravages Israel before being destroyed by God. The War Scroll from Qumran refers to Gog and his assembly, whom God will chastise at the end-time (1QM 11:6). In Revelation 20:8, Magog is no longer a land, but is someone alongside Gog at the final battle after Satan is loosed after one thousand years. Gog and Magog fight with Israel in the days of the Messiah (3 Enoch 45:5). Gog and Magog are situated in the midst of the Ethiopian rivers in Sibylline Oracles 3.319–22, perhaps because Cush is mentioned in Ezekiel 38:5.

golah *see* DIASPORA

Golden Rule a rule of the highest value. The name Golden Rule has been used by Christians during the last three centuries to identify Jesus' summary teaching, reported in Matthew 7:12 and Luke 6:31: "Do unto others as you would have them do to you." The point of this saying is similar to that of the command in Leviticus 19:18, "Love your neighbor as yourself," which is quoted often in the New Testament (Matt. 5:43, 19:19, 23:29; Mark 12:31, 33; Luke 10:27; Rom. 12:9, 13:9; Gal. 5:14; James 2:8). The same point is expressed in another way in a second-century B.C.E. Jewish writing, the Letter of Aristeas, which reports advice given to the king of Egypt about what divine wisdom teaches: "Since you do not wish for evil to overtake you but to share in every blessing, act in that way toward your subjects, even toward those who do wrong" (207). In the same period, Sira 31:15 advises, "Judge your neighbor's feelings by your own, and be thoughtful in every way," and Tobit 4:15 commands, "Do not do to anyone what you hate." Later rabbinic tradition tells of the Jewish teacher Hillel (70 B.C.E.–10 C.E.) being challenged by a prospective convert to Judaism to recite the essence of the law while standing on one foot. Hillel replied, "Do not do to your neighbor what you hate. That is the whole of the Law, everything else is commentary."

To the simpler form of Jesus' saying in Luke 6:31, Matthew adds, "For this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. 7:12). Other early Christian writers repeat this idea in various ways. Clement of Rome (1 Clem. 13:2) and Tertullian (*Against Marcion* 4.17) give the rule in the same positive form as Luke does; in an early Christian book of instruction, the Didache, and in a few ancient manuscripts of the New Testament's Acts of the Apostles (15:20), the negative form of the command is given: "Whatever you don't want done to you, don't do to anyone." The gnostic Gospel of Thomas, written in the second century C.E., reports Jesus as saying, "What you hate, don't do."

Gorpiaios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Ab (July/August) and sometimes to the month Elul (August/September).

gospel (Gr.: *euangelion*) The verbal form, "to announce good news," appears particularly in Isaiah 40–55, where the messenger proclaims the good news of return from exile. In the Roman emperor cult in the eastern empire, the good news of Caesar's salvation, peace, and prosperity was proclaimed, known particularly from inscriptions by urban elites. The "Gospel (of God/Christ)" quickly became a technical term for the Christian message about redemption through Christ's death and resurrection, as can be seen in Paul's letters (e.g., Rom. 1:1; 15:16, 19; 1 Cor. 15:1). The term is used in other Christian literature for the "good news (of God/the kingdom)" preached by Jesus and his followers (e.g., Mark 1:14–15; Matt. 4:23; 9:35). Thence developed the literary forms about Jesus and his gospel and the canonical and other Christian Gospels (e.g., Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Thomas), although there is ironically little internal indication that "gospel" is an appropriate term for this literature.

governor general term used for rulers of Roman provinces. Provinces were of three types from the reign of Augustus on. Senatorial provinces were governed by Romans of senatorial rank and were divided into two kinds: more important provinces, governed by former consuls, and less important ones, governed by former praetors. These governors were called legates. A small number of lesser provinces were governed by Romans of the lesser equestrian rank, who were called prefects (later

procurators). The province of Syria, which guarded the troubled eastern border of the empire, was ruled by a consular legate, who had command of substantial military forces, including legions. Judea was an equestrian province, ruled by a prefect who had at his command auxiliary units and who was to a certain extent under the authority of the Syrian legate.

grace the favor God displays to human beings; an essential part of the biblical idea of God. In the Tanakh or Old Testament, the term "grace" translates two different Hebrew roots (*ḥsd* and *ḥnn*), which characterize God's freely given, benevolent action toward his people Israel. The noun *ḥesed* appears about 250 times. Having no exact equivalent in English, it is also rendered as "steadfast love," "loyalty," and "kindness." The election of Israel and the covenant formed at Mount Sinai are primary examples of God's grace: "Know therefore that the Lord your God is God, the faithful God who keeps his covenant and shows grace (*ḥesed*) to those who love him and keep his commandments" (Deut. 7:9, cf. Exod. 34:6–7). The law is understood as a gift of divine grace, as is the ability to fulfill it (Ps. 119:19). *Ḥesed* can also refer to an action of God in response to a specific need, a use which is particularly common in the Psalms: "I will exalt and rejoice in your steadfast love (*ḥesed*), because you have seen my afflictions, you have taken heed of my adversities" (Ps. 31:7). Many Psalms of lament contain pleas to God to "be gracious to me," that is, to come to the petitioner's aid (Ps. 119:58). Praise of God's *ḥesed* occurs frequently in fixed liturgical formulae: "But you, my Lord, are a God of mercy and compassion (*ḥanun*), slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love (*ḥesed*) and faithfulness" (Ps. 86:15, cf. Exod. 34:6). In the sense of loyalty to the covenant relationship, *ḥesed* can also designate human acts: thus the prophet Micah describes what God requires of Israel as "loving *ḥesed*" (6:8), and Hosea indicts the people for their lack of *ḥesed* (4:1).

In the texts of early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E.–2d c. C.E.) God's grace to Israel, expressed in election and covenant, is generally presupposed but not often the subject of discussion. Much more attention is given to obedience to God's law and to the division of "sinners" from the "righteous" in the judgment of God. But there is in general no antithesis between law and grace, for it is recognized that even the "righteous" are not perfect and will withstand the judgment of God only through his grace or "mercy" (Gr.: *eleos*): "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, . . . and the faithful will abide in him in love, because grace (Gr.: *charis*) and mercy (*eleos*) are upon his holy ones" (Wisd. of Sol. 3:1, 9; cf. the use of the term "mercy" in the Psalms of Solomon 2:33–36 and 13:9–12). Only one text, 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) insists that obedience to the law must be perfect, that "the elect" are thus very few, and that the imperfectly righteous cannot rely on the mercy of God (7:120–8:3).

If early Judaism said little on grace, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide an exception to the general pattern, in their strong emphasis on the need for God's *ḥesed*: extreme devotion to God's law is coupled with an acute awareness of human inadequacy. The Rule of the Community, which sets forth the polity of the ascetic group from which the Scrolls come, is addressed to those who wish "to practice the precepts of God in the covenant of grace" (*ḥesed*, 1QS 1:7–8). Noncanonical Psalms contained in the Hymn Scroll make frequent reference to God's graciousness: "Blessed are you, O God of mercy and grace (*ḥaninah*), because of . . . the abundance of your favors (*ḥesed*) in all your works. . . . Cleanse me by your righteousness, even as I have hoped in your kindnesses (*ḥesed*) and have put my hope in your favors" (1QH 11:29–31).

The Greek word for "grace," *charis* (cf. *eleos*, mercy) is of fundamental importance in the New Testament, where it usually designates the gift of salvation given through Jesus Christ. The gospel, or basic Christian message, is characterized as "the word of (God's) grace" (Acts 14:3, 20:32, cf. 1 Pet. 5:12, Rom. 1:5). The Christian idea of grace is set forth most clearly in the letters of Paul, who maintains that Christians are "justified by [god's] grace as a free gift" through the death and resurrection of Christ (Rom. 3:24). For Paul, *charis* has broad application: it designates the gift of salvation (Rom. 5:2–20), the sphere or realm in which Christians live (Rom. 5:21, 1 Cor. 10:30), and a personified power which rules over Christian life (Rom. 6:14–15). Paul views his call and mission as gifts of divine grace: "By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace to me has not been in vain" (1 Cor. 15:10, cf. Rom. 12:3). Grace works in and through Christian believers, supplying them with "gifts of grace" (Gr.: *charismata*; Rom. 12:6, 1 Cor. 12:4–31) such as prophecy, speaking in tongues, and love. One index of the centrality of *charis* to Paul's understanding of the Christian message is the fact that it appears as an opening and concluding greeting in most of his letters (1 Cor. 1:3; 16:23; 2 Cor. 1:2; 13:13; Rom. 1:7; 16:20, 24; Gal. 1:3; 6:18; 1 Thess. 1:1; 5:28; Phil. 1:2; 4:23 Philem. 3, 25).

In Paul's letters, as in the Dead Sea Scrolls, divine grace is contrasted to human unworthiness; no human being, even the most pious, can merit the grace of God (Rom. 1:18–3:20, 5:1–11). But Paul differs markedly from the Scrolls when he sets grace against law: Christians are not "under the law" but "under grace" (Rom. 6:14). He sternly warns his gentile converts in Galatia not to bow to pressure to take on the obligations of the Torah: "You who want to be justified by the law have cut yourselves off from Christ; you have fallen away from grace" (Gal. 5:4, cf. 2:21). God's grace (salvation) is appropriated by faith, not by "works" of the law (Rom 3:24–4:16).

While "grace" is particularly emphasized in the letters of Paul, the term is by no means limited to him, but occurs in most books of the New Testament (e.g. Acts 11:23, 15:11; Eph. 2:8–9; Heb. 2:9, 4:16, 13:9; 1 Tim. 1:13–16; 1 Pet. 1:10). In the Gospel of John, *charis* appears only three times, all in the prologue: "The Word became flesh . . . full of grace and truth" (1:14). As in Paul, "grace" is here contrasted to law: "the law was given through Moses, but grace and truth through Jesus Christ" (1:18). *See also* DEEDS, WORKS.

grace after meals *see* BIRKAT HAMAZON

grace prior to meals *see* BIRKAT HAZAN; BLESSING

grain, five kinds in rabbinic culture, wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye (M. Ḥallah 1:1)—the kinds of grain from which bread normally was prepared. Dough made from these grains is subject to the dough offering (Num. 15:18–21).

grammateus (Gr., scribe) term used for not only those individuals trained in writing and drawing up legal and business documents, but also for administrators. Like the English word "secretary," it could mean anyone from a clerk to the secretary of a governmental department. In Jewish writings in Greek, the word generally has this normal sense of "scribe" or "secretary." The Gospels, however, use the term to apply to what seem to be experts in the Torah, regardless of profession; the historicity of the use of this term in pre-70-C.E. times is debated.

grapes, grapevines a major motif in Jewish art of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The grapevine appears on coins of Herod the Great, but it also appears on the decorations of the Second Temple itself. Herod placed a golden grapevine at the entrance to the Temple. Furthermore, grape clusters, grapevines, or grape leaves appear on the coins of other Jewish rulers, in the art of Jewish tombs, on lamps, and in synagogue decorations. Since grapes are one of the seven kinds of fruits growing in the land (Deut. 8:8), they naturally appear in Jewish art. Often the vines and fruit are naturalistically depicted, but just as often the vines and fruit appear in stylized configurations. In synagogue mosaic floors, the grapevine is used as a border or, as a vine scroll, to form medallions or inhabited scroll patterns. Grapes are also associated with the festivals of Sukot, Pesach, and Pentecost. During the periods of heightened Jewish nationalism, namely, during the two revolts against Rome, grape clusters or grape leaves appear on Jewish coins. On First Revolt coins the grape leaf appears, and on Bar Kokhba coins grape clusters appear. Jewish sarcophagi and tomb facades of the Second Temple period are most commonly decorated with grapevine tendrils, bunches of grapes, and grape leaves. This motif persists in Jewish art until the Arab conquest.

Gratus, Valerius Roman prefect of Judea (15–26 C.E.) appointed by Tiberius. He deposed and appointed several high priests, including Joseph Caiaphas, who held the office from 18 to 36 C.E.

Great Assembly, men of *see* MEN OF THE GREAT ASSEMBLY

Great Khuray Kabrath-al-Kura, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Great Revolt *see* REVOLT AGAINST ROME, GREAT

Grecism word or expression borrowed from the Greek language or culture. This might be an actual borrowing of a Greek word or phrase; however, the term is also often used for an expression in Hebrew or Aramaic that has been literally translated from Greek. Many terms relating to the area of literary criticism are actual Greek words (e.g., *notariqon, gematria*) or loan translations. It has been argued, for example, that some of the peculiar Hebrew vocabulary of Ecclesiastes (Kohelet) resulted from Greek terms being imitated. This is a controversial topic, however, and has yet to be settled.

Greek cities The classical Greek city-state (or polis) was autonomous and self-governing. On the Athenian model, the main governing body was the assembly, which was open to any citizen (a citizen being a person born of free parents who were both citizens). A council presented matters to the assembly. Each city also concerned itself with the preparation of its citizens, most often done through the gymnasium, a preparation that included physical, military, religious, and intellectual training. Such an ideal changed with the rise of the great kingdoms after Alexander the Great. The power of the king now restricted the autonomy of the older

Greek cities, although they still retained some rights and often kept their traditional form of government. The Greek and Macedonian settlers in the newly conquered territories wanted to bring with them some of their institutions, and existing large cities, particularly in the Seleucid kingdom, wanted to gain the status of a Greek polis, even if this did not entail a change in their traditional civic organization. Thus, numerous Greek cities were founded throughout Syria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor. For example, under Jason the high priest, Jerusalem became Antiocheia-in-Jerusalem and a gymnasium was built there (see 2 Macc. 4:7–22). Greek city-states dotted the area around Judea, for example, at Caesarea-Philippi and in the Decapolis.

Greek language With the spectacular success of Alexander the Great, Greek-speaking rulers reigned from Greece to Afghanistan, including Coele Syria and Egypt. While Greek traders and mercenaries had certainly traveled in these countries before, Alexander's achievement brought many changes. The language itself developed as it became the common (Gr.: *koine*) language of the Mediterranean world for ordinary and commercial speech. It is in this common language that the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament are written. Greek, as the language of the ruling class, also became a desirable language to learn for the ruling elite of all the cities now subject to Greeks. The spread of the Greek language particularly affected Judaism. The legend of the miraculous translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek evidences not only a desire of Greek-speaking Jews to read the Torah but also to claim that the Bible in Greek was as good as the Bible in Hebrew, a claim challenged by others. Fragments of Jewish writers in Greek show an attempt to interpret and understand this Greek Bible, while Philo of Alexandria's learned treatises evidence how a Greek-educated Jew might read the Bible. The high priest Jason in the early second century B.C.E. set up a gymnasium in Jerusalem where Greek would have been taught, and Eupolemus of Jerusalem in the second century B.C.E. and Josephus in the first century C.E. rewrote the Bible in Greek. No doubt many Jews in the diaspora wrote in Greek, but only fragments of their work are extant.

Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330–389 C.E.) sometime bishop of Constantinople, widely referred to as "the Theologian." In his *Theological Orations* (*Or.* 27–31), Gregory defended the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity against the Arians, who denied the full divinity of Jesus Christ. He also defended the doctrine of Christ's full humanity in his arguments against the Apollinarians (*Epistles* 101, 102, and 202). Apart from being a theological controversialist, well trained in classical rhetoric, Gregory was also a poet of considerable skill. Of note are his two long poems, one entitled *The Passion of Christ,* and the other an autobiographical narrative in verse. His many surviving letters testify to Gregory's being a wise pastor and one who at the same time was drawn to a life of contemplative asceticism, often despairing of ecclesiastical politics. Gregory seldom referred to the Jews, but he did raise one interesting question: how is it that Christians celebrate a feast day in honor of the pre-Christian Maccabean martyrs? Although they died before Christ, Gregory wrote, it was the divine Logos (Word) who was with them in their struggle—the same Logos that would subsequently become incarnate in Jesus Christ. He is also a source of information about the emperor Julian and the Jews.

guardian *see* APOTROPOS

Gush Ḥalaḇ Hebrew name for Giscala, north of Meiron in the Upper Galilee; home of John b. Levi, a leader in the Jewish revolt against Rome in 68–70 C.E. Gush Ḥalaḇ is the site of synagogue remains dating from the mid-third through mid-sixth centuries C.E. *See also* GUSH ḤALAḆ SYNAGOGUE.

Gush Ḥalaḇ Synagogue Excavated in 1977 and 1978, the building gives us important information about Jewish life and faith in Roman-Byzantine Galilee. First built about 250 C.E., the synagogue was extensively damaged in an earthquake in 306 C.E. The building was immediately rebuilt and beautifully renovated. It remained in use until another earthquake shattered it in 363 C.E. The structure was once again rebuilt. This time, however, the restored building was more modest, suggesting a decline in the size of the community or its financial resources. This building shows signs of periodic refurbishing and repair. It was destroyed, again by an earthquake, in 551 C.E. Whether a Jewish community continued to occupy Gush Ḥalaḇ following this destruction is uncertain; the synagogue was not rebuilt and lay in ruins until excavated and restored to its present condition by the Meiron Excavation Project.

The building itself was a beautiful structure. Although it has many unique features (described in detail in Meyers et al., 1990), like most synagogues of this period it was basilical in form with a central nave separated from side aisles by two rows of columns along the building's longitudinal axis. The southern facade, built of impressively large and carefully cut limestone ashlars, was oriented

toward Jerusalem. A series of rooms, perhaps used for storage and other purposes, surrounded the main hall on the other three sides.

The synagogue was attractively, if simply, appointed. In all phases of its use, a *bimah,* perhaps with a Torah shrine, was located at the front of the sanctuary, west of the central entrance. In the restoration following the destruction of 306 C.E., benches were built along the east, north, and west walls, although apparently not along their entire length. Nicely shaped column bases, capitals, and architraves were used. Most notable, however, is the lintel from the front entrance. Decorated with a beautifully carved eagle and garland on its underside (those entering the synagogue had to look up to see the decoration) this lintel is uncommon among the synagogues of the period. Also interesting is a column with an inscription in Aramaic, which reads, "Jose Bar Nahum / made this. . . / may it be for him / a blessing."

Although it is unclear how the lower synagogue, described here, is related to the remains of another synagogue, still unexcavated, in the upper city, there is no doubt about the importance of this building. The synagogue at Gush Ḥalaḇ is one of the most striking in the region and provides eloquent, if silent, testimony to the importance of this city in the Upper Galilee throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Gvat Horvat Jabata Synagogue possible synagogue site and ancient Jewish village site about 9 kilometers west-southwest of Nazareth. The site has been known since the late nineteenth century C.E. as a ruined medieval village. Recently, however, a building stone was found that was decorated with a five-branched menorah, luláḇ, and etrog. A roughly cut Ionic capital was also found in the ruins. A stone wall about 15 meters long and as much as 3 meters high was also found, perhaps the outer wall of a synagogue building. Rock-cut tombs in the vicinity appear to be medieval.

gymnasium an institution of a Greek polis (city). Although the word has passed into English, the meaning is not the same; the Greek gymnasium was more than just a place for exercise. It was the educational center for the young people known as *ephebates,* who were candidates for citizenship. The purpose of the gymnasium was to train and educate future citizens in the essential requirements for Greek identity (even when the young people were in fact members of the native population rather than of actual Greek descent). Thus, the training and activities of the program included language, literature, and rhetoric, as well as physical exercise and military skills (the last required since citizens often served in some sort of militia). Any Jew wanting to become a citizen would have attended, though this seems to have seldom occurred. Not only were Jews not normally citizens or candidates for citizenship, but participation in the gymnasium usually meant taking part in some sort of pagan rites. A gymnasium was established in Jerusalem during the Hellenistic reform, though there is no evidence of pagan rites in this case.

H

Habakkuk, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Habakkuk Commentary (also known as the Pesher Habakkuk; abbreviated as 1QpeshHab) one of the continuous *pesharim* from Qumran. It was found in 1947 in Cave 1 in one copy, dating between 30 and 1 B.C.E. Since no other copies were found, it has been argued by some that this is the autograph, but since there is evidence of copying (particularly the fact that the scroll was copied by two different scribes), this seems unlikely. The manuscript is almost complete, containing thirteen columns and presenting a running commentary on the first two chapters of the Book of Habakkuk. The events described fall under the end of Hasmonean rule and the beginning of Roman rule in Palestine, indicating a date of composition not long before the date of the manuscript.

The commentary indicates the distinctive Qumranian *pesher* form of commentary: the biblical verse is quoted, the phrase "its interpretation is" follows, and then an interpretation of the verse, referring to contemporary events intimately connected with the Qumran sect, concludes the text. Several important figures emerge: the Teacher of Righteousness, the sect's leader and its inspired interpreter of scripture; the Wicked Priest, clearly to be identified with one of the Hasmonean high priests, probably Jonathan or Simon; the Spouter of Lies, a rival figure to the Teacher, who flouts the teaching of the sect and sets up a congregation in opposition to the sect; and the Kittim, a fierce warlike people from "the islands of the sea," who are the instruments of God's vengeance on the sect's opponents. (They should be identified with the Romans.) It is therefore possible to reconstruct some history of the sect: the Teacher of Righteousness was the leader of a group of adherents, which espoused his particular interpretation of scripture; the Wicked Priest opposed the Teacher and his group; the Spouter split away from the Teacher and formed an opposing group; and these events took place in the time immediately prior to the appearance of Rome on the scene as a world power. The identification of the figures, however, remains obscure.

What is striking about the Habakkuk Commentary is the conviction of the author and his audience that biblical prophecy is chiefly concerned with the eschatological age, that they themselves are living in that eschatological age, and that the small events surrounding their group and its opponents are at center stage in the events of the last days. Thus we are presented with a clear picture of the sect's self-image and its eschatological fervor.

ḥabdalah (Heb., division) rite marking the end of the Sabbath day at sunset on Saturday

ḥaber (Heb., fellow, associate) one who meticulously tithes his food and eats his meals in a state of ritual cleanness

Hadas ancient Edessa; the present-day Urfa, in Turkey. "Hadas" appears in the Jerusalem Targum to Genesis 10:10 for the Hebrew place-name Erech. No other rabbinic mention of the name is extant.

Hades Greek word for the underworld. In classical Greek lore, it is shorthand for "the House of

Hades," who is the god of the underworld. Thus, *hadēs* is the regular Septuagint translation for Sheol. In Jewish thought, Sheol comes to be identified as the place of post-mortem punishment, and thus the New Testament uses Hades to refer both to the place of the dead and the place of punishment. *See also* HELL; SHEOL.

Hadrian (76–138 C.E.) Roman emperor (r. 117–138 C.E.). Publius Aelius Hadrianus was born in 76 C.E. to the senator Publius Aelius Hadrianus Afer and Domitia Paulina, Spanish Romans from Italica, Spain. His grandfather married Trajan's aunt, and when his father died, Hadrian became the ward of the future emperor, who was childless. He eventually married Trajan's great-niece Vibia Sabinia. Hadrian began a successful military career under Nerva and held a succession of military, political, and religious positions under Trajan. Kinship and exceptional advancement marked Hadrian as Trajan's successor, and doubtless Trajan intended Hadrian to succeed him, although no formal adoption took place. Hadrian was governor of Syria when Trajan died at Selinas in Cilicia, and the suspicious circumstances surrounding Trajan's deathbed adoption of Hadrian should not overshadow the compelling logic of Hadrian's succession. When Trajan died, those with him, including Plotina, Trajan's wife, and the legions, all favored Hadrian and named him emperor. The Roman Senate soon followed suit.

Hadrian generally continued Trajan's policies, although he was more interested in consolidating the empire than he was in expanding it. He made peace with the Parthians and abandoned Trajan's plan of eastern conquests. In the Near East and in the territories of present-day Scotland, Hadrian replaced the often ill-defined frontier system with stone walls and fortifications; in the north, he replaced the old frontiers with wooden barricades and forts, which served more as checkpoints and tax centers than as barriers against enemies. Several other trends continued under Hadrian: foreign auxiliaries were increasingly indistinguishable from regular Roman soldiers in the legions; operations were increasingly tied to fixed fortifications; and detachments of legions (*vexillationtes*) were dispatched along an improved road system to answer emergencies. Under Hadrian, the army was made more alert, disciplined, and efficient by continuous training and maneuvering; the frontier and the peace were further secured by the emperor's frequent inspection tours, his keen interest in all aspects of frontier and military life, and his apparent willingness to share the life and routine of the common soldier.

Hadrian's journeys fill more than half his reign and clearly document his interest in all parts of the empire and his desire to administer it personally rather than to delegate responsibility. He was educated in Athens and fascinated by things Greek; some of his trips (the four years spent visiting Greek and Asian cultural centers, for instance) resemble sightseeing tours. Hadrian did not neglect Italy, but, cosmopolitan by nature, he wanted to organize and regulate imperial life, both domestic and provincial. One of his most enduring contributions was legal reform, particularly his codification of the earlier praetorian edict and his humanitarian edicts protecting the interests of children and slaves.

Hadrian's rich architectural legacy included refurbishment of the Pantheon, his mausoleum (Castel San Angelo), and his villa at Tibur (Tivoli). He also rebuilt Jerusalem, renaming it Aelia Capitolina. His construction of a temple to Jupiter on the spot of the old Temple precipitated the Zealot revolt of 132–135. Hadrian's designated successor, Lucius Ceionius Commondus, died before he did; Hadrian then selected Titus Aurelius Antoninus (Antoninus Pius), an elderly senator, as his successor.

haftarah (Heb., prophetic reading) passage of a book classified as prophetic, for example, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, both Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or the Twelve Minor Prophets, read in the synagogue on the Sabbath and festival days, following reading from the Torah. The one who reads it is called the maftir.

Hagar Sarah's Egyptian servant and mother of Abraham's first son, Ishmael; recipient of God's miraculous care. (Gen. 16, 21:8–21, 25:12). Hagar symbolizes in Galatians 4:22–31 the Sinaitic covenant of slavery to the law; Paul opposes her to Sarah, the heavenly Jerusalem, and freedom in Christ. Sarah's treatment of Hagar in Genesis 16 is suppressed by Jubilees (but see Jub. 17:4–14 on Gen. 21) and the Book of Biblical Antiquities.

haggadah *see* AGGADAH

Haggadah of Passover book containing the liturgy and ritual for Passover Eve; a narration of the story of the Exodus from Egypt, illustrated through symbolic foods and expressed through a midrashic interpretation of Deuteronomy 26:5–9. The ritual found in the Haggadah is first referred to in M. Pesaḥim, chapter 10, which describes a festival meal marked by a set order of foods and a required liturgy (seder). At the heart of the meal is an explanation of the significance of three foods (unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and the Passover offering) and recitation of the Hallel-psalms. In

early Amoraic times, this basic ceremony was embellished through the addition of a discussion of Israelite history, leading up to and including captivity in Egypt. In later developments, continuing to the present, liturgical poems and other homilies have been added to the basic format set in talmudic times.

The Haggadah is introduced with the Kiddush, the blessing over wine that introduces all festivals. The ritual particular to Passover begins with a statement associating unleavened bread with "the bread of affliction" consumed by the Israelites in Egypt. This passage expresses the hope that all who participate in the Passover will, in the coming year, enjoy freedom in the Land of Israel. Next comes a set of questions, based upon M. Pesaḥim 10:4, regarding the ways in which the night of the Passover seder differs from all other nights (Mah Nishtanah, or the Four Questions, traditionally recited by the youngest child). The answers to these questions, found initially in the passage beginning "Avadim Hayinu" (We were enslaved by Pharaoh) introduces, first, several stories regarding the obligation to recount the story of the Exodus and, second, a recitation of the story itself. The recitation is introduced by Deuteronomy 26:5–8, interpreted in the Haggadah to mean "an Aramean would have destroyed my father" and embellished by homilies that focus upon the inability of the Egyptians to break the spirit of their Israelite captives. These passages expand as well upon the miracle of the plagues and the dividing of the sea that allowed the Israelites to escape the pursuing Egyptians.

The shift from the recitation of the story of the Exodus to the Passover meal itself occurs through a passage cited in the name of Gamaliel, which relates that the obligation of the Passover meal is to explain the significance of the Passover sacrifice, the bitter herbs, and the unleavened bread. The meal proper is followed by the usual grace and then a medieval creation, Shefok Ḥamatkha (Pour out your wrath), a compilation of scriptural verses that urge God to take vengeance on nations that oppressed the people of Israel and to bring Elijah the prophet, the precursor of the Messiah. The Hallel-psalms follow, and the Haggadah is completed by a number of passages that praise God as the source of all life.

Haggadat Megillah *see* ESTHER RABBAH I

Haggai Palestinian amora of the third century C.E., born in Babylonia. A pupil of Zeira, whose sayings he transmitted, he was a prominent member of the academy at Tiberias.

Haggai, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Ḥag haKatzir *see* SHABUOT

ḥagigah (Heb., festal offering) an additional animal offering presented by pilgrims to Jerusalem on the pilgrim festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, to provide additional meat for the pilgrim family to eat.

Ḥagigah Mishnah tractate on the festal offerings. Pilgrims are to bring three animal sacrifices: an appearance offering, which is a burnt offering and yields no food for the priest or the pilgrim; a festal offering (*ḥagigah* proper), which is in the class of peace offerings and yields meat; and a peace offering of rejoicing, which also yields meat. The appearance offering is required at Deuteronomy 16:14–17; the festal offering, at Deuteronomy 16:15. The tractate describes the liability and cost of the appearance offering, festal offering, and peace offering of rejoicing (chaps. 1–2) and their presentation on the Sabbath (chap. 2). Since these offerings bring common folk to the Temple, the rules of ritual cleanness as they affect ordinary folk and Holy Things of the cult are laid out (chaps. 2–3): first come gradations of strictness of rules of ritual cleanness. This starts from the lowest, which is unconsecrated food eaten in accord with the rules of cleanness covering sacred food; then tithe and heave offering; and then Holy Things (e.g., sacrifices, which yield meat for the priest and the pilgrim) and rules of strict cleanness affecting these.

Ḥag Shabuot *see* SHABUOT

hair Hairiness and long hair represent a variety of themes: nature as opposed to settled life (Esau vs. Jacob); deception (Gen. 27); Nazirite vows (Num. 6:5, 18; Judg. 13:5; 1 Sam. 1:11; Acts 18:18, 21:24); effeminacy (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 3.37). Perhaps to reinforce gender roles threatened by such teachings as Galatians 3:28, Paul advises women worshipers to be veiled and to not loose their hair: "any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled dishonors her head—it is the same as if her head were shaven" (1 Cor. 11:5). Pseudo-Phocylides 210–212 and 1 Corinthians 11:14–15 exhorted men to keep their hair short and women to keep theirs long. While priests were not to have loose hair (Lev. 21:10), the test for adultery (Num. 5:18; Sus. 32) includes the loosing of the woman's hair and so presents her as if she had been caught in the act. In Testament of Solomon 13, loose, disheveled hair is a sign of the female demon Obyzouth. Masada evidence indicates some women wore long, single braids (see also 1 Tim. 2:9).

hairesis (Gr., sect, or party) Although the English word "heresy" is derived from it, it was widely

used in the Graeco-Roman world to mean any religious group without necessarily implying anything pejorative, though in Christian usage it did come to mean "heresy," or "heretical group."

haKnasat Kallah (Heb., bringing in the bride) referring to the entry of the bride to the wedding canopy; by extension, the wedding ceremonies in general. In rabbinic Judaism, *haKnasat Kallah*—enabling a woman to marry—is an important religious obligation.

haKnasat Orkim (Heb., bringing in the guests) providing hospitality, especially to those in need. In rabbinic Judaism, *haKnasat Orkim* is an important religious obligation, often viewed as modeled on Abraham's welcoming of his divine visitors, described at Genesis 18:1–21.

Ḥalafta Tannaitic authority of the late first and early second centuries C.E.; head of the academy and leader of the community at Sepphoris. Only a few of his statements are preserved, some of them under the name Abba Ḥalafta. T. Shabbat 13:2 preserves a statement of Ḥalafta to Gamaliel II recalling the actions of Gamaliel the Elder in the final years of the Temple. This points to Ḥalafta's presence in Jerusalem while the Temple stood and suggests that he lived to an advanced age. Ḥalafta was the father of the well-known Tannaitic authority Yose b. Ḥalafta.

halakhah, in Jubilees and at Qumran Although the term *halakhah* (Heb., way; more generally, law) tends to be associated primarily with Pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism, these were not the only Jewish groups in the Second Commonwealth to systematize and observe Jewish law. The literature that survives in the Dead Sea Scrolls, including Jubilees (which has long led an independent existence), contains a sizable amount of prescriptive legal material, as well as texts that imply the observance of a form of what modern scholars would term halakhah. Even among the prescriptive texts, one ought to distinguish between the sort of prescriptions that are found in Jubilees and those that are found in more "codelike" documents from Qumran.

The halakhah in Jubilees (note that neither Jubilees nor Qumran literature employs the term in this "rabbinic" sense) consists primarily of a series of commandments interspersed with the narrative by which these laws are connected with events in the lives of the earliest generations of mankind through the patriarchs. They include the observance of the appointed times such as the Sabbath (2:17–33, 50:6–13), Yom Kippur (34:18), Passover (49:1–23), Shabuot (6:17–22, 22:1), and Sukkot and Aseret (16:20–31, 32:27–29); agricultural laws such as firstfruits (Heb.: *bikkurim*) (7:36, 15:1–2, 22:1, 44:1–4), the sabbatical year (Heb.: *shemitah*) (7:37), tithes (13:25, 32:10); and circumcision (15:11–14 and 25–29). In most of these cases, only the bare outlines of the law are mentioned, with few details of its observance supplied. The major exception is the Sabbath law, which, in both of its appearances, supplies a list of activities that are prohibited on the Sabbath under penalty of death. It should be stressed that the laws in Jubilees are often more stringent than the parallel regulations in rabbinic literature. Thus, it is a capital offense to lie with one's wife or make business plans for the following week on the Sabbath (50:8). For the rabbis, sexual activity is not forbidden on the Sabbath, and anticipation of business affairs, while prohibited, is not a capital offense. The section on the Passover also provides some of the details of the procedure of the festival. A variety of other commandments and injunctions is listed in Jubilees: not to go naked (3:31, 7:20); not to commit incest (16:8, 33:10, 41:25) or fornicate (7:20, 20:3–4); not to eat blood (6:12 and 38, 7:28–33, 21:6); not to intermarry with the Gentiles (20:4, 30:7–17); and to cover the blood of slaughtered animals (7:30, 21:18).

The observance of none of these laws is particularly unique to the Book of Jubilees, and it is its pervasive stress on the 364-day calendar and the accompanying effect that the calendar has on the festivals that makes Jubilees' halakhah most strikingly different from any other late Second Temple views. Other than the calendrical emphasis and the laws of the Sabbath, however, there are very few details of how the halakhah is to be observed. Even in the case of those commandments and injunctions, such as circumcision and the prohibitions of intermarriage with the Gentiles, where the focus of the halakhah is the preservation of Jewish identity and separateness, the details of the laws are not paramount for Jubilees. Most of the laws are merely restatements of pentateuchal material relocated into the earlier biblical narrative. The reason for this is presumably generic; Jubilees is not a work in which halakhah is intrinsic to the structure and movement, no matter how important it may appear to be theologically. As a result, even though Jubilees, including its halakhic material, claims to be divine revelation, one cannot know whether the goal of the Book of Jubilees was to be a prescriptive work for any group.

Qumran halakhic literature includes works of disparate genres, such as the Damascus Document

(abbrev. CD; its 4Q ancestors are 4QD[a,b], etc.), 1QS (and related fragments), 11QTemple, and 4QMiqsat Maase haTorah (4QMMT). The former two provide insight into the way of life of the community whose members authored them, integrating a discussion of the theology and beliefs of the group with some of the practices that they maintained. We perhaps ought to differentiate between them and 11QTemple, which belongs to the genre "rewritten Bible," focusing almost completely on legal material. 4QMMT, in contradistinction to all the aforementioned, contains a list of halakhot regarding which the author is in disagreement with his correspondents, presumably some member(s) of the Jerusalem establishment. From its appearance in such a broad generic spectrum, it is clear that halakhah is central to Qumran practice and ideology.

Some of the halakhot at Qumran are of the same nature as those found in Jubilees or in the Mishnah, but one could also consider all of the unique rules (e.g., 1QS cols. 5–7) for the conduct of the members of the sect as halakhot. The author or compiler of CD/4QD does not distinguish between those sectarian laws whose observance is unique to the Qumran sect and other halakhot that were commonly held in Israel at that time. He integrates both types side-by-side in the portion of the Damascus Document that is usually termed "The Laws." Thus columns 15–16 (which follow col. 8 and precede col. 9 in the Qumran versions of CD) begin with the laws of oaths in general and proceed to uniquely Qumranic aspects of the law, returning to a discussion of other laws of oaths, some pentateuchally based and some novel. The laws of testimony, judges, purification, and Sabbath follow with no overt distinction between legal issues that are viewed as common Judaism of the Second Temple period and those that might be termed sectarian. The details of the laws are much more prominent in the Damascus Document than those in Jubilees because this portion of the text is fundamentally a law code.

The Temple Scroll contains a broad spectrum of halakhot pertaining to the construction of the Temple and its vessels, the sacrifices for a variety of occasions, laws of purity, laws of the king, as well as many others. Following biblical order on the whole, but departing from it in order to consolidate material on specific topics, the text presents itself as the product of divine revelation. Because the formulation of the laws generally is biblical, the legal exegesis of this text can frequently only be understood inferentially. Some of the laws have parallels in other Qumran texts, but there is still some dispute as to 11QTemple's being a native Qumran composition.

4QMMT (a fragmentary text, which survives in several Cave 4 manuscripts, whose official publication by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell finally appeared in 1994; see "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," *Biblical Archaeology Today* 1985: 400–407) shows that some of the primary halakhic concerns of its authors and their differences with others were in the areas of sacrificial and purity laws, as well as laws dealing with the sanctity of Jerusalem and the Temple. The well-known disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees over the halakhic procedure to be followed in the preparation of the red heifer is reflected in 4QMMT (as well as other Qumran texts). This fact, among others, has led some scholars to assert that the halakhah of the sect is Sadducean in content (and, concomitantly, to reopen the whole question of Qumran origins).

In fact, it is extremely important for the history of the halakhah in the Second Temple period that in eight instances where rabbinic literature presents the Sadducean halakhah in the context of Pharisaic/rabbinic-Sadducean controversy, 4QMMT confirms that the position that the rabbis describe as Sadducean actually existed and, moreover, indicates that it was held by the authors of this document. As we observed of Jubilees, the halakhah at Qumran tends to be more stringent than that of the rabbis, as can be observed clearly from a casual study of the Sabbath laws in the Damascus Document and the laws of purification (e.g., *tebul yom*) in 4QMMT, 11QTemple, and several other texts. 4QMMT, in addition, demonstrates explicitly the significance of halakhah at Qumran and the fact that the separation of its authors from mainstream Israel took place over halakic disputes. It calls for its addressee (whoever that may have been) to rethink his halakhic positions and to come around to the views expounded in MMT.

In addition to the major compositions alluded to, there are other fragmentary Qumran texts such as 4Q159 and 4Q513–514 (Ordinances) that detail laws on a variety of topics, such as the rights of poor gleaners in the field, the payment of the half-shekel, cleansing from impurity, and a variety of other laws. Some of these seem to be of scriptural origin, but are rephrased in the rewriting, while others are of a more sectarian nature. It is clear from its appearance in so many different sorts of texts that the system of purity was of paramount concern to the Qumran Community in their daily

behavior (as it was to the rabbis; note that Seder Tohorot, dealing with purity, is the longest order of the Mishnah). The presence at Qumran of a variety of texts dealing with the calendar points to the importance of that aspect of halakhah at Qumran, a concern that the Qumran Community shared with the author of Jubilees.

It is evident that the recording and copying of halakhic material must have been very fundamental to the Community at Qumran since a number of halakhic texts appear in several copies. This can only point to a community whose behavior was guided by the texts that they composed and wrote. An eventual study of the principles of composition of halakhic documents may shed further light on the roles that halakhah played in Qumran narrowly, on the broader issues of the development of Jewish legal and exegetical thinking in the Second Temple period, and perhaps even on the mode of literary composition of rabbinic literature.

half-shekel small coin, paid by Israelites as their share in the daily whole offerings, presented in the Temple as atonement for the entire people of Israel

ḥalitzah *see* RITE OF REMOVING THE SHOE

ḥallah *see* DOUGH OFFERING

Hallah Mishnah tractate on dough offering. The tractate defines bread from which dough offering is required (chap. 1); kinds of grain that yield bread, kinds of dough, and the process of separating the dough offering (chaps. 2–3); the liability of mixtures of a dough that is liable to dough offering and a dough that is exempt (chaps. 3–4); and the liability to dough offering of bread prepared from grain grown outside the Land of Israel (chap. 4).

ḥallal *see* PRIESTHOOD, UNFIT MALE

Hallel Psalms of thanksgiving, Psalms 113–118, chanted in the synagogue on Tabernacles, Hanukkah, Passover, Pentecost, and New Moon

hallelujah translated "praise Yahweh," from the Hebrew root *hll* (praise) and *Yah* (a shortened form of the divine name). In the Hebrew Bible it occurs only in the Book of Psalms. In most cases it opens or closes the psalm, and in Psalms 146–150 it does both. Its position in psalms of praise and its plural imperative form attest to its formulaic, liturgical nature, as does the fact that it is left untranslated in the Septuagint and the Vulgate. In Tobit 13:17, 3 Maccabees 7:13, and Revelation 19:1, 3, 4, 5 it appears untranslated as an expression of delight.

Ḥama Babylonian amora; head of the academy at Nehardea (356–377 C.E.); apparently a native of Nehardea, referred to under the designation "Amoraim of Nehardea" (B. Sanhedrin 17b). B. Baba Metzia 65a reports that he made a living as a merchant.

Ḥama b. Bisa Palestinian scholar of the late second and early third centuries C.E., at the nexus of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch. At times he is referred to simply as the father of Hoshaya Rabbah (i.e., Hoshayah I). He lived in the south of the Land of Israel (Y. Niddah 3:2, 50c).

Ḥama b. Gurya Babylonian amora of the late third or early fourth century C.E.; infrequently cited in the Babylonian Talmud. He serves as a tradent of Abba Arikha, in whose name he says: "[let me live] under Ishmael but not under a Roman; under a Roman but not under a Magus; under a Magus but not a disciple of a sage; under a disciple of a sage but never under a widow and orphan" (B. Shabbat 10b).

Ḥama b. Ḥanina Palestinian amora active in the third century C.E.; the son of Ḥanina b. Ḥama and, like him, for a time head of the academy at Sepphoris (see Y. Shabbat 6:2, 8a, referring to "the courtyard of Ḥama b. Ḥanina in Sepphoris"). He apparently was of a wealthy family (Y. Peah 8:9; 21b).

Ḥama b. Raba Babylonian amora, referred to in Seder Tannaim veAmoraim, which says that he died in 471 C.E.

Ḥama b. Ukba Palestinian amora active at the end of the third century C.E.; a contemporary of Levi

Ḥamesh Megillot *see* FIVE SCROLLS

ḥametz *see* LEAVEN

Hamisha asar beShebat *see* FIFTEENTH OF SHEBAT

Hamman-Lif Synagogue a site about 17 kilometers from Tunis, Tunisia. The synagogue dates from the sixth century C.E. and is known for its mosaics as well as its "broad-house" architectural style. Only fragments of the mosaics are known today because of the nature of their discovery. The synagogue was discovered by chance in the late nineteenth century by French army captain de Prudhomme. De Prudhomme uncovered the entire synagogue before a proper plan could be prepared. An amateur made several sketches, but there are some discrepancies between these sketches and later drawings by professionals. All of the mosaics were sold, and twenty-one fragments were eventually purchased by the Brooklyn Museum in 1905; the location of the rest of the fragments, if they survived, is unknown. All of these conditions complicate the interpretation of this important site.

Architecturally, the synagogue is classified as a

"broad-house" type, as it is entered on the long side. This type of architecture is not concentrated in one particular geographic location, but is found scattered throughout ancient Israel, Near Asia, and northern Africa. Parallel broad-house type synagogues are found at Horvat Shema in eastern Galilee, Horvat Susiya and Eshtemoa in southern Judah, and Dura-Europos on the Euphrates in Syria. The synagogue at Hamman-Lif has three entrances. The entrance at the rear left leads to a room isolated from the rest of the synagogue. Some have interpreted this as a women's chamber, but it is also possible that this room was used as a guest house. A second entrance is found on the right side, leading into a corridor with doorways into various rooms as well as into the central chamber at the rear of the synagogue. The front entrance leads through several halls paved with mosaics and into the same central chamber at the rear of the synagogue. At the threshold of the last hall before the central chamber, there is a short Latin inscription with a dedication.

The mosaics from the central chamber are particularly important. As reconstructed from early sketches and from the remaining fragments found in the Brooklyn Museum, several salient features can be noted. There are explicit Jewish motifs (a pair of menorahs and the inscriptions) as well as other artistic motifs, such as fish, a cup, peacocks, and animals placed in a vine design. In addition, there is an emphasis on the number four, as seen by the placement of an amphora in each of the four corners and by the iconographic representation of the Four Seasons or Winds. Some hold that this imagery represents various aspects of salvation. This interpretation is confirmed by the central inscription, which reads, "Thy servant Juliana P[. . .] at her own expense paved with mosaic the holy synagogue of Naro for her salvation."

Hammath-Gadera Synagogue synagogue and village site on the Yarmuk River about 7 kilometers east of the Sea of Galilee. The modern Arabic name of the site is el-Hammeh (the hot spring) and the name of the mound upon which the synagogue was found is Tell Bani, or the mound of the bath. (Bani is possibly a shortening of the Greek word *balaneion,* or bath.) The baths were mentioned by Origen, the Christian author writing at Caesarea after 200 C.E. In this and other Greek sources, the site is known by the Greek form of its name, Emmatha. Names of rabbis are identified with discussions of the boundary between Hammath and the city of Gadera, about one Roman mile to the south (Y. Shabbat 7a). The synagogue was found in 1932 and proved to be a complex of a dozen rooms measuring 32.5 meters from east to west. The prayer hall was not entered directly but through rooms on the west and east that opened into the sides of the worship area. A third entrance was in the southeast corner beside the apse area that opened from a long, narrow corridor leading outside the building. A fourth entrance was at the southwest on the other side of the apse and led into a corner room of the complex.

The apse of the building points south. Interior space of the prayer hall measures about 13 by 13.9 meters and is divided into three aisles and a central nave by three rows of columns around the central space. The floors of the aisles are paved with geometric mosaics. The nave is paved with mosaics divided into three panels. The first panel to the north contains a pattern of diagonal intersecting lines with an Aramaic inscription off center to the right (probably because there was once another to the left). The inscription honors Ada bar Tanhum bar Monikos, who contributed one tremissis, and Yoseh bar Qarosah and Monikos, who contributed one-half denarius toward the mosaic. The central panel was a repeated pattern of fleurons (flowerlike devices) with roses and pomegranates. Two long Aramaic inscriptions appear at the south end of this panel. One honors Rab Tanhum the Levite, bar Halfa, who had donated one tremissis; Monikos of Susitha the [Se]pphorite, Lord Patricius of Kefar Aqabayah, Yose bar Dositheus of Kefar Nahum [Capernaum], all three of whom donated three scruples; Yudan the architect [?] of Emmaus who donated three [scruples?]; and the people of Arbela, who donated their cloths (perhaps for the curtain in front of the Torah shrine). The second inscription honors Lord Leontis (who is known from a synagogue inscription at Beth Shean) and Lady Kalonike, who donated one or more denarii, a certain "righteous woman" who donated one denarius, and the inhabitants of the town who donated one tremissis.

The south panel next to the raised platform, or *bimah,* featured a central wreath with an Aramaic inscription; facing the viewer are two lions with tails up and tongues out. On either side of the guardian lions, cypress trees complete the frame. The central inscription reads as follows: "And be remembered for good Lord Hoples and Lady Protone, and Lord Sallustius his son-in-law, and Count Pheroros his son, and Lord Photios his son-in-law, and Lord Haninah his son—they and their children—whose acts of charity are constant everywhere and who have given here five golden denarii, may the King of the Universe bestow the

blessing upon their work. Amen. Amen. Selah." A marble chancel screen enclosed the *bimah* and raised apse area. One fragment of a marble chancel screen was decorated with a seven-branched menorah in relief within a wreath. Surely a Torah shrine stood within the apse, though no fragment of it was found. Twenty-two coins of Justin II (r. 565–578 C.E.) found within the complex appear to date the last use of the synagogue, though it seems to have been founded in the fifth century C.E. The complex was destroyed in a fire. Recent excavations have suggested that two fourth-century phases of the synagogue exist farther down.

Hammath-Tiberias a site on the west side of the Sea of Galilee, about 200 meters south of the city wall of ancient Tiberias. Its existence was known from rabbinic literature for the hot springs that flow out of the ground nearby. Two excavations at the site uncovered one of the most interesting and controversial synagogues found in ancient Palestine. It was found in one of the strata of a series of superimposed buildings dating from the second through the sixth centuries. The latest building is a large, apsidal synagogue dating from the late Byzantine period, which apparently served the needs of the community up to the Arabic period.

The earliest building was a large public structure, which excavators indicated might be a gymnasium. Directly over this public building, a synagogue of the broad-house type was erected (stratum IIb), which, according to the director of the 1961–1963 excavations, was destroyed in the 306-C.E. earthquake that affected several sites in the Galilee. A second synagogue (stratum IIa) was built on top of this structure, which functioned throughout the fourth and into the early decades of the fifth century. It is the synagogue of stratum IIa, the Synagogue of Severos, that represents one of the remarkable finds in the history of synagogue research in Israel.

The initial construction of this "fourth-century" synagogue was allegedly occasioned by earthquake destruction in 306 C.E. Excavations, however, at adjacent Tiberius and at nearby Lower Galilean sites have turned up no such destruction. Moreover, the pottery published in the final report as illustrative of fourth-century usage contains clear examples of fifth- and sixth-century fine ware. Coins found in the excavations (latest coin, 395 C.E.) sustain a fourth-century date, as does a dating based on iconography of the main mosaic in the floor. Thus, the fourth-century dating of this synagogue is conjectured on grounds other than that of stratigraphic archaeology.

The synagogue structure itself is a nearly square building, containing a broad-house synagogue (one oriented by the long wall facing Jerusalem), whose interior space contained three rows of columns, which divided the main hall into four aisles with a conjectured exterior entrance on the north side. Just outside the nave on the southeast was a series of communicating rooms. The floor of one of these rooms (room 35) was raised, suggesting to the excavator that this was one of the earliest examples of a Torah repository outside the main room of a broad-house synagogue.

It is the polychrome representational mosaic, which covers the floor of the main nave, that sparked scholarly debates. In the top panel is an Ark of the Covenant (representation of the synagogue Torah shrine), flanked by menorahs and Jewish ritual objects (etrog, lulab, incense shovels with glowing coals represented). In the lower panel are Greek donor inscriptions flanked by rampant lions. The central panel, though, contains a zodiac executed in the Hellenic style, with the Four Seasons depicted as human figures in the corners of the mosaic. The discovery of a zodiac in a Jewish synagogue at first clouded discussions of the Jewishness of this synagogue's congregation, but subsequent discoveries of zodiacs in synagogues have removed this as an important factor.

What remains notable is the degree to which this zodiac represents an extremely Hellenic or gentile execution. Helios is portrayed as the young beardless youth with long hair driving the quadriga. Signs of the zodiac that surround this central Helios figure contain both animal and human figuration, including uncircumcised nude males. Although each sign has its name written next to it in Hebrew, the Hebrew for Deli-Aquarius is written in reverse and backwards lettering, showing that the congregation that paid for this mosaic knew no Hebrew. In fact, though extensive mosaic inscriptions are found at various places in the floor in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, it is clear that Greek overwhelmingly was the language of this congregation.

Thus, Severos's synagogue is an important piece of evidence in breaking down the last generation of scholars' contentions that Hellenized Jews lived in the diaspora, but Jews in Israel were highly Semitic. It also has joined a growing body of evidence helping to distinguish between the Aramaic-speaking region of Upper Galilee and the Hellenized, Greek-speaking Jews of Lower Galilee.

Hamnuna **1.** Babylonian amora of the third century C.E.; a student of Rab, he reportedly excommu-

nicated an authority who had contradicted Rab's opinion (B. Shabbat 19b)

2. rabbi of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E., sometimes referred to as Hamnuna Saba (the Elder), who was a student of Ḥisda

Hamza Isfahani historian and chronologer of Persia. In 961 C.E., he composed his *Annals,* which testify to his skills as an original researcher and his critical approach to his sources. He reports that in 468 C.E. the Jews of Isfahan, Persia, flayed two magi alive, and that as a result of this incident, Peroz, the Sassanid emperor ordered that half the Jewish population of Isfahan be slaughtered and that the Jewish children should be delivered to the fire-temple of Surusch Adzeran in the village of Hervan. This seems to confirm the Jewish sources, which also report the seizure and forced conversion of Jewish children.

Ḥana Babylonian amora active at Pumbedita in the early fourth century C.E.; a contemporary of Abayye and Raba; the son-in-law of Adda bar Ahabah. He was born in the Land of Israel.

Ḥanamel high priest in the Jerusalem Temple in 37/36 B.C.E.; according to M. Parah 3:5, an Egyptian in whose time a red heifer was sacrificed. According to Josephus, Ḥanamel was a Babylonian, appointed by Herod the Great in place of the more logical choice, the Hasmonean Aristobulus. As a result of protests from Mariamme and Alexandra, Herod subsequently deposed Ḥanamel in favor of Aristobulus, restoring Ḥanamel to office only after Aristobulus was murdered.

Ḥanan b. Abishalom judge named at M. Ketubot 13:1–9 as a judge of robbery cases in Jerusalem, alongside Admon (b. Gadai). B. Ketubot 105a names a third judge, Ḥanan the Egyptian. The fact that, at M. Ketubot 13:9, Yoḥanan b. Zakkai discusses these individuals' decisions suggests that they lived while the Temple stood. Little more is known about them.

Ḥanan b. Rabbah Babylonian amora active at Sura in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.

Ḥananiah Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E.; the nephew and student of Joshua b. Ḥananiah; usually cited as Ḥananiah, nephew of Joshua b. Ḥananiah. He was born in Babylonia and returned there some time before his death, having spent much of his life in the Land of Israel. His name is absent from the Mishnah but appears in several Tannaitic statements recorded in the Babylonian Talmud. Ḥananiah reportedly was a highly respected and powerful authority of his day.

Ḥananiah b. Akabiah Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E. His first name is also cited as Ḥanina and his patronymic, probably incorrectly, as Akiba. Rab reportedly admired his legal acumen (B. Shabbat 83b).

Ḥananiah b. Gamaliel II *see* ḤANINA B. GAMALIEL

Ḥananiah b. Ḥakinai Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; a student of Akiba at Bnai-Berak. He is cited infrequently in the Mishnah. Y. Shekalim 5:1, 48d, reports that he knew numerous languages. He is also referred to simply as Ben Ḥakinai.

Ḥananiah b. Ḥezekiah b. Garon early Tannaitic authority. M. Shabbat 1:4 reports that in his upper room, the Houses of Hillel and Shammai voted on eighteen laws concerning Sabbath observance.

Ḥananiah b. Judah Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E.; a contemporary of Akiba. He is cited only twice in rabbinic literature, both times in exegetical contexts (Sifra, Tzav 2:3; Sifra Shemini 2:3).

Ḥananiah b. Teradyon Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E. For continuing to teach and hold public gatherings, he was martyred during the Hadrianic persecution that followed the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Few of his legal or exegetical statements have been preserved.

Ḥananiah of Sepphoris Palestinian amora active in the mid-fourth century C.E.; sometimes referred to as Ḥanina. He often is cited in conjunction with his contemporary, Mani.

Ḥanan the Egyptian Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E., reported to have "argued before the sages" (B. Sanhedrin 17b). Except for one statement in his name (B. Yoma 63b), nothing is known of him. He is different from the Ḥanan the Egyptian named as a judge in Jerusalem (B. Ketubot 105a); that Ḥanan lived prior to the destruction of the Second Temple.

handbreadth (Heb.: *tefaḥ*) a measure of length made up of five fingerbreadths

hands, laying on of (Heb.: *semikhah*) the act of laying hands on a person's head to bestow a spiritual blessing. Through this deed, Jewish leaders were empowered to perform judicial functions. The concept of *semikhah* is based upon Moses' laying of hands on Joshua (Num. 27:22–23), thereby transferring to Joshua a portion of the divine spirit that rested on Moses. Rabbinic sources claim that Moses similarly ordained the elders (Num. 11:16–17, 24–25), who in turn laid hands on their successors. In this view, an unbroken chain of authority existed from Moses through early rabbinic times. Beginning in the fourth century C.E., the practice of laying on hands as a rite of ordination fell into disuse. Documents of appointment,

certifying the individual's legal knowledge, replaced this rite.

In early Christianity, laying of hands similarly signified an extension of particular authority and blessing (see Acts 13:3; 1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6). In the Gospels, the gesture accompanies healing (Mark 5:23) and blessing (Mark 10:13–16). In Acts 8:17–18, 9:17, and 19:6, it imparts the Holy Spirit (see also Heb. 6:2). The Genesis Apocryphon (11QapGen) depicts Abraham as exorcising a demon by the laying on of hands.

Ḥanina Palestinian authority at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries C.E. Born in Babylonia, he emigrated to the Land of Israel and studied with Yoḥanan. Ḥanina explained his failure to achieve ordination by noting a family tradition that he was of the line of Eli the Priest and that none of this family was destined to be ordained. For this reason, like Hoshayah, who also was of the line of Eli and who might have been Ḥanina's brother, Ḥanina is referred to as "colleague of the rabbis."

Ḥanina, Prefect of the Priests Tannaitic authority active in the final years of the Second Temple. In the Mishnah, he speaks about the Temple service and customs of Temple days (see, e.g., M. Eduyyot 2:1–2).

Ḥanina b. Abbahu Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; the son of the renowned Abbahu; active at Caesaria and, for a time, at Tiberias, where he was involved in charity (Y. Pesaḥim 3:7, 30b).

Ḥanina b. Dosa Tannaitic authority of the first century C.E.; a resident of Arab and student of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. He is noted for his piety (see, e.g., B. Berakhot 61b) and concentration in prayer, which reportedly saved him from a scorpion's bite (T. Berakhot 3:20). M. Sotah 9:15 states that when he died, wonder-workers came to an end. Few of his legal or exegetical statements are preserved.

Ḥanina b. Gamaliel son of Gamaliel I and brother of the patriarch, Simeon b. Gamaliel; a Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E. His first name occasionally is cited as Ḥananiah.

Ḥanina b. Ḥama rabbi of the early third century C.E., at the nexus between Tannaitic and Amoraic authorities. Born in Babylonia, he emigrated to the Land of Israel, where he studied in Sepphoris with Judah the Patriarch. There is a question whether Ḥanina was ordained by Judah himself or by Judah's son (see Y. Berakhot 5:1, 9a; B. Ketubot 103b). Ḥanina worked as a merchant (Y. Peah 7:4, 20b) and practiced medicine (B. Yoma 49a). He lived to an old age (B. Ḥullin 24b).

Ḥanina b. Isaac Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; a contemporary of Samuel b. Ammi; cited several times in exegetical contexts

Ḥanina b. Pappai Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a student of Samuel b. Naḥman; active at Caesaria with Abbahu. His name appears variously as Ḥanina, Ḥananiah, and Ḥinena. Reports of his life (Y. Shekalim 5:4, 49b) and death (B. Ketubot 77b) claim that Ḥanina had intimate connections with the supernatural, including direct contact with the angel of death.

Ḥanina of Sepphoris *see* ḤANANIAH OF SEPPHORIS

Hannah the mother of Samuel (1 Sam. 1–2). She is one of several women in the Bible whose conception after barrenness results in the birth of an Israelite hero. In Jewish and Christian tradition she becomes a model for other mothers of notable sons. Language from the song of Hannah has informed the story of the mother and her seven sons in 2 Maccabees 7 (cf. 1 Sam. 2:5–6 with 2 Macc. 7:9, 11, 22, 23, 29). In retelling the story, the medieval historian Joseph ben Gorion (Josippon) gives the mother the name Hannah and has her recite a paraphrase of Hannah's song. The stories of the conception of John the Baptist and Jesus and the account of Jesus' youth (Luke 1–2) parallel the stories of Samuel's conception, birth, and youth, and the Magnificat, the song of Mary, Jesus' mother, imitates Hannah's song (Luke 1:46–55). *See also* BIRTH, MIRACULOUS.

Hansen's disease *see* LEPROSY

Hanukkah festival of lights, falling on the eighth day after the twenty-fifth of Kislev (corresponding to December), commemorating the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrians, the purification of the Temple, and the reestablishment of the cult

hare a minor motif in Jewish art, particularly in ancient synagogue mosaic floors. Hares are part of the fauna of the Land of Israel, so it is no surprise that they should appear in Byzantine Jewish art. Most commonly the hare appears in mosaics decorated with inhabited scrolls. For example, two running hares appear in the inhabited scroll in the synagogue of Maon, one on either side of the long axis. This pavement features fifty circles, most of which are inhabited by birds or animals found in ancient Palestine. An animal frieze in the Beth Shean synagogue depicts a hunt, with a dog chasing a hare and a bear chasing a deer.

harvest a metaphor for God's judgment. It appears in the Hebrew Bible at Jeremiah 51:33 and Joel 3:13 and in Second Temple Jewish texts in 2 Esdras 4:28 and 2 Baruch 70:2. The image is frequent in the New Testament, explicitly so in

Matthew 3:11–12 (and its parallel in Luke 3:16–17), Matthew 13:36–43, and Revelation 14:14–16, and less obviously in Matthew 9:37–38 and John 4:35–36. Paul's language about sowing and reaping may also be related (Gal. 6:7–9, cf. 1 Enoch 62:8). The connection in Matthew 3:8–12 and Luke 3:8–17 between harvest imagery and the cutting down of trees suggests another biblical source of the idea, the image of God wielding an axe against the trees of the forest (Isa. 10:33–34). This passage is applied in 4QpIsa[a] 8–10 to the activity of the Davidic Messiah and seems to be alluded to in 2 Baruch 36–40. *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

Ḥasdai name of four Babylonian exilarchs: (1) Ḥasdai b. Bustanai, in the late seventh century C.E.; (2) Ḥasdai b. Bardoi, at the beginning of the eighth century C.E.; (3) Ḥasdai b. Natronai, during the first half of the ninth century C.E.; and (4) Ḥasdai b. David, in the twelfth century C.E.

Ḥashem *see* GOD, NAMES OF

Hasideans Jewish military group in the 160s B.C.E. Their name derives from the Hebrew word for "devout ones" or "pious ones" (*ḥasidim*). In 1 Maccabees 2:42, they offer to cooperate with the Maccabees in fighting the Seleucids: "mighty warriors of Israel, all who offered themselves willingly for the Law." In 2 Maccabees 14:6, the high priest Alcimus claims that Judas Maccabeus was the leader of the Hasideans. According to 1 Maccabees 7:13–14, the Hasideans were fooled into accepting Alcimus as the legitimate high priest, with the result that sixty of them were killed. Attempts to link the Hasideans to the Essenes, the "early pious ones," and the Pharisees have not been successful.

Ḥasidim *see* HASIDEANS

Hasmoneans the family name of Judas Maccabeus. It was used as the dynastic name of his brother Simon and his descendants, who ruled Judea and its expanding kingdom in the second and first centuries B.C.E. According to Josephus's *Antiquities* (12, sec. 265), the priest Matthathias, the father of Judas Maccabeus, was the great-grandson of Asamonaios, a priest of the course of Joarib. The so-called Maccabees are usually referred to as the Hasmoneans from the time Simon secured independent rule over Judea from 142 to 140 B.C.E. *See also* MACCABEAN REVOLT.

ḥatimah (Heb., seal) the final line that seals or concludes a statutory benediction. It begins, "Blessed art Thou . . . ," and concludes with a phrase that summarizes the theme of the benediction.

ḥattunah (Heb.) wedding. In rabbinic law, the marriage ceremony is designated *kiddushin* (sanctification), reflecting the understanding that through marriage, a woman is made sacred to her husband and forbidden to all other men. In talmudic times, a marriage was formalized through two separate events, often performed months apart. The betrothal ceremony (*erusin*) formalized the decision of the parties to wed and marked their families' agreement to the financial details of the proposed union. The marriage proper, marked by the *nissuin* ceremony, took place later, once arrangements for establishing a common home could be completed. Once a woman was betrothed, she was prohibited to all other men and required a divorce in order to marry someone else. Connubial relations, however, were prohibited until the marriage proper, signified by the *nissuin* ceremony.

In posttalmudic times, *erusin* and *nissuin* are performed consecutively. Only the reading of the *ketuḇah*, the marriage contract specifying the financial and other obligations of the husband to the wife, comes between them. The *erusin* ceremony begins with the blessing over wine and a benediction praising God for instituting marriages. The groom then recites to the bride, "You are sanctified to me in accordance with the law of Moses and Israel" (B. Kiddushin 5b). Since the seventh century C.E. a ring, symbolizing fidelity, has been given by the groom to the bride as part of this ceremony. The *nissuin* ceremony follows, comprising seven benedictions, the first of which is a blessing over a second cup of wine. These blessings, referred to at B. Ketuḇot 8a as Birkhat Ḥatanim (blessings of grooms), then reflect upon God's creation of the world and the perpetual renewal of human beings in the divine form. The final benedictions pray for the restoration of Jerusalem and for the happiness of young couples. The seventh benediction cites Jeremiah 33:10–11 and prays for the restoration of a joyful Jewish community in the cities of Judah.

Since the fourteenth century, the wedding ceremony has taken place under a *ḥuppah* (canopy), symbolizing the couple's future home. The custom of breaking a glass at the conclusion of the wedding ceremony is based upon B. Berakhot 31a, where, during the course of his son's wedding celebration, a rabbi breaks an expensive vase in order to warn those present against excessive joy. *See also* ERUSIN; KIDDUSHIN; MARRIAGE; MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

Haustafel (Ger., household list, or domestic rules) used as a technical term in scholarship to refer to lists of duties or responsibilities found in moral instructions. In the Graeco-Roman world, there

were certain expectations of conduct in the family and in society, depending on one's station in life. The idea is also found in the Hebrew Bible, elaborated on by Jewish writers, and in the New Testament. Pseudo-Phocylides gives a long section on family relations. Philo of Alexandria and Josephus both record the duties toward God and humans that were expected of all pious Jews.

ḥazakah (Heb., squatter's rights) presumption of right of possession or ownership through extended utilization of property; taking possession through long-term use

Hazkharat Neshamot (Heb., memorial of souls) a medieval custom of memorializing the dead. It is often mistakenly traced to biblical and rabbinic times because of putative precedents in 2 Maccabees 12:44 and a late interpolation into a Tannaitic midrash (Sifre Deut. 210:8). *See also* YIZKOR.

Hazor a major biblical city in Upper Galilee about 18 kilometers north of the Sea of Galilee. Hazor comprises the mound itself and a large rectangular enclosure of 70 hectares or nearly 175 acres. The mound or upper city was occupied in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, though not the huge enclosure. The southwestern part of the city had been dominated after the Assyrian conquest by a large fort, evidently built by the conquerors. This fort, with exterior walls nearly two meters thick, continued to be used during the Persian period (stratum II at Hazor), presumably by Persian forces. This fortress consists of an inner courtyard surrounded on four sides by rooms. On the east side a second courtyard was enclosed by a wall. Many walls of poorer construction than those of the Assyrian builders divided the rooms and some of the courtyard into smaller spaces. Pottery imported from Greece or the Greek islands, so-called Attic wares, were found here and there with the indigenous pottery. In the Hellenistic period the fort was again used during the second century B.C.E., evidently by the Hasmoneans in their attempts to secure Galilee. The fort would overlook the major commercial arteries to the north that passed through this valley. Graves of the Persian and Hellenistic period attest to the presence of a garrison within the fort, but as yet there appears to be no attached support village.

healing In the Torah, Psalms, and prophetic books, God is often pictured as a healer and as one who inflicts diseases on those who are disobedient or who seek to thwart his purpose. Just after the people of Israel cross the Red Sea and enter the desert, they are given the assurance that God will not inflict on them the diseases that He had sent to the Egyptians and that he is "YHWH who heals you" (Exod. 15:26). The same theme is heard in Deuteronomy 32:39: "There is no god beside me. I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal." The psalmist celebrates God's forgiving his people all their iniquities and healing all their diseases (Ps. 103:3).

In the biblical narratives, God's healing activity occurs regularly in response to prayer. Thus when Abraham prays for Abimelech (who had taken Sarah when she and Abraham assured him that she was Abraham's sister), Abimelech is healed and his wives and slaves regain their ability to bear children (Gen. 20:1–18). For her jealousy of Moses, Miriam is stricken with a dread skin disease, but is healed in response to Moses' prayer to God on her behalf (Num. 12:10–15). In 2 Kings 20 and in Isaiah 38 the story is told of the sickness that overtakes King Hezekiah and of his prayer to the Lord, which results not only in his recovery but in the extension of his life for fifteen years and in the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians. The Aramaean king sends Naaman, the commander of the royal army, to Israel in the hope that he will be healed by the prophet Elisha (2 Kings 5). After first scorning Elisha's instruction to wash in the Jordan, he does so and is healed, which leads him to declare that the only true God is in Israel.

In the Torah, physical healing is linked with the maintenance of ritual and dietary purity. This is especially clear in Leviticus 11–15, where there are extended descriptions of skin diseases and instructions for gaining physical and ritual cleanness. There are also warnings aginst trying to use divination, exorcisms, or sorcery in an attempt to regain one's health (Lev. 18, 19:31, 20:6).

God's healing work aims at far more than regaining physical health: it involves the wholeness and moral strength of the covenant community and the souls of its members. In the Psalms, there are appeals to God to heal body and soul: "Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am languishing; O Lord heal me, for my bones are shaking with terror. My soul is also struck with terror" (Ps. 6:2). In Psalms 30:2 there is praise to God for having helped and healed one who "cried to you for help." The link between sin and sickness is evident in Psalms 41:3–4, where the depiction of God as sustaining those who are ill and infirm is followed by the appeal, "Heal me, for I have sinned against you." Job shows the connection between the pain of God's disciplinary action and his power to heal: "For he wounds, but he binds up; he strikes, but his hands heal" (Job 5:18). The same prophet who

mourns that there is no physician to ease the hurt of God's disobedient people (Jer. 8:22), that their "wound" is incurable and that they lack any adequate medicine or healing (Jer. 30:12–13) goes on to promise that God will restore health and heal their wounds (30:17).

By the middle of the second century B.C.E. the belief had arisen that disease is the result of penetration by evil spirits or demons. But in Jubilees 10:7–14 Noah's prayer for the ability to combat the effects of the evil spirits and the illnesses they cause leads to his receiving a book that gives details for healing the sick "by means of the herbs of the earth." The author of this book has clearly been influenced by the emergence in the Greek world of medical practice based on natural remedies. In the Dead Sea Scroll Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen. 20:12–29), Pharaoh is possessed by an evil spirit that brings "scourges and afflictions" the Egyptian magicians are unable to expel, but Abram lays his hands on Pharaoh's head and drives out the demon. In the Gospels of the New Testament, Jesus' ability to heal and drive out demons is said to be evidence of the power of God (Luke 11:20), and the diseases Jesus cures—blindness, lameness, and deafness—are justified by him through an appeal to the words of the prophets (Luke 7:21–22; see Isa. 29:18–19, 35:5–6), where the renewal of human beings is a sign of the fulfillment of God's purpose for the world.

While the rabbis perceive of the healing powers of Torah and God (see, e.g., B. Ketubot 103a: "the sayings of sages heal"), they tend to view disease as a consequence of natural processes or the result of people's failure to take proper care of themselves. Accordingly, the interests of the biblical and Hellenistic literatures in the role of God or magic in healing is not frequently found in the talmudic literature. The rabbis indeed hold that one who attempts to bind God to offering a cure, for instance, by whispering over a wound the verse, "I will put none of the diseases upon you which I have put on the Egyptians, for I am the Lord who heals you" (Exod. 15:26), has no place in the world to come. The rabbis rather focus on natural cures for diseases, especially foods and herbs held to remedy specific maladies (see, e.g., B. Shabbat 109b; Pesikta deRab Kahana 18:4; B. Baba Metzia 107b).

Hear O Israel (Heb.: *Shema Yisrael*) the proclamation of the faith and theology of Judaism. This is in three parts: two introductory blessings, then the recitation of the Shema itself, and then a concluding blessing. The introduction speaks of creation of the world and revelation of the Torah; the Shema proper speaks of the unity of all being in God; and the concluding blessing speaks of the redemption of Israel, the holy people.

The blessings recited before the Shema are as follows. (1) *Creation of the world, attested by sunrise and sunset.* "Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe. You fix the cycles of light and darkness; You ordain the order of all creation. You cause light to shine over the earth; your radiant mercy is upon its inhabitants. In your goodness the work of creation is continually renewed day by day. O cause a new light to shine on Zion; may we all soon be worthy to behold its radiance. Praised are You, O Lord, Creator of the heavenly bodies."

(2) *Revelation of the Torah as the expression of God's love for Israel.* "Deep is your love for us, O Lord our God; bounteous is your compassion and tenderness. You taught our fathers the laws of life, and they trusted in You, Father and king. For their sake be gracious to us, and teach us, that we may learn your laws and trust in You. Father, merciful Father, have compassion upon us: Endow us with discernment and understanding. Grant us the will to study your Torah, to heed its words and to teach its precepts. Enlighten our eyes in your Torah, open our hearts to your commandments. Unite our thoughts with singleness of purpose to hold You in reverence and in love. You have drawn us close to You; we praise You and thank You in truth. With love do we thankfully proclaim your unity. And praise You who chose your people Israel in love."

Next comes the proclamation of the faith: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one." This proclamation of the Shema is followed by three scriptural passages. The first is Deuteronomy 6:5–9: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your might." The passage goes on to say that one must diligently teach one's children these words and talk of them everywhere and always, and place them on one's forehead, doorposts, and gates. The second scripture recited is Deuteronomy 11:13–21, which emphasizes that if Jews keep the commandments, they will enjoy worldly blessings; but that if they do not, they will be punished and will disappear from the good land God gives them. The third scripture recited is Numbers 15:37–41, the commandment to wear fringes on the corners of one's garments. The fringes are today attached to the prayer shawl worn at morning services by Conservative and some Reform Jews and worn on a separate undergarment for that purpose by Orthodox Jews; they are intended to remind the Jew of all the commandments of the Lord.

The theme of God, not as creator or revealer, but as redeemer, concludes the twice-daily drama. The blessing recited after the Shema is as follows: "You are our King and our fathers' King, our redeemer and our fathers' redeemer. You are our creator. You have ever been our redeemer and deliverer. There can be no God but You. You, O Lord our God, rescued us from Egypt; You redeemed us from the house of bondage. You split apart the waters of the Red Sea, the faithful you rescued, the wicked drowned. Then your beloved sang hymns of thanksgiving. They acclaimed the King, God on high, great and awesome source of all blessings, the ever-living God, exalted in his majesty. He humbles the proud and raises the lowly; He helps the needy and answers his people's call. Then Moses and all the children of Israel sang with great joy this song to the Lord: Who is like You O Lord among the mighty? Who is like You, so glorious in holiness? So wondrous your deeds, so worthy of praise! The redeemed sang a new song to You; they sang in chorus as the soar of the sea, acclaiming your sovereignty with thanksgiving: The Lord shall reign for ever and ever. Rock of Israel, arise to Israel's defense! Fulfill your promise to deliver Judah and Israel. Our redeemer is the Holy One of Israel, The Lord of Hosts is his name. Praised are You, O Lord, redeemer of Israel."

heart (Heb.: *leb, lebab, lebab;* Gr.: *kardia*) Different from modern technical usage, texts in the Hebrew Bible, late Second Temple Judaism, and the New Testament refer to the heart almost exclusively in psychic and religious rather than physical terms. The heart is the seat of the emotions and can, therefore, be glad, troubled, fearful, or filled with hatred or love. It is also the locus of the intellect, the place where knowledge and understanding reside. In a related sense, the heart is the seat of the will and the moral life. One may have a clean, upright, or pure heart, and in one form of Qumranic anthropology, the heart is the battleground where the spirits of truth and perversity struggle for the individual's loyalty (1QS 4:23; cf. Test. Judah 20). Thus, the heart can be identified as the meeting point between God and humans (Ps. 27:8; Rom. 5:5). Remarkably, these ancient views of the heart as the emotional, noetic, moral, and religious center of a human being persist in modern popular usage. *See also* HEART, HARDNESS OF.

heart, hardness of the failure or refusal to understand God's will and purposes or to accede to them. In ancient Semitic thought, the heart was the seat of knowledge and volition. To harden the heart is to surround it with a shell that resists revelation or to determine not to obey God's will. Most often, the expression is applied to Israel's disobedience.

Hardening of the heart may originate with God, who accomplishes the divine purposes in spite of human resistance; the story of the Exodus is a notable example of this (Exod. 4–11) and a rare application of the expression to a non-Israelite. Humans are also culpable for hardening their own hearts (Ps. 95:8; Jer. 7:24–26). In Mark 8:17, Jesus criticizes his disciples for hardening their hearts, by not perceiving and understanding even though the secret of the Kingdom of God has been revealed to them (4:11–12) and they have seen God's power in Jesus' miracles (chaps. 5–8). Two related terms include "uncircumcision of heart" (Acts 7:51; cf. Deut. 10:16) and "heaviness of heart" (1QS 4:11). These texts underscore the notion of stubborn refusal by combining the present expression with reference to stiffness of neck (cf. also 1 Enoch 98:11). *See also* STIFFNESS OF NECK.

heaven the part of the universe above the earth, including the firmament (a dome separating the waters above the earth from those on the earth; Gen. 1:6–8; cf. 4 Ezra 4:7) and everything above it. The firmament rests on pillars (Job 26:11) and foundations (2 Sam. 22:8). In the firmament are set the sun, moon, and stars; it has windows through which rain falls (Gen. 7:11–12; 8, 2; Isa. 24:18) and God's blessings (Gen. 49:25; Deut. 33:13; Ezek. 34:26; Mal. 3:10) and help (1 Macc. 12:15; 16:3) descend.

Although God is said to dwell in the Temple (1 Kings 8:12–13; 2 Chron. 6:1–2; Ps. 68:5, 35; Ezek. 43:7; Hab. 2:20), in Zion (Ps. 9:11, 76:2; Isa. 8:18; Joel 3:17, 21; Zech. 8:3), and at Sinai (Deut. 33:16; Ps. 68:17), heaven is God's dwelling place par excellence. Solomon's dedicatory prayer for the Temple claims that not even heaven and earth, much less the Temple (1 Kings 8:27), can contain God. Nonetheless, the rest of Solomon's prayer assumes that God lives in heaven (1 Kings 8:30, 34, 36, 39, etc.), a belief shared by the rest of the Hebrew Bible, postbiblical Judaism, and Christianity. In the Hebrew Bible, several mortals are privileged to see into or to visit heaven: The prophet Micaiah ben Imlah sees God's heavenly court and learns God's plans (1 Kings 22:19–23); Elijah ascends into heaven in a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:11), and Enoch is thought to ascend as well (Gen. 5:24); Zechariah has a vision in which the high priest Joshua stands in the heavenly court and is accused by Satan (Zech. 3); and Daniel has a vision of the heavenly courtroom (Dan. 7).

Biblical Hebrew always uses the plural form *shemayim* (heavens). The Septuagint uses the singular form, and the New Testament uses both. Postbiblical Jewish thought conceives of several—often seven (the number can vary)—heavens. The various heavens contain meteorological phenomena such as wind, rain, snow, and hail, as well as angels, the righteous dead, and even, in some depictions, places of punishment for the wicked. Postbiblical Judaism is fascinated with heaven and its secrets. Because decisions made in heaven determine what happens on earth, and the unseen world dominates the seen, to learn heaven's secrets is to know the course of history and the future. Seers, including Enoch (1 Enoch, 2 Enoch), Abraham (Test. Abr.), and Baruch (3 Bar.), journey to heaven to learn the workings of the universe and to gain insight into human life.

Paul claims to have visited the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2–4). The Gospel of John says that Jesus descended from heaven; only he has seen God or can speak of the world above (1:18, 3:11–15); and at his death he returns to heaven (14:28). In Luke 24:51 and Acts 1:9, Jesus ascends to heaven after his death and resurrection. The seer of Revelation learns of the cosmic powers at work behind the struggle between Christianity and the Roman Empire through a trip to heaven, where he observes the triumphant Jesus and other heavenly figures. Revelation 21:1 and 2 Peter 3:13 expect a new heaven and earth at the eschaton, a prospect probably based on Isaiah 65:17, 66:22. Early Judaism and Christianity see heaven as the place of reward for the righteous (Test. Abr. 11:10; 4 Ezra 7:88–99; 2 Bar. 51:8–10; Dan. 12:2–3; John 14:2; 2 Cor. 5:2; 1 Thess. 4:16–17; Heb. 10:12–19, 11:16, 12:22–24; Rev. 4:4, 6:9, 11:12).

The rabbinic literature develops the conception of heaven found in scripture and the Hellenistic period, in particular defining heaven as the seat of God. As the focus of human prayer and the place in which people's destiny is decided, the term heaven is equated with the name of God. This is seen in common rabbinic expressions such as "in the name of heaven," "from heaven it is decreed," "by the hand of heaven," and "fear of heaven." The expression "kingdom of heaven" refers to God's sovereignty over the people of Israel (see M. Berakhot 2:5) and to the messianic age, when God will be the sole ruler over all of the people of the earth (Pesikta deRab Kahana 5:9).

heavenly Jerusalem Jerusalem located in heaven. In Exodus 25:9, God tells Moses to construct the sanctuary according to the pattern (Heb.: *tabnit*) shown him on Sinai. Later traditions attest to a constellation of ideas related to this concept: the existence of heavenly measurements of the sanctuary or of Jerusalem; an eschatological Jerusalem to be constructed on earth, often without human agency; a city actually located in heaven. In 2 Baruch 59:4–11, God tells Baruch that on Sinai, Moses received the Torah and the measurements of Zion and the sanctuary, along with other, more apocalyptic revelations (see also LAB 19:10).

The image of an eschatological Jerusalem is common in Second Temple Judaism and expresses hope for Zion's renewal (1 Enoch 26–27, 90; 2 Bar. 32:2–4; 4 Ezra 8:52, 10:27, 38–55; Tob. 14:5–7). It occurs in several Qumran texts (1Q32; 2Q24; 5Q15). In 1 Enoch 90:28–29, God removes the old Temple (or city) and sets up a new one; the text may imply that the new one comes from heaven. The point is that God builds the eschatological Zion (cf. 4 Ezra 10:53–54; Mark 14:58; Acts 7:48–49; Heb. 11:10). In 4 Ezra 8:52, the eschatological realities, including a city, are already in existence and are waiting to be revealed. Ezra receives a vision of the city to come in chapter 10.

The heavenly Jerusalem can be used to place earthly trials in perspective. In 2 Baruch 4:2–6, God proclaims that the promise of divine protection (Isa. 49:16) did not apply to the earthly Jerusalem, but only to the heavenly one, previously revealed to Adam, Abraham, and Moses. In Testament of Job 18:6–8, Job says that he is willing to leave everything behind to enter the heavenly city. In 4 Baruch 5:35, Abimelech blesses an old man with the wish that God guide him to the heavenly city, Jerusalem.

In Christian sources, statements about the heavenly Jerusalem occur in contexts that devalue the earthly one. In Galatians 4:21–31, Paul uses allegory to assert the superiority of the new covenant (the heavenly Jerusalem) over the old covenant (the earthly Jerusalem). In Hebrews, Platonic categories are used to argue that the Jewish cult deals with the shadows of the heavenly realities to which Christians have direct access through Jesus, the high priest (see esp. chap. 9). Christians are said to have approached the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12:22; cf. 11:10, 16). In Revelation 21:1–22:5 (cf. 3:12), a new Jerusalem descends from heaven to replace the old. Unlike the old, it has no temple but instead has the presence of God and Jesus.

The concept of a heavenly Jerusalem does not occur in talmudic writings.

heave-offering (Heb.: *terumah*) priestly rations; the portion of the crop in the Land of Israel that is

raised up for the priest; the first gift separated from produce, given to the priests, who are to eat it in a state of cultic cleanness; any amount permitted, a fiftieth is average

heave-offering of the tithe *see* TITHE OF THE TITHE

Hebrew Bible (or Hebrew scriptures) terms coined by scholars to refer to the collection of texts that Jews call the Tanakh, Torah, or Bible, and Christians call the Old Testament. These terms refer to Jewish texts composed in Hebrew (except for a few passages written in Aramaic, e.g., Dan. 2:4–7:28; Ezra 4:8–6:18, 7:12–26) that are regarded as scripture by both Jews and Christians. The Hebrew Bible does not include the Jewish texts called the Apocrypha, which are included in certain Christian Bibles (e.g., the Roman Catholic Bible) but not in the Jewish canon. In referring to this collection as the Hebrew Bible or Hebrew scriptures, scholars are seeking to avoid the confessional overtones of its Jewish or Christian names.

Hebrew language primary language of the Jewish people throughout the ages; more specifically, a dialect of the Canaanite language, mutually intelligible with other dialects such as Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite. The oldest attested specimens of Hebrew date to around 1100 B.C.E.

Like all languages, Hebrew changed throughout the centuries. Scholars divide the Hebrew of the Bible into three main phases: (1) Archaic Biblical Hebrew (c. 1100–1000 B.C.E.), represented by various poems embedded in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets (Exod. 15, Num. 21:14–15, Judg. 5, etc.); (2) Standard Biblical Hebrew (c. 1000–550 B.C.E.), represented by the majority of the Bible (virtually the entire Pentateuch and Former Prophets, most of the Latter Prophets, most of Psalms, Proverbs, etc.); and (3) Late Biblical Hebrew (c. 550–200 B.C.E.), represented by the latter books of the Bible (Ezra, Neh., Chron., Esther, Dan., etc.), as well as the Book of Ben Sira. The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, known also as Qumran Hebrew, is a continuation of Late Biblical Hebrew, and is attested c. 200 B.C.E.–C. 70 C.E.

Alongside the written Hebrew used to compose the aforementioned literary works, there existed a spoken variety of Hebrew throughout ancient times. Thus Hebrew is characterized by what scholars call diglossia, the coexistence of spoken and written varieties of the same language, each marked by separate morphological and syntactic (perhaps also phonological and lexical) traits.

The evidence for this spoken variety of ancient Hebrew in the early period consists of departures from the grammatical norms of Biblical Hebrew that reflect colloquial development. Eventually, Jewish scholars began to compose works in this colloquial Hebrew. Thus collections such as the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and some early Midrashim (as well as the letters of Bar Kokhba and his comrades) are composed in the spoken dialect, known to scholars as Mishnaic Hebrew. Since these collections include material that was transmitted orally and/or record the discussions of the rabbis in their academies, it makes sense that the Mishnah and related works were written down in the colloquial dialect and not in the literary standard.

Hebrew died out as a living, spoken language in the third century C.E., when it was replaced by Aramaic as the language spoken by the Jews. Aramaic, the lingua franca of much of the Near East in late antiquity, had exerted influence over Hebrew for about 750 years. Thus it was only natural that eventually the Jews, like many others in the region, came to speak Aramaic.

But Hebrew, specifically a fossilized form of Mishnaic Hebrew, continued to be used for literary purposes for the next several centuries. Thus many later Midrashim and some portions of the Gemara were written in Hebrew, even though their authors now spoke Aramaic. With the passing of late antiquity, this phase of ancient Hebrew came to an end as well.

Early Hebrew was written in a twenty-two-letter alphabet derived from the Canaanite (Phoenician) alphabet. In c. 400 B.C.E. the Jews adopted the script of the Aramaic (or square) alphabet for writing the Hebrew language.

Except for the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bar Kokhba letters mentioned above, all the literary works referred to in this article (the Bible, Mishnah, etc.) are known from manuscripts copied centuries after the original compositions. We do, however, possess numerous inscriptions (most extremely short) from throughout the period of ancient Hebrew.

Hebrews term used in Greek writings as the national name for the people of Israel, usually referred to by outsiders in the postexilic period as Jews. It is used by Josephus for Jews in the biblical period. Paul uses it when he affirms the authenticity of his Jewish ancestry (2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5). The term also refers to linguistic usage and groups. In the New Testament, words identified as "Hebrew" may be Hebrew (Rev. 9:11, 16:16) or Aramaic (John 19:17, 20:16), the common language of many Jews in the Near East. In Acts 6:1,

Hebrews are Hebrew- or Aramaic-speaking Jewish followers of Jesus in Jerusalem, and Hellenists are Greek-speaking Jewish followers of Jesus. Philo, too, makes a distinction between the Hebrews and "us" (Greek-speaking Jews; *De Conf. Ling.* 129).

Hebrews, Epistle to the an early Christian text that interprets the death of Jesus as a sacrifice replacing the cult of the Temple. A midrashic homily rather than simple epistle, Hebrews was composed in the last third of the first century as an exhortation to Christians, perhaps in Rome, to maintain their faith in Jesus. The work is included among the Pauline epistles, but is clearly not by Paul. Various authors have been proposed, including such Christian missionaries as Barnabas and Apollos, but none is certain.

Hebrews likens Jesus to the high priest who enters the Temple once a year to effect atonement. Jesus as both heavenly high priest and perfect victim is seen to have entered the true, heavenly Temple by his death. There the offering of his sacrificial death, an act of conformity to the divine will, effects true atonement for sins by cleansing the consciences of his followers (chaps. 8–9). The sacrifice of atonement is also a sacrifice that inaugurates a new covenant for those who follow Jesus in faith (chap. 11).

The biblical texts that play a prominent role in the work are Psalm 110, a description of a royal investiture that is understood, as often in early Christianity, to be a description of the exaltation of Jesus to heaven. That Psalm also attributes to its royal addressee a "priesthood after the order of Melchizedek." In chapter 7 Hebrews claims that the priesthood of Jesus fulfills that oracle because Jesus, like Melchizedek, is a figure of the ideal, eternal realm. The covenant relationship established by the sacrificial death of Jesus allows his followers access to that same ideal realm (chap. 10).

Hecataeus, Pseudo- writer quoted by Josephus as being Hecataeus of Abdera; however, many scholars feel that he is a Jewish pseudepigrapher trying to cloak his statements in the genine Hecataeus's authority. The question is debated, and some eminent scholars argue for authenticity. He notes the Jews' loyalty to their laws, for example, their refusal to fight on the Sabbath, which allowed Ptolemy I to take Jerusalem. He also makes reference to the high priest Ezekias (Hezekiah), who was brought to Egypt by Ptolemy I. Some have identified this Ezekias with Hezekiah the Governor, who is known from a Jewish coin.

Hecataeus of Abdera Greek writer of the early third century B.C.E. His work or works are preserved only in fragments, especially in Diodorus Siculus. One of his most important writings was *On Egypt,* in which he attempted to describe Egyptian history and culture to the Greeks. He also mentioned the Jews and gave important insight into Jewish society in Palestine at the beginning of the Ptolemaic era. It is debated as to whether his references to the Jews were in a separate writing on the Jews or in his work on Egypt. According to Hecataeus, the Jews of Palestine formed a priestly state (though under Ptolemaic control), governed by about 1,500 priests, with the high priest at its head. Hecataeus evidently knew nothing about the Israelite monarchy, since he states that the Jews had never been governed by a king. His comments are mainly positive, and he sees the Jewish state as, in some sense, an idealized entity of which he approves. It has been suggested that his sources were Jews, perhaps even priests. Josephus also gives quotations in the name of Hecataeus, but many feel these are not genuine but belong to another writer referred to as Pseudo-Hecataeus.

ḥeder (Heb.) room; elementary school for early education

hēdonē (Gr., pleasure) a philosophical term in Epicureanism, which regarded pleasure as the goal of life. The word came to have a pejorative sense for many, both in Greek philosophy and in Jewish literature, even when pleasure was not an end in itself. The English word "hedonism" is derived from it.

Hefa *see* EFA

hegēmon (Gr., governor) a general term for a governor. Like its Hebrew equivalent, *peḥah,* it could be used for both major and minor ruling officials. More specific terms included "satrap," "eparch," and "toparch." The English word "hegemony" is derived from *hegēmon.*

Hegesippus a Latin version of Josephus's *The Jewish War* in various recensions. The name Hegesippus suggests a patristic writer of the second century C.E., but it is probably a version of Josephus. The real author is uncertain, though the work is generally thought to date from the fourth century C.E. Although clearly based on *The Jewish War,* the text is more of a paraphrase than a strict translation and includes some material not found in Josephus's work, drawing on a number of Roman historians, such as Tacitus and Suetonius. It served as a major source for Josippon.

heikesh a principle of scriptural exegesis that holds that if an analogy can be established between one classification and another, then the

rule governing the one applies to the other; *see also* MIDRASH

heimarmenē (Gr., that which has been allotted, or destiny) Greek historians often use it to refer to impersonal fate; thus in a sense it is basically equivalent to *tychē,* but Josephus and other Jewish writers use the term as the equivalent of "God's providence." It is also a term important to many systems of Gnosticism.

hekdesh (Heb.) property consecrated as holy to the Temple in Jerusalem. Items were dedicated either for general use or specified for use in sacrifice on the altar.

hekhal *see* HEKHALOT; TEMPLE

hekhalot the plural of the Hebrew *hekhal,* which in the Bible denotes both a palace and a temple and thus combines the ideas of majesty and holiness. In early Jewish mystical literature the term *hekhalot* designates God's heavenly abode. The plural is used because God is envisaged as dwelling in seven concentric *hekhalot,* his throne being located in the seventh, innermost *hekhal.* This concept, which fundamentally expresses the inaccessibility of God, was associated with a doctrine of mystical ascent. The mystic who wished to see God's glory had to penetrate the doors of the seven palaces. These were guarded by fierce angels who would let him pass only if he had the correct spells, called seals. The *hekhalot* play an important role in a number of treatises (e.g., Hekhalot Rabbati, Hekhalot Zutarti, and Sefer Hekhalot [= 3 Enoch]), which comprise the Hekhalot literature. This literature emanated from a movement that flourished in Palestine and Babylonia in the Talmudic era (second to sixth centuries C.E.). The rabbinic authorities classified its teachings, which have certain affinities to Gnosticism, as belonging to the Account of the Chariot (Maaseh Merkaḇah) and therefore as unsuitable for public discussion. The demise of the movement in the early Middle Ages was precipated in part by the Karaites, who exploited its extreme anthropomorphic language about God to attack the orthodox Rabbanites. It left, however, a rich literary legacy, which was taken up by the Haside Ashkenaz and by the Spanish Kabbalists. Moreover, its hymnology influenced that of the synagogue liturgy (e.g., the Kedushah deYoser).

Hela *see* ELA

Ḥelbo amora of the late third century C.E., frequently cited in both Talmuds. He appears at Sura in Babylonia, where he studied under Ḥuna, and, later, in the Land of Israel. He frequently transmits exegetical statements of Samuel b. Naḥmani, and is referred to as a teacher of ethics. He may be identical with Ḥelbo b. Ḥilfa (Gen. Rabbah 51) or Ḥelbo b. Ḥanan (Y. Berakhot 7:1, 11a).

Helena mother of Izates, the king of Adiabene (1st c. C.E.). The royal house converted to Judaism. Helena had a palace in Jerusalem, aided the people during the famine under the Roman emperor Claudius, gave gifts to the Temple, and was buried in a large, well-known tomb north of the city.

Heliodorus an official of Seleucus IV (r. 187–175 B.C.E.) who was sent to Jerusalem in an unsuccessful attempt to confiscate funds deposited in the Temple. 2 Maccabees, chapter 3, recounts that he was prevented from entering the Temple and was flogged by heavenly beings. He subsequently assassinated Seleucus.

Heliogabalus Roman emperor (r. 218–222 C.E.), born Varius Avidius Bassianus in 203 C.E. He was the son of Julia Soaemias and a Syrian senator, Sextus Varius Marcellus. His maternal grandmother was Julia Maesa, sister of Julia Domna, the second wife of Septimius Severus and the mother of Caracalla and Geta. The family filled the hereditary priesthood of the sun-god, Heliogabal, in Emesa, Syria. As priest, Avidius called himself Heliogabalus. In order to win popular support, his mother spread the false rumor that he was Caracalla's son and, to gain military support, promised monetary rewards to the army, which in turn hailed Heliogabalus as emperor and acclaimed him Marcus Aurelius Antonius. Marcus Opellius Macrinus, Caracalla's immediate successor, was routed and killed. Heliogabalus's short reign is portrayed as filled with perverted, excessive, and strange religious activities, on which he was encouraged to concentrate. To this end he adopted a young cousin, the future emperor Severus Alexander, to share imperial power, but within a year, both Heliogabalus and his mother Soaemias were assassinated.

Helios one of two Greek sun gods. He is of uncertain paternity and is said to be the son of Hyperion, Zeus, or Hephaestus. Throughout antiquity, Helios had been depicted with rays emanating from his head. Although Helios can be traced back as far as the Homeric *Odyssey,* his cult became a significant popular Graeco-Roman religion only after the Julian calendar reform. Many of the children of Israel had worshiped YHWH as the Sun throughout the pre-exilic era. The Sun as a deity, with whom God's wisdom is favorably compared, was of importance in Second Temple Judaism. According to Daniel (2d c. B.C.E.), the Sun together with the Moon is asked to praise God. Philo of

Alexandria calls the Sun the great king, with whom he compares God.

The Therapeutai may have worshipped the Sun. There is strong evidence of Sun worship at Qumran, where in addition to attested astrological thought, the solar calendar was used as opposed to the lunar one used in Judah and Jerusalem. There is also evidence of Jewish Sun worship during the rabbinical era. A mosaic pavement in the third (or possibly fourth) century C.E. synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias depicts the Sun (some form of syncretization of Apollo and Helios) and his chariot in the center of the zodiac.

hell a word of old Germanic origin designating the underworld, either as the abode of the dead or the place of punishment. In the King James Version of the Bible, "hell" normally translates "Sheol" in the Hebrew Bible and "Hades" and "Gehenna" in the New Testament. Gehenna (or the Valley of Hinnom), the ravine south of Jerusalem, was widely thought to be the place of eternal punishment (1 Enoch 26–27; Matt. 5:22, 23:33). The apparent setting of Isaiah 66:18–24 in Jerusalem suggests that the punishment pictured in verse 24 occurs in the Valley of Hinnom. However, some believed that Sheol, the realm of the dead, would be turned into the place of punishment (1 Enoch 103:5–8; Luke 16:23 [Hades]).

Hellenistic period the era in Palestine from about 333–323 B.C.E. to about 63–30 B.C.E. or even later. The different beginning and ending dates reflect the fact that the Hellenistic period of Palestinian archaeology is not uniform in nature, particularly since different portions of the land had been incorporated into the "state" at different times. Prior to the Hellenistic era, only a small region in the central portion of Palestine had formed the Persian province of Judah. The boundaries of Judah altered during the early part of the Hellenistic period. Although it was different from the Persian province, Judah (= Judea), at first it still was restricted to the central region of Palestine. During the Hellenistic period, different regions, some of which are characteristically considered part of Palestine, others that are not, became incorporated into the developing state of Judah at different times, particularly during the Hasmonaean period, and under different circumstances.

Small regions to the west and northwest of Judea were conquered by Jonathan (c. 160–142 B.C.E.). A small region extending to the Mediterranean Sea in the region of Joppa had been conquered by Simon (c. 142–134 B.C.E.). Idumea, Philistia, and Samaria in "the land" and to the east of the Dead Sea was the region that had formerly been part of Ammon and extended as far as the Wadi Arnon in what had been Moab. It was captured by John Hyrcanus (c. 134–104 B.C.E.). Galilee, in the far north of the land and east of the Jordan had been conquered by Aristobulus I (c. 104–103 B.C.E.). Alexander Jannaeus (c. 103–76 B.C.E.) conquered Galaaditis, an area east of the Jordan and east by northeast of Judea and Gaulantis; a region north of that; a region in the extreme south (below Idumea to the west of and circling the southern end of the Dead Sea and incorporating portions of what had been Moab as far north as the Wadi Arnon), and additionally a small strip of land in which the cities Dora and Strato's Tower are located that bordered the Mediterranean in the northern part of Palestine. Land incorporation was not the only thing that makes it difficult to give an exact temporal specification to the Hellenistic period in Palestine, specifically in Jewish Palestine.

Because of sectarian differences between those inhabitants who were Yahwistic, it is also sometimes hard to characterize sites as belonging to Jewish Palestine or even to define what is meant by Jewish Palestine. Moreover, the artifactual evidence make the distinctions less rather than more clear. All we can really say is that some places had been inhabited mainly by Yahwists, who defined themselves as Israelites. Others were partially inhabited by Yahwists, who defined themselves as Israelites, and partially by those who worshiped other gods. The latter were usually people of Greek or Macedonian Greek origin, but they may also have been eastern natives, and sometimes they were Yahwists who did not worship YHWH alone. The Yahwistic portion of the population of any of the sites may have been Hellenized, non-Hellenized, or mixed. Some places were mainly inhabited by those of Greek origin even when they had been inhabited by Yahwists at some earlier time and possibly again at some later time. Moreover, because of the almost all-pervasive nature of Hellenism, even when people repudiated it, the archaeological findings may, but do not always, reflect this divergence.

In any case, the Hellenistic archaeological era began and ended at different times in different parts of Palestine. It is characterized by what has come to be known as the Rhodian type of jar handle, which reflects trade within the Mediterranean region. Larger architectural structures, when available for study, sometimes evince a melding of Oriental and Greek characteristics and art forms.

Despite great and continuing excavations, many

places cannot be fully excavated or sometimes excavated at all, because they are currently inhabited. Nevertheless, the following are foci of archaeological investigation.

(1) Jerusalem, the capital of the Hasmonean state of Judah and Jerusalem. It extended over the Judahite city of David, and over the Upper City as well. Because of its theological importance to both Christians and Jews today, Jerusalem is always a focus of archaeological interest. Various sites in Jerusalem were excavated by different teams at different times. Among the most important artifacts are some remains of two different city walls, the second of which may be Herodian rather than Hellenistic/Hasmonaean; remains of two towers associated with the "first wall"; remains of a Hasmonaean building on top of the Israelite wall; the foundations of a building; a relief that may have been part of a Hasmonean palace; a column base as well as an Ionic capital; Hellenistic tombs such as "Jason's Tomb," c. 200–175 B.C.E. (although some would place it in the first century B.C.E. on the basis of numismatic data; the tombs in the Kidron Valley; and Ptolemaic I coinage.

(2) Qumran and Ain Feshka, the regions to the southeast of Jerusalem, situated in the region on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea. One of the most important sites of the Hellenistic era is that of Qumran, a settlement located on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea. It was comprised of one or more communities that rejected the Jerusalemite cult, left Jerusalem, and moved to the area near the Dead Sea. We do not know exactly when the communities migrated to Qumran. All we can say is that it was some time during the latter part of the first half of the second century B.C.E. The building complex at Ain Feshka is closely related to and most likely part of the complex of the communities from Qumran. Although Qumran was occupied well into the Roman era, there was an archaeological "break point" at Qumran in 31 B.C.E. due to earthquake and fire. The most meaningful artifacts are the remains of the fortress, sometimes called the monastery, Khirbet Qumran, a rebuilt seventh-century-B.C.E. building, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which all the books of the scriptures except for Esther are represented. Additionally, and meaningfully, there are sectarian documents that have allowed us to learn something about the communities themselves. So far, scrolls have been found in eleven caves. It seems likely that no more "scroll caves" will be found. The cemetery, the pottery found in many of the caves, and coinage, particularly from the period of Alexander Jannaeus, are also important artifacts of the region.

(3) Samaria (modern Sabastiyah) and Wadi ed-Daliyah. Samaria is the city built by Omri to serve his state as Jerusalem served David. Wadi ed-Daliyah is the location of a cave to which some of the upper class inhabitants of Samaria fled in 332. At the beginning of the Hellenistic era, Samaria was inhabited by Yahwists. After its inhabitants had been driven out by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E., Samaria became a Graeco-Macedonian military colony. Although many of Samaria's inhabitants escaped to Shechem in 332 and some fled to Wadi ed-Daliyah, where they died of starvation, not all were able to get away from Samaria itself. Samaria did not remain Graeco-Roman. It was conquered by John Hyrcanus in 107 B.C.E., and its inhabitants were forcibly "Judaized." We do not know, however, whether those whom he Judaized had been Greek or Hellenized Semites. Among the important Hellenistic era artifacts from Samaria are round (Hellenistic) towers (inside an Israelite wall) and remains of a fortification. There are Aramaic legal and administrative papyri from the fourth century B.C.E., some of which are actually dated, but these attest to the pre-Hellenistic rather than the Hellenistic era. What is important for the archaeology of the Hellenistic era is the more than three hundred skeletons of escapees from Samaria found in the cave in Wadi ed-Daliyah. Artifacts such as jewelry suggest that these skeletons are those of members of the upper classes.

(4) Shechem, a city southeast of Samaria between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal. Shechem is the city to which the inhabitants of Samaria migrated after Alexander made Samaria into a military colony in 332 B.C.E. The escaping upper-class Samarians may have been responsible for the rebuilding of Shechem, which had been deserted for the prior hundred and fifty years. Literary data suggest that there was also a Hellenistic Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. The author/redactor of 1 Maccabees 6:2 treats it as non-Yahwistic, calling it the temple of Zeus Xenius. On the basis of numismatic data, we believe that the Shechemites may have had ties to Egypt, but the Ptolemaic coin collection may simply reflect trade. Shechem was destroyed by John Hyrcanus. Although the date in which he destroyed Shechem is not firmly established, it is probable that he did so in 107 and not 128 B.C.E. Excavators have found third-century-B.C.E. potsherds in an area that may have contained a type of sacrificial altar. A coin collection dating to the second century B.C.E., containing coins of

Ptolemy I through Ptolemy V, was also found at the site.

Other sites of archaeological investigation include Acco/Ptolemais, Alexandrion, Araq El-Emir, Ashdod, Beth-Zur, En Gedi, Gezer, Joppa, Jericho, Lakish, Marisa/Maresha, and the Decapolis.

Hellenistic reform term applied to the transformation of Jerusalem into a Greek city (polis) in the mid-second century B.C.E., preceding the Maccabean revolt. At this time, Jason, the high priest, obtained permission to build a gymnasium and draw up a list of citizens. *See also* HELLENIZATION.

Hellenization the process in which Greek culture was spread to the Near East and elsewhere outside Greece proper. Hellenization was a complex process that continued over many centuries. It had actually begun before the conquests of Alexander, especially in such areas as Asia Minor and Phoenicia. All aspects of the civilization were eventually involved: language, literature, government, administration, art, architecture, and religion. Hellenistic culture was different in many ways from Hellenic culture (i.e., the culture in the Greek homeland).

The Hellenistic kingdoms that arose after the death of Alexander differed in many aspects from the city-states of classical Greece and had many features in common with the old Near Eastern empires. For example, kingship, empire, much of the administration, and even war in the Hellenistic period were Near Eastern in form. The royal courts were host to many Greek artists, poets, literati, and philosophers; nevertheless, the conduct of the royal courts followed the Near Eastern pattern, and the monarchies in many cases adopted native models and imagery. For example, the Ptolemaic kings adopted many aspects of the pharaonic kingship. The Ptolemies were still thoroughly Greek, and Greeks were privileged over the natives, but the old bureaucracies continued to operate. It is often stated that Greek replaced the native languages in administration, but this is only partly true. Although Greek was widely used, so were the native languages. Thus, documents continued to be written in cuneiform in Babylon and in Demotic in Egypt, alongside Greek. The native languages continued to be spoken by the common people.

What did change with time was the number of native peoples who sought to improve their station by obtaining a Greek education. In the Greek cities and colonies that were established throughout the East, the Greek citizens enjoyed the most privileges, and they guarded these jealously. However, the aristocrats among the native peoples had the money and connections to obtain Greek scribes for their own use and a Greek education for their sons. As decades and centuries passed, the old barriers began to break down. To be "Greek" became a matter not of physical descent but of language and education; to be Greek was to speak and write good Greek and to be at home in the culture of Greece, regardless of one's origins. Some local people, especially among the aristocracy, became citizens of the old Greek cities. In other cases, new Greek cities were founded in which many of the natives were citizens from the start.

Thus, Hellenistic culture was very complex. The Greek and the native existed side by side. It was not a case of "melting" together into some kind of homogenized form but of both sorts of culture coexisting. For example, Greek and native architecture began to influence each other and to produce mixed forms only to a limited degree and only after a long period of time. Each tradition was able to maintain its integrity and flourish alongside the other.

In the same way, the old and the new coexisted among the people. The average man and woman lived their lives as they had for centuries; the only change from life under the Persians (or Babylonians or Assyrians) was in who collected the taxes. However, some people, such as traders, found it useful to acquire some Greek. Others, who had the opportunity, especially among the upper classes, found Greek culture attractive and attempted to follow Greek ways in some or many aspects of their lives.

In this respect, the Jews were no different from anyone else. Those among the peasantry probably had little direct contact with the culture of Greece. Many others lived in or near Greek cities, however, or came to speak Greek as their first language. Those who were wealthy and had the opportunity often gave their sons a Greek education. This is hardly surprising, since adopting Hellenistic culture, to a lesser or greater extent, did not have to affect one's Judaism. Culture was one thing; religion and ethnic identity was another. The one area where Jews could not be fully at home, however, was in the religious area. No doubt some did compromise, but the number who are recorded as having abandoned their Judaism is very small. Even in the Hellenistic reform, when Jerusalem became a Greek city, no actual laws of the Temple or Torah were clearly broken. An individual such as Philo of Alexandria, who obviously had a good Greek education and participated in Hellenistic culture and life in Alexandria, was also a loyal Jew who was apparently ready to die for his religion.

When the Jews revolted against the Greeks, it was over religion, not culture as such. Some of the best expression of the Jewish resistance against Antiochus IV's attempt at religious suppression is found in 2 Maccabees, a thoroughly Hellenistic work. The Hasmoneans themselves show no inclination to remove Greek cultural elements from the society of Judea. It is also a mistake to assume that only the Jews were interested in maintaining their own culture. As noted above, the native cultures continued to thrive, and they did so because the natives wanted this. The Jews very much wanted to maintain their identity, but so did most other peoples of the Near East.

Hellenization had several possible meanings: (1) the new world situation after Alexander, in which the Near East and all its peoples had become a part of the Hellenistic world; (2) the culture of the Near East after Alexander, a complex mosaic of Greek and native, which continued to change and develop and included everyone; and (3) the individual adoption of Greek ways, which could vary enormously. Only in this third sense can one talk of some being "more Hellenized" than others.

Hellenization, resistance to It could take one of several possible forms, though many writers talk of "resistance" without being very specific. The most direct form of resistance would be to fight militarily against Greek domination. Although a number of peoples revolted against Greek rule at one time or another, only the Jews of Palestine had any real success, in the Maccabean revolt. Some resisted more passively by circulating anti-Greek literature. The main form this took was the production of counterfeit oracles in Greek or a native language. Several such oracles have been preserved, including the Oracle of Hystaspes from Persian and various Egyptian oracles (e.g., the Potter's Oracles). However, such resistance was often more symbolic than real; that is, some specific and overt symbols of Hellenization were attacked, such as Greek cults by Jews, but the continual process of Hellenization often proceeded unnoticed. Nor is there evidence that much of Hellenization was disliked, much less resisted. The complexity of the phenomenon meant that much that happened could be measured only over large areas and lengths of time.

Hellenizers term applied to those who adopted Greek ways; however, it is frequently used without clear definition, or a proper understanding of the process of Hellenization, to mean those who abandoned the Jewish religion. In 1 Maccabees it seems to mean those who did not agree with the Maccabees.

Hemerobaptists (Gr., daily baptizers) Jewish or Jewish-Christian baptismal groups mentioned by Patristic writers, such as Epiphanius; little is known of them. Apparently some Jewish groups practiced regular washings as a religious ritual, as some think the Essenes did.

Hephthalites inhabitants of an eastern Asian kingdom. They were Shapur II's confederates, but by the fifth century C.E., they posed a threat to both India and Persia. Bahram V was the first Persian to fight them. Peroz died battling them in 484. Balash was a Hephthalite tributary. Khusro I destroyed them in the sixth century C.E.

Heraclitus, Epistles of the name for a group of epistles that have been passed down in the name of Heraclitus, a philosopher of the sixth century B.C.E.; however, they are most likely pseudonymous. They exhibit a Cynic view of life and are probably to be dated to the first century C.E. It has been suggested that at least some of them are Jewish writings, because of such themes as the rejection of images of the gods and of eating animal flesh (because of blood?). The problem is that even these alleged Jewish elements have parallels in popular philosophy of the time, while there is little specifically Jewish about them.

Heraclius (c. 575–641 C.E.) Byzantine emperor (r. 610–641). The son of the exarch of Carthage, he overthrew the emperor Phocas. In 628 he defeated the Persians and forced them to leave all of the Byzantine provinces in Syria and Palestine. In 630 he conquered Jerusalem, returning to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher the relics he had taken from the Persians. Upon invading Palestine, he forgave the Jews for their support of the Persians. However, the Jerusalem Christians accused the Jews of killing more Christians than had the Persians, and he eventually expelled all the Jews from Jerusalem and its environs. A series of trials began for Jews accused of killing Christians and destroying churches.

Hercules knot a minor element in Jewish art, namely, a decorative knot normally used to bind a crown wreath commonly found in low relief on lintels of synagogues from Palestine. Today, the knot would be called a square knot. Other symbolic items were commonly found inside the crown wreath or on either side of the Hercules knot. The knot is normally depicted as loose as opposed to tight.

The Hercules knot is an example of an adaptation of Graeco-Roman symbolism by contemporary Jewish communities. In the Graeco-Roman world, the crown wreath symbolized victory. The Her-

cules knot was used on the lintels in the Roman world to create a concrete example of eternal victory by showing that the binding of victory (the crown wreath) would never come undone. In a similar manner, the items held within and adjacent to the crown are given eternal status as well. Symbolic items found either inside or adjacent to the crown wreath include menorahs, lulabs, shofars, birds, and fish. A particularly common type depicts a wreath bound by the Hercules knot and enclosing a menorah. Hercules knots have been found at synagogue sites such as Caperaum, Charazim (Khirbet Keraze), Kefar Birim, Nabratein, Khirbet ed-Derih, Joppa, and Gadara.

Heres *see* QUIS RERUM DIVINARUM HERES

Hermaiscus a Greek from Alexandria, Egypt, prominently featured in a papyrological document found at Oxyrhyncus now part of the collection known as the Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. This fragmentary act records the sending of a delegation of Alexandrian Greeks to Rome during the reign of Trajan around 108–113 C.E. The dozen or so delegates included priests, gymnasium officials, and teachers, but it is not clear if Hermaiscus was a delegate or was already in Rome facing unspecified charges. The act reported that when Alexandrian Jews heard about the Greek delegation they sent seven envoys of their own and that both delegations carried their own gods, the Greeks bringing a bust of Serapis.

The papyrus apparently depicts a judicial procedure before Trajan and is probably a fabrication composed for the edification and indoctrination of aristocratic Greeks in the gymnasium. Hermaiscus complained about the emperor's unfair treatment of Alexandrian Greeks and protested that Trajan's senatorial advisers included too many Jews. We are told that Plotina, Trajan's wife, conspired with senators to favor the Jews, and Hermaiscus impudently warned Trajan that he ought to support his own people and not side with the ungodly Jews. The bust of Serapis then broke into a sweat and struck terror into one and all. Like so many of the acts, the fictional record of the trial of Hermaiscus displays both anti-Roman and anti-Semitic sentiments, reflecting disenchantment with the position of Greeks in the Roman Empire and with the empire's perceived favoritism toward Jews, with whom Greeks had long been in conflict.

hermaphrodite a person having both male and female reproductive organs. In rabbinic law, a hermaphrodite is not deemed to have participated in God's bequeathing of land to the people of Israel. The hermaphrodite accordingly is excluded from reciting the confession that accompanies the bringing of firstfruits (M. Bikkurim 1:5), which refers to God's gift of land to the Israelite people.

Hermetica *see* POIMANDRES

Hermetidius Campanus *see* CAMPANUS, SEXTUS HERMETIDIUS

Hermon, Mount massive series of peaks at the south end of the Anti-Lebanon range. Its snow-capped prominence (2814 m.) made it sacred to Canaanites, Israelites, Greeks, Itureans, Christians, and Muslims. Judges 3:3 refers to Baal Hermon, and Psalm 29:6 associates epiphanies with Sirion, an alternative name. In 1 Enoch 6–16, it is the point for the rebel watchers' descent and Enoch's heavenly ascent (cf. Test. Levi 2–6). At Caesarea-Philippi, on one of its terraces, Jesus' messiahship was revealed to Simon, who is then commissioned as Peter, the rock (Matt. 16:13–20; Mark 8:27–30). Devotees to Pan erected a sanctuary there, and Herod the Great constructed a temple to Augustus. *See also* DAN.

Herod, son of Herod the Great son of Herod the Great and Mariamme, the daughter of Simon, the Alexandrian priest appointed high priest by Herod the Great. He was the first husband of Herodias, who later married Herod Antipas. In Herod the Great's first will, he was named heir if his half-brother Antipater did not survive.

Herod Antipas son of Herod the Great and his wife Malthace, a Samaritan; full brother of Archelaus, with whom he was involved in a bitter fight over succession to his father's kingdom. His name is an abbreviation of his grandfather's name Antipater, but in the writings of the New Testament, Josephus, and on his coins he is simply called Herod, a name that obviously had already become dynastic in the second generation of the family. In his father's original will Antipas had been designated the principal beneficiary, but this was changed later. As a result he went to Rome to contest the final will, which favored Archelaus. He was confirmed as tetrarch—though the New Testament loosely calls him king (Mark 6:14; Matt. 14:9)—of Galilee and Perea by Augustus in 4 B.C., with the right to revenue of two hundred talents. Antipas's achievements both inside and outside his territory were modeled on those of his father. He restored Sepphoris in Galilee, which had been destroyed by the Romans in putting down the disturbances on the death of Herod the Great. Antipas shared his father's interest in building on the grand scale. This is indicated by Josephus's comment that Sepphoris was the ornament of all Galilee, by the founding of Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, and by

the refurbishing of the fortress of Betharamphtha in Perea. By naming his new city Tiberias (founded in 19 C.E.) and the Perea fortress Julias he sought to honor the emperor Tiberius and his wife as his patrons.

Antipas's building projects should not be seen in isolation from his desire to develop the full potential of the region he had inherited. Sepphoris is the heart of lower Galilee, overlooking the fertile Beth Netopha Valley. Tiberias, together with nearby Tarichea, was well situated to exploit the fishing resources of the lake. Antipas's first marriage to a Nabatean princess, the daughter of Aretas IV, had definite political ramifications since Perea bordered the territory of the Nabateans and relations between them and Herod the Great had been anything but cordial. When Antipas divorced his first wife in favor of Herodias, his brother's wife, hostilities were renewed and the Nabateans inflicted a severe defeat on him. Many Jews attributed this defeat to divine retribution for the murder of John the Baptist, whom Antipas had executed as a subversive (*Ant.* 18:116–120; but cf. Mark 6:14–28). Antipas's standing with the emperor was such that the legate of Syria, Vitellius, was ordered to exact retribution on the Nabateans. A further example of his international stature can be seen in his promoting a peace accord between the king of Parthia and the Romans, by arranging a meeting at a specially erected bridge over the Euphrates. He used the occasion to ingratiate himself with the emperor, much to the annoyance of Vitellius.

Like his father, Antipas showed some sensitivity to the religious views of the mainly Jewish inhabitants of his territory. His building of Tiberias over a Jewish burial ground created problems for the Jewish inhabitants who were compelled to live there because of the purity regulations. His murder of John the Baptist was also unacceptable on religious grounds as both Josephus and the gospels make clear in different ways. Yet the fact that his coins are aniconic and that Jesus was able to conduct a ministry in the region that was openly critical of the court values without any serious repercussions, other than the threat reported in Luke 13:31, is significant. At the same time the absence of any mention of a visit by Jesus to either Sepphoris or Tiberias are best explained on the basis of reported Herodian opposition to him (Mark 3:16). Antipas's presence in Jerusalem for the feast of Passover may be attributed to continued Herodian concern with the Jewish religious institutions, instead of religious reasons.

Antipas probably retained hopes of eventually succeeding to his father's title and territory. The deposition of Archelaus in 6 C.E. and the introduction of direct Roman rule in Judea was, probably, a source of great disappointment to him. Prompted by Herodias, he went to Rome in the hopes of being given the title king, on hearing that his nephew and brother-in-law, Agrippa, had been given that title together with the territory of his brother, Philip, by the new emperor Gaius in 37 C.E. However, Agrippa had previously won the ear of the emperor and Antipas was banished to Gaul (Herodias choosing to join him in exile). Antipas's territories were now also added to those that Agrippa had already received.

Herodians an expression found in some Gospels in reference to the supporters of the Herodian family, most immediately, Herod Antipas, ruler of Galilee. They appear as opponents of Jesus and in Mark as allies of the Pharisees (Matt. 22:16; Mark 3:6, 12:13).

Herodias granddaughter of Herod the Great, daughter of his son Aristobulus, who was executed in 7 B.C.E. According to Josephus, she first married Herod, son of Herod the Great. The Gospel of Mark (6:17) says that she was married to Philip, brother of Herod Antipas, but this is probably an error; her daughter Salome married Philip. Herodias left her first husband for his half-brother, Herod Antipas. According to the New Testament, Herodias had Salome request the head of John the Baptist from Antipas after she pleased him with a dance (Mark 6:17–29; Matt. 14:3–12).

Herodium Herodian palace and monument on the summit of a partly artificial, isolated hill on the edges of the southern Judean mountains and the Judean Desert. This unusual structure was built with a circular double wall, 62 meters in diameter, which begins on both sides of a round tower on the east and with three half-rounded towers on the other sides. Around this construction, an earth and stone rampart was poured to cover it to the depth of about 12 meters, while the upper parts of the wall and towers were raised to a significant height. This rampart gave the hill its "volcano" shape. In its "crater" a palace was built which was divided into two sections. The eastern section was occupied by a large garden with a peristyle, and the western part held some dwellings, service rooms, a bathhouse on the north, and a reception hall on the south. As in all other Herodian palaces, luxurious elements, such as mosaic floors, frescoes, stucco plaster, and opus-sectile paving, decorated the building.

A developed water system was built at the site. Cisterns were cut in the palace itself. A series of

tunnels that led into large, well plastered pools, which can be reached without going outside the palace, were also cut deep below the palace. As at Masada, the Jewish rebels took over the palace and made some changes, the most significant of which was the addition of simple benches along the walls of the triclinium, probably transforming it into a synagogue. Next to the entrance, a stepped pool was found that almost certainly was used as a ritual bath. A hoard of eight hundred bronze coins, as well as pottery vessels from the time of the Bar Kosiba Revolt were found at the site, showing that it was used by the rebels. This was proved later by the Bar Kosiba letters from the Judean Desert. According to the letters, Herodias (the name for Herodium) was the headquarters for Bar Kosiba in the last stage of the revolt.

A very large section of a public building and constructions were spread at the foothill and called by the excavators "lower Herodium." Some of them were excavated. The largest construction is an artificial pool 46 by 70 meters with a pavilion at the center. A large rectangular area of about 110 by 145 meters surrounds the pool and was used as a garden. North of the pool, a large complex of buildings was found, including a long storage room with hundreds of typical storage jars. To the southwest, a bathhouse was uncovered, the largest in all Herodian palaces. It was decorated with beautiful mosaic floors and frescoes. A beautiful rare marble washbasin was found that was decorated with the figure of a silenus, the only example of figurative art in Herod palaces.

A long artificial course (350 m) was constructed within the whole area. At its western end, a monumental building (14 × 15 m) was exposed, partly cut from the natural rock. Its unusual plane, some unusual decorated elements, and its context hint that it could be part of the monumental royal tomb and that the course was erected for the great funeral. The mountain-fortified palace and lower Herodium were parts of a huge summer palace used also for two other purposes: an administrative center for southern Judea and the tomb and memorial for the king.

Herod of Chalcis grandson of Herod the Great, son of Aristobulus, who was executed in 7 B.C.E., and brother of Agrippa I and Herodias. He was appointed ruler of Chalcis, in the Bekāa Valley of Lebanon, by the Roman emperor Claudius in 41 C.E. After the death of Agrippa I in 44 C.E., he was given superintendency of the Temple and the high priest's vestments and the right to appoint high priests. He died in 48 C.E.

Herod the Great king of the Jews (r. 40–4 B.C.E.). Herod first came to prominence while his father, the Idumean Antipater, was in charge of the affairs of state under Hyrcanus II. As a young man he was made governor of Galilee (c. 47 B.C.E.), and because of his achievements against alleged brigands (possibly ousted Hasmonean nobles) he was further rewarded with a supervisory role in Coele Syria by the Romans. His betrothal to Mariamme, a Hasmonean princess, was a further sign of his political ambitions. Even though his father was murdered in 43 B.C.E. by disaffected Hasmoneans who felt excluded by this half-Jew and his family, Herod continued to curry Rome's favor through the troubled period of civil war following Caesar's assassination. However, the ousted Hasmonean Antigonus encouraged the Parthians to resist Roman advances in the east by invading Judea and installing him as the rightful king under their patronage. Herod, having secured his family in the fortress Herodium, fled to Rome in 40 B.C.E., where he was declared king of the Jews by the Roman senate. Thus began Herod's long reign, which can be divided conveniently into three periods: consolidation, 40–27 B.C.E.; peak, 27–13 B.C.E.; and intrigues and decline, 13–4 B.C.E.

Consolidation. With the aid of the Roman legate, Herod succeeded in ousting the Parthians from Judea by 37 B.C.E. The next ten years were spent overcoming his internal enemies, the remnants of the Hasmoneans, and negotiating his way amid the changing fortunes of Antony and Octavian at Rome. His first act was, however, one of apparent friendship to his enemies. Hyrcanus II was recalled and treated with honor despite the fact that he was no longer fit for the high priesthood because of mutilation by the Parthians. His appointment of a Babylonian Jew, Hananel, should also be seen as an offering of peace to those Jews who were living as loyal subjects within the Parthian empire and on whose support Herod might have wanted to call in the future. The remaining supporters of Antigonus were executed, and eventually also those in the direct line, including Hyrcanus himself, his wife Alexandra, and eventually their daughter, Mariamme, his own wife. During this early period Herod also had to contend with Cleopatra, who had supported the Hasmoneans against him and who had influenced her suitor, Mark Antony, to insist that Herod cede to her the coastal plain as well as the valuable palm and balsam groves in the Jericho region. In addition Herod was charged with collecting revenues on her behalf from the Nabatean king. Unsuccessful at first, Herod was actu-

ally engaged in a campaign against the Nabateans when Antony suffered his defeat at Actium in 31 B.C.E. This circumstance was important in exonerating him in the eyes of Augustus when eventually Herod sought to make his peace with the new ruler. Augustus was quite willing to accept Herod's declaration of loyalty as a trusted client king of Rome. The territories previously ceded to Cleopatra were restored and Augustus was suitably feted as he passed through Herod's kingdom on his tour of the east. It was at this time, when he was secure in his external relations, that Herod ordered the murder of Mariamme, goaded by his sister, Salome. The affair had a deep effect on Herod, who became seriously ill and was himself close to death. Though he recovered and had many subsequent achievements of note, a legacy of intrigue remained that would return to haunt his declining years.

High point of Herod's reign. Herod had been quick to show his absolute control of affairs in Palestine by making the institutions of the theocracy subordinate to him. He appointed his own candidates, often from abroad, to the high priesthood, ignoring the hereditary character of that office, usually for political reasons. The council, or Sanhedrin, was totally subservient to him, and the Pharisees, who had once been an influential political force, were now effectively silenced. Dissent on the basis of religious grounds was impossible. At the same time his rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple on a grand scale was intended to placate Jewish religious sensibilities, while also providing much-needed employment in Judea. In addition he was careful to insist on certain external aspects of Jewish religious practice, despite his own thoroughly Hellenized lifestyle. Thus there are no human representations on any of his coins or on any of the many lavish buildings which he had erected and that have so far been excavated. In this regard the incident of the golden eagle over the entrance to the Jerusalem Temple, which gave rise to violent reaction from pious Jews toward the end of his life, was atypical. He insisted on circumcision for any non-Jewish male who would marry into his household. Furthermore, despite the heavy burden of taxation that he imposed on the people as a whole he was also conscious of his image as a philanthropic dictator in the best traditions of a Hellenistic monarch. On two different occasions (24 and 20 B.C.E.) when the crops failed he imported grain from Egypt and reduced taxes.

Herod's reign must be seen as a period of active Hellenization in Palestine. His immediate court had a preponderance of non-Jews, foremost of whom was Nicholas of Damascus, the court historian and adviser whose works Josephus used in compiling his own account. Greek philosophers and tutors were also employed for members of the royal household and the Greek language was actively propagated. Greek games and shows were organized even in Jerusalem, despite the objections of pious Jews. His army comprised Jews as well as non-Jews, including the four hundred Gauls who had been Cleopatra's bodyguard and who had been bequeathed to him by Augustus after they had made peace. Many of the inhabitants of the Greek cities of Palestine had bitter memories of the Hasmoneans and were therefore natural allies of Herod in the early years when he was establishing his kingdom. Herod had always had good relations with the Samaritans and he built a new city on the site of ancient Samaria called Sebaste, dedicated to the emperor, settling it with his veterans. He also established another veteran colony at Gaba on the borders of Galilee. He built a temple to Augustus at Banias (Paneion) at the famous grotto of Pan in the foothills of Hermon. He established a new seaport on the coast at the site of Straton's Tower and dedicated it also to Caesar as Caesarea Maritima. It was appointed magnificently with a temple adorned with huge statues representing Rome and the emperor, a theater, an amphitheater, an aqueduct, and a harbor. It became an important source of revenue as trade from the east was diverted from the Phoenician ports to the north, and it honored his imperial patron. Elsewhere throughout the land there are many remains of Herodian buildings on a grand scale—fortresses like Herodium, Masada, Alexandrium, Hyrcania; palaces like Jericho and Jerusalem; and many other lesser buildings, many of them dedicated to Augustus, as Josephus observes.

In order to finance these projects at home as well as his benefactions abroad—such as support for the Olympic games and the rebuilding of a temple on the island of Rhodes to the Pythian Apollo, in addition to many other acts that were intended to show his magnanimity—Herod needed financial resources. As a client king he was of course liable to an annual tax for the emperor from his own total personal income. In addition he was expected to assist with special subventions and the billeting and provisioning of troops as the occasion arose. In such instances Herod was always at pains to show his loyalty by acts of great generosity, which had to be paid for. On the basis of the income allowed to his successors in their different

regions, the annual tax in Herod's kingdom was about one thousand talents. This was comprised of the land and poll taxes for which every citizen was liable as well as sales taxes and those imposed on various municipalities within the realm. In addition Herod was able to raise considerable revenue from his private domains, some of which were inherited, others confiscated from ousted Hasmoneans, and others still the result of imperial bequest. The most important of these private holdings was undoubtedly the gift by Augustus to Herod of the regions of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis in Transjordan in 23 B.C.E. Zenodorus, the Iturean monarch in the region, had exploited their location to engage in acts of brigandage on the caravans passing from the east. On his death in 20 B.C.E. the rest of his territory, including Banias and the Huleh, also passed to Herod's control. These bequests meant that Herod was able to avail himself of the revenues both from the lands and the trade routes and at the same time take the opportunity to court further the Babylonian Jews, whom he planted in Batanea with a view to successfully policing the region on behalf of Rome.

Intrigue and decline. Though Herod was highly successful in political terms, especially under Augustus, his personal and family life was marked with tragedy. The murder of Mariamme had been traumatic for him and returned to haunt him when his sons by her, Alexander and Aristobulus, who had been brought up in Rome, returned in 17 B.C.E. to be reintegrated into the Herodian family through marriage. At first Herod favored them, but the attitude of the young men as well as the intrigues of Herod's Idumean family, especially his sister Salome and brother Pheroas, turned him against them. Eventually they were both executed following a trial in Berytus in 7 B.C.E. Antipater, Herod's oldest son by his wife Doris of Jerusalem, was now the favored successor, only to be exposed for intriguing with Pheroas against Herod. Antipater was executed in 4 B.C.E. after trial on his return from Rome, where he had sought to ingratiate himself in imperial circles.

Herod was now in serious decline. His first will favored Antipas, his older son by Malthace, a Samaritan, but on his deathbed this was again changed in favor of Archelaus, Antipas's younger brother. Herod died in 4 B.C.E. and was buried in the fortress of Herodium. His final disposition of his kingdom gave rise to bitter disputes among the various brothers. Augustus decided that none of them should have the title king, and instead appointed Archelaus tetrarch of Judea, Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip, a son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, as tetrarch of Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis. The fact that there were serious disturbances not just in Jerusalem but in Galilee and Idumea on the death of Herod shows that despite his efforts to placate the Jewish people he had not really won their allegiance.

Herod's style, ambition, and policies had brought about a major social change in Palestine, even in the sphere of Jewish religion. His distrust of the Hasmoneans and their supporters was a constant factor in his dealings with the religious institutions, but ironically it was because of this that his latter years were so unhappy. The opulence of his court life, his manner of treating his enemies (echoed in the story of the slaughter of the children in Bethlehem in Matthew), and his use of the resources of the people for outside benefactions were all contrary to the spirit of the Jewish people and their ethos. The apocryphal work The Assumption of Moses, written shortly after his death, sums up the feelings of pious Jews against Herod. On the other hand, at the height of his career Herod was an important figure in terms of Roman administration in the east. His political astuteness can be seen in his ability to negotiate successfully the transition from supporter of Antony to friend of Augustus. He played an important part in Roman policy, not just in Palestine and the east but also in Asia Minor. This role did help in consolidating the position of the Jews of the diaspora with whom Herod seems to have remained on excellent terms.

ḥesed *see* GEMILUT ḤASADIM

Ḥeshvan second month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to October/November

Hesychius governor of Palestine, fifth century C.E. From Jerome we learn of a quarrel between Hesychius and the patriarch Gamaliel VI. The governor attempted to connect Gamaliel to a group of conspirators against Theodosius I. The governor bribed Gamaliel's secretary to deliver the patriarch's correspondences to him; however, his plan failed. Gamaliel complained to the emperor, who condemned Hesychius's plot and had him executed. This is one instance in a long battle between the church leaders and the patriarchs. Both John Chrysostom and Jerome remind the emperors of the patriarchs' wealth in order to encourage them to decrease the power of the Jewish leader.

hetaireiai *see* COLLEGIA

Hexapla the six-column work of Origen, which he produced to use as the basis for "correcting" the Septuagint. He thought the translation had become

corrupted, and he hoped to restore its original purity with the help of other translations and textual resources. In column 1 was the Hebrew text; column 2 (Secunda) was a transliteration of the Hebrew text in Greek; column 3 was Aquila; column 4 was Symmachus; column 5 was the Septuagint; and column 6 was Theodotion; occasionally, there were seventh and eighth columns. Only a few fragments of the Hexapla have been preserved.

Ḥezekiah **1.** son of Ahaz; king of Judah (r. 715–687 B.C.E.); 2 Kings praises him because of his cultic reforms. In an Assyrian campaign against Judah during Ḥezekiah's reign, the Assyrian general Sennacherib reduced most of Judah but did not capture Jerusalem (701 B.C.E.). 2 Baruch 63 says that God spared Jerusalem because of Ḥezekiah's righteousness and wisdom, contrasted with the wickedness of the Judahile king, Manasseh (chap. 64). The two kings are also contrasted in the Martyrdom of Isaiah 1–5, a Christian work that may have been based on a Jewish legend. In 2 Kings 20:16–19 the Babylonian exile is blamed on Ḥezekiah's political involvement with Babylon.

2. Palestinian amora active in the third century C.E.; the son of Ḥiyya; sometimes referred to as Ḥezekiah beRibbi. Born in Babylonia, he was praised along with his father and brother, Judah, for restoring the Torah (B. Sukkot 20a).

3. Palestinian amora active in Caesaria at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Jeremiah

Ḥezekiah b. Ḥiyya *see* ḤEZEKIAH

hidden furnishings and vessels sacred equipment hidden by God in a time of trouble and preserved until the end-time. Legends dealing with this topic are found in both Judean and Samaritan tradition.

According to 2 Maccabees 2:4–8, before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah hid "the tent and the ark and the altar of incense" in a cave on Mount Nebo (cf. Deut. 32:49), where they would remain "until God gathers his people together again and shows his mercy." A similar story appears in the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah 3:8–19 and 2 Baruch 6:7–9, where the the sacred equipment is consigned to the earth.

According to Samaritan tradition, God, with the help of the Samaritan priest Uzzi, hid the sacred vessels on Mount Gerizim when the priest Eli moved the sanctuary from Gerizim to Shiloh. The vessels will be recovered when the messianic Taheb arrives to initiate the Period of Divine Favor (Rautah).

According to the fourteenth-century chronicler Abul Fath, the priest Eli sought to usurp the priesthood from the descendants of Pinḥas. Eli withdrew to Shiloh and recreated a sanctuary to which he lured many followers. God, angered by Eli's action, vacated the sanctuary at Gerizim and left all in blackness. The high priest Uzzi, who had remained at Gerizim, placed the sacred vestments and vessels of gold and silver into a newly revealed cave, sealed it, and placed an inscription on the seal. Returning the next morning, Uzzi found no trace of the cave nor the inscription. According to the Samaritans, this was the beginning of the age of Divine Disfavor, the Fanutah.

Josephus (*Ant.* 18.4.1–2) tells a story regarding the sacred vessels in New Testament times. An unnamed Samaritan leader summoned an armed group of Samaritans to Mount Gerizim where he promised to show them the hidden sacred vessels. For unknown reasons, perhaps reflecting the form of the tradition in 2 Maccabees, Josephus ascribed the original hiding of the vessels to Moses rather than the priest Uzzi. The group assembled at a nearby village, Tirathaba, and prepared to ascend the mountain. Pilate, the governor, sent a military force to prevent access to the mountain. The troops slaughtered many Samaritans outright and captured others whom they later executed. The Samaritans complained to the Roman authorities and convinced them that they had not assembled to revolt. As a consequence, Pilate was recalled from his post in 36 C.E.

ḥiddush (Heb.) in Rabbinic culture, new point or insight, given as a comment on a classical text, often ingenious and sometimes hairsplitting

Ḥidka Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E., mentioned a few times in Tannaitic statements in the Babylonian Talmud. His name appears in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shabbat 16:3, 15d) as Hundakas.

hieros gamos (Gr., sacred marriage) Sacred marriage is believed by many scholars to have been practiced in Mesopotamia. In this rite, the king enacted the marriage of god and goddess with either the queen or a priestess. Some have suggested that it was also practiced in ancient Israel. Sacred marriage imagery is often used in mystical texts.

hieros logos (Gr., sacred word, or sacred saying) It is used in reference to divine sayings or utterances. Many of the prophetic passages of the Hebrew Bible are oracles placed in the mouth of God and qualify as holy words. Thus, the expression is often the equivalent of "revelation."

high priest *see* PRIESTS, CHIEF

Ḥilfa Palestinian amora of the third century C.E.; referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as Ilfa; a student of Judah the Patriarch and Judah b. Ḥiyya. Because of poverty, Ḥilfa and Yoḥanan determined to go into business. Yoḥanan quickly returned to the academy, becoming its head. Upon his return, Ḥilfa was chastised for forsaking study, despite the fact that he, instead of Yoḥanan, could have headed the academy. In response he proved his complete knowledge of Tannaitic teachings (B. Taanit 21a).

Hillel II son of Judah the Patriarch; a Tannaitic authority and patriarch active in the mid-fourth century C.E. Hillel II is known for fixing the calendar so that determination of the date no longer depended upon the physical sighting of the new moon. He did this in response to the Roman government's limiting of the rights of the patriarch to proclaim new moons.

Hillel and Shammai, Houses of (Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai) academies developed by and existing for some time after the deaths of the legal scholars Hillel and Shammai. These schools of rabbinic thought flourished in the first century C.E. and were known for their foundational role in the development of rabbinic thought. After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., the House of Hillel was known for its ascendancy over the House of Shammai, its chief disputant. The Talmud attributes the acceptance of the Hillelites' views as authoritative to heavenly intervention, in the form of a *bat kol*. The academy at Usha announced that in all matters the law follows the House of Hillel (Y. Berakhot 1:7, 3b). This contrasted with earlier practice, in which the views of the House of Shammai were deemed authoritative.

The Mishnah and Talmud attribute to the House of Hillel the proclivity to take the more lenient position. Mishnah Eduyyot chapter 4 and other talmudic sources illustrate this norm by pointing out the few occasions in which, to the contrary, the Hillelites have the stringent view. According to the Talmud, the tendency of Hillel's academy towards moderation was shaped by the personality of Hillel himself, who is recalled as a kind, gentle, and accommodating person. By contrast, members of the House of Shammai took on the characteristics of their teacher, Shammai, who is know for intemperance and severity (B. Berakhot 60a; B. Shabbat 31a).

Contrary to the talmudic generalization, the Hillelites do not consistently have the lenient position. The rabbinic literature itself identifies fifty instances, 20 percent of the corpus, in which the Hillelites rule stringently. This suggests that the Talmud's generalizing about the Houses and its attributing of populist motives to the House of Hillel, in particular, represent the attempt of later rabbinic Judaism to ascribe favorable traits to the group it promotes with presenting the foundation of rabbinic law.

The disputes of the Houses of Hillel and Shammai comprise the largest corpus of materials cited in the names of authorities active prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. These materials are preserved in highly formalized literary constructions, generally consisting of a heading stating the legal problem followed by brief rulings that usually appear as single balanced words or short phrases. Frequently the houses state exactly opposite opinions, often distinguished only by the addition of the word "no" in one of the statements. The view of the House of Shammai always appears first in the more authoritative position. In a number of instances, these basic disputes are followed by debates in which each house explains and argues its position. In these debates, the House of Shammai always has the last word, again suggesting that when the material was first written down, its view was considered authoritative.

Talmudic stories about the Houses of Hillel and Shammai derive from the period of the House of Hillel's ascendancy and offer explanations for the House of Shammai's early authority. These stories refer to the Shammaites' violent behavior and occasional outnumbering of the members of the House of Hillel. It thus appears that the disputes attributed to the houses were given literary form in a period of the House of Shammai's predominance. When the House of Hillel gained greater influence, rabbinic masters produced stories that explained both the earlier and later circumstance. Most important, by positively characterizing Hillel and the academy that followed him, the rabbis offered a strong polemic in favor of their leadership, seen as founded on the views of a populist and sympathetic academic class. *See also* HILLEL THE ELDER.

Hillel the Elder legal scholar in Jerusalem at the time of Herod the Great, in the first century B.C.E.; founder of a school of rabbinic studies and recognized by later Judaism as a central ancestor of rabbinic Judaism. Born in Babylonia, Hillel went to the Land of Israel to study biblical exposition and is credited with developing a system of hermeneutics. He and Shammai are the final pair listed in M. Abot's chain of tradition.

In light of Hillel's importance in the history of

rabbinism, much has been written concerning his life and work. Dependent upon statements and stories recorded in rabbinic documents compiled one hundred to six hundred years after Hillel's death, our image of this master may or may not represent the actual individual. Indeed, to the extent that specific biographical materials appear primarily in the latest rabbinic documents, it seems likely that they are the creations of a mature rabbinism interested in fleshing out the image of its earliest forebears.

The earliest materials ascribed to Hillel are legal dicta and disputes, found in the Mishnah and Tosefta. Four areas of concern appear to derive from the earliest layers of rabbinic law and thus may be authentic to Hillel, as follows. (1) *Cultic cleanness.* Hillel argues that once a woman finds that she is menstruating, she is to be deemed unclean retroactively, back to the last point at which she was known to be clean. (2) *Agricultural tithes.* Hillel disputes with Shammai the quantity of dough one may make without incurring liability to dough-offering. (3) *Animal offerings.* In one of the best known of Hillel's legal debates, he argues that the paschal lamb may be sacrificed on the Sabbath. In talmudic sources, Hillel's treatment of this issue leads to his being appointed patriarch. Additionally, Hillel dictates that contrary to Shammai's position, one should lay hands on a whole offering. (4) *Economic rules.* Hillel rules that the buyer of a home within a walled city may not hide from the seller to avoid the right of repurchase mandated by scripture (Lev. 25:29). At the same time, Hillel stands behind a method of circumventing the scripture's Sabbatical remission of debts. Finally, Hillel proscribes trading in futures, which he deems a method of earning forbidden interest.

Unlike the legal statements, which appear in the earliest layer of rabbinic law, moral sayings and apophthegms are attributed to Hillel primarily in a later period, represented by M. Abot and the midrashic and talmudic literatures. In M. Abot, Hillel preaches conformity to the mores and rules of the community, condemns gossip, and impugns unfair judging of others. While praising study, piety, and patience, he maligns the body and things of this world.

A marked increase in the telling of stories about Hillel's life and character occurs in the latest documents of the rabbinic corpus. Here, we find a chronology of Hillel's life and anecdotes that reveal his personality. In many of these, Shammai functions as a foil, personalizing negative traits, just as Hillel represents the good. The overall picture is of a pious individual, who, for instance, studied Torah every day even as a poor man, giving half of the little he earned to the doorkeeper at the house of study. Two contradictory stories explain his move from Babylonia to Palestine. One holds that he went as a learned man in order to answer certain questions of law (Y. Pesaḥim 6:1). The other reports that he did not study at all until he arrived in the Land of Israel, at forty years of age. After his arrival, he studied for forty years, served as patriarch for forty years, and, like Moses, died at the age of one hundred twenty.

The rabbinic literature preserves a number of well-known stories that epitomize Hillel's wisdom and approach to Judaism and universal issues regarding the nature of God and humanity. Emblematic is his statement at M. Abot 1:12, enjoining all Israelites to "be disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving people and drawing them near to the Torah." His broader understanding of the significance of Jewish thought and practice is revealed in the story found at B. Shabbat 31a, which recounts Hillel's response to a potential proselyte to Judaism. As is frequently the case in these stories, Hillel's personality—a model for all Israelites—is contrasted with that of his contemporary, Shammai:

There was another case of a Gentile who came before Shammai. He said to him, "Convert me on the stipulation that you teach me the entire Torah while I am standing on one foot." He drove him off with the building cubit that he had in his hand. He came before Hillel: "Convert me." He said to him, "What is hateful to you, to your fellow don't do. That is the entirety of the Torah; everything else is elaboration. So go, study."

ḥillul haShem (Heb.) in Rabbinic Judaism, profanation of God's name; doing something to bring disrepute either on Jews or on Judaism, particularly among non-Jews. Three deeds that one must not do even at the penalty of death are public profanation of the divine name, murder, or a forbidden sexual act.

ḥillul Shabbat (Heb.) in Rabbinic Judaism, the profanation of the Sabbath, for example, by an act of servile labor or a statement of a secular character on the holy day

hipparch Greek name for a commander of a cavalry troop. The term derives from the words *hippos* (horse) and *archon* (ruler or officer). The troop itself was called a *hipparchos* in Greek or an *ala* in Latin (from the word for "wing"). Under the Romans, an *ala* was made up of about five hundred mounted soldiers, commanded by a prefect.

Hippolytus bishop and antipope (rival pope) in Rome in the early third century C.E. (d. 235 C.E.). Although none of his writings is specifically about the Jews, a number of them are still interesting because of a certain Jewish connection. His was one of the first attempts to work out a way of calculating Easter in advance. Up until his time Christians were dependent upon the Jewish calendar if they wished to know beforehand when Easter would fall in a particular year. As it turned out, the sixteen-year cycle that he developed was too inaccurate to be practical. Hippolytus also wrote a world chronicle, which extended from creation to the year 234 C.E., with only a fraction of it still preserved in its original Greek, though the whole is available in a Latin translation. It draws heavily on the Bible and also on Julius Africanus, whose work has been largely lost but which may have depended on Jewish sources. A treatise ascribed to him, *Against the Jews,* is now thought to be a pseudepigraph. He also wrote a commentary on Daniel, making use of the so-called Theodotion text. It is evident that his version of the text had the deuterocanonical additions.

Ḥisda Babylonian amora active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a student of Rab and, later, Ḥuna, in the academy at Sura, which, after the death of Rab Judah, he headed for ten years. Together, he and Ḥuna are referred to as "the pious ones of Babylonia" (B. Taanit 23b).

Historia Augusta *see* SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

historiography the study or art of writing history. It used to be argued that the first historians were the writers of the Hebrew Bible, such as the authors of the Deuteronomistic history (Deut. to 2 Kings) and the Chronicles. Although some still maintain this, others regard these biblical writings as only historylike, with the title of history proper reserved for the works of the Greek writers from Herodotus on. What is not in doubt is that Jewish history writing reached a quite respectable level of development during the Graeco-Roman period. A number of Jewish histories are known among the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers. These include Demetrius, who wrote on chronographical matters, and Eupolemus, who covered the kings of Israel and Judah. Both 1 and 2 Maccabees are two, somewhat different, histories of the Maccabean revolt. The main figure is Josephus, however, whose writings represent proper, full-fledged histories, modeled on the Graeco-Roman histories and fully the equal of most of them. Demetrius, Eupolemus, and the first part of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* cover biblical times; however, much of Maccabees and Josephus's *The Jewish War* are devoted to contemporary history, as evidently was the writing of Justus of Tiberias.

history meaningful events, which form a pattern and therefore deliver God's message and judgment. The upshot is that every event, each one seen on its own, must be interpreted on its own terms, not as part of a pattern but as significant in itself. What happens is singular; therefore an event is to be noted and points toward lessons to be drawn for where things are heading and why. If things do not happen at random, they also do not form indifferent patterns of merely secular, social facts. What happens is important because of the meaning contained therein. That meaning is to be discovered and revealed through the narrative of what has happened. Thus for all Judaisms until the Mishnah, the writing of history serves as a form or medium of prophecy. Just as prophecy takes up the interpretation of historical events, so historians retell these events in the frame of prophetic theses. And out of the two—historiography as a mode of mythic reflection, prophecy as a means of mythic construction—emerges a picture of future history, that is, what is going to happen. That picture, framed in terms of visions and supernatural symbols, in the end focuses, as much as do prophecy and history writing, upon the here and now. History consists of a sequence of one-time events, each of them singular, all of them meaningful. These events move from a beginning somewhere to an end at a foreordained goal. History moves toward eschatology, the end of history. The teleology of Israel's life finds its definition in eschatological fulfillment. Eschatology therefore constitutes not a choice within teleology, but the definition of teleology. In other words, a theory of the goal and purpose of things (teleology) is shaped solely by appeal to the account of the end of time (eschatology).

History done in this way, then, sits enthroned as the queen of theological science. Events do not conform to patterns. They form patterns. What happens matters because events bear meaning, constitute history. Now, as is clear, such a conception of mythic and apocalyptic history comes to realization in the writing of history in the prophetic pattern or in the apocalyptic framework, both of them mythic modes of organizing events. We have every right to expect such a view of matters to lead people to write books of one sort rather than another. In the case of Judaism, obviously, we should expect people to write history books that teach lessons or apocalyptic books that through pregnant imagery predict the future and record the

direction and end of time. And in antiquity that kind of writing was commonplace among all kinds of groups and characteristic of all sorts of Judaisms but one. And that is the Judaism of the Mishnah. Here we have a Judaism that does not appeal to history as a sequence of one-time events, each of which bears meaning on its own. What the Mishnah has to say about history is quite different, and, consequently, the Mishnah does not conform in any way to the scriptural pattern of representing, and sorting out, events: history, myth, apocalypse.

The first difference appears right at the surface. The Mishnah contains no sustained narrative whatsoever, very few tales, and no large-scale conception of history. It organizes its system in nonhistorical and socially unspecific terms: there is no effort to set its content into a historical context, such as a particular time or place, a circumstance defined by important events, or any of the laws of the Mishnah. Instead of narrative, which, as in Exodus, spills over into case law, the Mishnah gives descriptions of how things are done in general and universally, that is, descriptive laws. Instead of reflection on the meaning and end of history, it constructs a world in which history plays little part. Instead of narratives full of didactic meaning, the Mishnah provides lists of events in order to expose the traits that they share and thus the rules to which they conform. The definitive components of a historical-eschatological system of Judaism—description of events as one-time happenings, analysis of the meaning and end of events, and interpretation of the end and future of singular events—which are commonplace constituents of all other systems of Judaism (including nascent Christianity) of ancient times find no place in the Mishnah's system of Judaism. Thus the Mishnah finds no precedent in prior Israelite writings for its mode of dealing with things that happen. The Mishnah's way of identifying happenings as consequential and describing them, its way of analyzing those events it chooses as bearing meaning, its interpretation of the future to which significant events point—all those in context are unique. In form, the Mishnah represents its system outside of all historical framework. Yet to say that the Mishnah's system is ahistorical could not be more wrong. The Mishnah presents a different kind of history. It revises the inherited conception of history and reshapes that conception to fit into its own system.

When we consider the power of the biblical myth, the force of its eschatological and messianic interpretation of history, the effect of apocalypse, we must find astonishing the capacity of the Mishnah's framers to think in a different way about the same things. As teleology constructed outside the eschatological mode of thought in the setting of the biblical world of ancient Israel, the Mishnah proves amazing. By "history," as the opening discussion makes clear, is meant not merely events, but how events are so organized and narrated as to teach lessons (for the Mishnah's framers, theological lessons; for us, religious, historical, or social lessons), reveal patterns, tell us what we must do and why, and what will happen to us tomorrow. In that context, some events contain richer lessons than others; the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem teaches more than does a crop failure, and being kidnapped into slavery teaches more than does stubbing one's toe. Furthermore, lessons taught by events—"history" in the didactic sense—follow a progression from trivial and private to consequential and public.

Ḥiyya rabbi at the end of the second century C.E., counted as both a Tanna and an Amora. He appears in disagreement with mishnaic rabbis but is cited in the Talmuds as a talmudic authority. Born near Sura, he moved to the Land of Israel late in life, living in Tiberias and supporting himself as a merchant. Ḥiyya was renowned for his knowledge of mishnaic rules. Zeira (B. Ḥullin 141a–b) states that any Tannaitic ruling not taught in the academies of Ḥiyya or Hoshayah is untrustworthy. He is also known as Ḥiyya Rabbah (Ḥiyya the Elder).

Ḥiyya b. Abba Amoraic authority active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. Born in Babylonia of a priestly family, he moved to the Land of Israel, where he was a student of Yoḥanan and Eleazar. B. Berakhot 38b speaks of the precision with which he reviewed and transmitted his teachers' words.

Ḥiyya b. Ashi Babylonian amora, student of Rab, active at Sura in the third century C.E.

Ḥiyya b. Gamda Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a student of Yose b. Saul. He transmitted sayings in the name of the collegium of sages, understood to represent the last of the Tannaitic authorities (see, e.g., B. Pesaḥim 64a).

Ḥiyya b. Joseph Palestinian amora active in the third century C.E.; born in Babylonia and later a student of Yoḥanan in the Land of Israel. In the talmudic literature, he frequently appears in dispute with Yoḥanan.

Ḥiyya b. Rab eldest and most distinguished of the many sons of Rab; active in the third century C.E.

He did not, however, succeed his father as head of the academy at Sura; that post went instead to his father's student, Ḥuna.

hodaah (Heb., admission) concession by a debtor as to a debt or by a defendant as to facts undertaken formally in court or in a document. If one concedes part of a claim, an oath is required only for the remainder of the claim.

Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns, abbreviated as 1QH) the first of the manuscripts of a Hebrew liturgical work found in Cave 1, Qumran, in 1947, and published by E. L. Sukenik in 1954. This manuscript, 1QH, is the largest of the Hodayot manuscripts, consisting of eighteen very damaged columns. Subsequently, two other fragments from the same Cave 1 manuscript were found, 1Q35:1–2, and in 1952 six more Hodayot manuscripts (4QH^{a-e}, pap4QH^{f}) were found in Cave 4. In addition, five other manuscripts were found that resemble the Hodayot in style, but do not overlap with 1QH. The oldest of these Cave 4 manuscripts dates from c. 100 B.C.E.; thus the date of composition for the Hodayot cannot be later than the second half of the second century B.C.E.

The Hodayot (which means "thanksgivings") is a collection of liturgical compositions (hymns) united by style and themes. The majority of the hymns begin with the phrase "I thank thee, O Lord," and continue with expressions of thanksgiving and praise to God. The hymns are heavily dependent on the Hebrew Bible's Book of Psalms in imagery, language, and vocabulary, and they resemble in form those biblical psalms called individual thanksgiving psalms.

The major themes of the Hodayot are salvation and knowledge: "I thank thee, O Lord, for thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit, and from the hell of Abaddon thou hast raised me up to everlasting height" (Vermeš, *DSSE,* 5:1–4); "I thank thee, O Lord, for thou hast enlightened me through thy truth" (Vermeš, *DSSE,* 12:1–2). There is nothing unusual in these themes, but the Hodayot are clearly marked as sectarian by their use of motifs and language that has been recognized in other Qumran compositions as sectarian. Salvation is attained only in the Community, and knowledge is the special brand of knowledge known only to the members of the Community. Further, there is a strong sense of predestination in the hymns: God has chosen those who will receive salvation. A strict dualism emerges in the Hodayot, particularly an ethical dualism; this dualism is vividly portrayed in the metaphor of the two pregnancies (Vermeš, *DSSE,* 4); one pregnancy results in the birth of a "Marvelous Mighty Counselor," the other in wickedness. In addition, the hymns contain a reference to the controversy concerning the proper calendar, a mention of a "plant" that represents the beginning of the sect (cf. DAMASCUS DOCUMENT), and references to "those who seek smooth things" (cf. 4QpeshNah). These clearly mark the composition as sectarian.

Several of the hymns in the Hodayot have been claimed by various scholars as having been written by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. These are hymns 1, 2, 7–11 (numbered according to Vermeš, *DSSE*). These hymns are characterized by an exceptionally strong authorial personality; the author claims to be the recipient of special revelation by God, to be the leader of a community in which he acts as a father, and, especially, to have been persecuted both inside and outside the sect by others who challenge his authority, particularly by the leader of "those who seek smooth things" (identified in 4QpeshNah as the Pharisees). These features may point to authorship by the Teacher, but there is no final proof.

Ḥol haMoed (Heb., intermediate days) the days between the principal holy days of the festivals of Passover and Tabernacles, that is, between the first and second and seventh and eighth days of those festival celebrations. On those days it is permitted to do only light work, not to engage in heavy labor; it is further forbidden to do work on those days that are principally important after the festival season itself.

Holofernes Nebuchadnezzar's Assyrian general, whose siege of Bethulia ends when he is beguiled, besotted, and then beheaded by Judith. His head, returned in a food bag to Bethulia, causes his erstwhile compatriot Achior to faint. Possible models include Sisera (Judg. 4–5), the Seleucid Nicanor (1 Macc. 7:26–50), or the usurper Holophernes of Cappadocia (Diodorus 31.19.2–3).

Holy of Holies the area of the Jerusalem Temple regarded as having the highest degree of holiness, accessible only to the High Priest once a year, on the Day of Atonement. According to rabbinic sources, the Holy of Holies was demarcated by ornate veils (M. Shekalim 8:4–5; M. Yoma 5:1) and contained a stone on which, presumably, the original Ark of the Covenant rested.

Holy of Holies, representation of the depiction of the Ark of the Covenant. After the destruction of the First Temple, the Ark of the Covenant disappeared and the Holy of Holies in the Second Temple was an empty space. Its depiction by the Jews was in two ways, one as an ark and the other as a

group of holy objects from the nave, the room in front of the Holy of Holies.

The earliest depiction symbolizing the Holy of Holies is the menorah on the coins of Antigonus in the first century B.C.E. The most complete depiction is the one that was found on two pieces of plaster in the Jewish Quarter, under the floor of a building that was destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. The dating of these fragments can be pushed back to the end of the Hasmonean reign or early Herodian period in first century B.C.E. Here the central object is the seven-branched Jewish menorah, with flames on top and a triangle base. To the right there is a description of an object standing on short legs, suggesting the table of showbread. Above it, the left lower corner of another object is visable, suggesting the golden altar. To the left of the menorah is another part of an object, suggesting a stepping stone on which the priest stood while fixing the menorah flames.

All these objects are mentioned in the Bible as placed in the nave, in front of the Holy of Holies, with the menorah on the left (south), the table on the right (north), and the incense altar above and in front of the curtain (Exod. 26:35, 30:6). It is not impossible that this representation decorated the walls for an important priest who wanted to show his holy furniture or, as has been suggested, to teach his young sons.

The table of showbread and the menorah are together in another scene at the Arch of Titus. It is not accidental that the artist chose these two objects. They were the most important holy objects of them all, as described by Josephus in the triumphal parade of Titus in Rome. The table of showbread is depicted again on the coins from the second Jewish revolt. The table stands inside a building that depicts the Temple. There is some similarity between the table on the coin and the fragment from the Jewish Quarter. According to some scholars, the table and the Temple on Simon Bar Kosiba coins express the aspiration for the liberation of the Temple from Gentile hands. From that time on, the table of showbread and the altar disapeared from Jewish art and symbolism and were replaced by the depiction of the Holy Ark.

One of the earliest appearances of the depiction of the ark is in the frescoes of the synagogue at Dura-Europos, dating to the third century C.E. The Holy Ark is seen a few times in its wandering in the desert or in its return from captivity by the Philistines. The ark is depicted as a small Roman-period temple or an aediculae, similar to the Holy Ark in the synagogue itself where the Torah scrolls were placed. Many other mosaic floors from Roman and Byzantine period synagogues were decorated with depictions of the Holy Ark, such as Beth Alpha, Hammath-Tiberias, Beth Shean, and others. The same depiction was found on architectural elements in synagogues such as Chorazin, Peqiin, and others. The Holy Ark at the synagogue was designed in a similar way and was a symbol and a hope for the Holy of Holies at the Temple.

holy ones (from Heb./Aram.: *kadash/kedash,* to be holy, i.e., separate) a major generic term for the inhabitants of the heavenly throneroom, emphasizing the quality that permits them to stand in the presence of the Holy One. 1 Enoch 1–36 and 92–105 emphasize this through their use of the divine title, "the *Great* Holy One." Along with Daniel 4:13, 17, 1 Enoch also defines a class of these "holy ones" as "watchers and holy ones," namely, holy ones who serve as "watchers." According to Daniel 7, the one like a son of man, a high angel possibly to be identified with Michael, receives authority and kingship in behalf of his colleagues, the holy ones, who in turn are the heavenly patrons of Israel. 1 Enoch 39:4–5 attests a tendency to ascribe this angelic name to the righteous of Israel, although the idea of Israel as a holy nation is very old and is logically tied to its identity as a kingdom of priests (i.e., people who serve in God's presence, Exod. 19:6). Paul capitalizes on the extended use of "holy ones," repeatedly applying it to the members of his congregations (usually translated "saints" in modern versions). *See also* ANGEL; WATCHERS.

Holy Spirit a term used for the various ways in which God's power was perceived to be active and influential in the world. It eventually came to be used in Christian thought as a term for one of the three persons in the divine Godhead, expressed in post-New Testament trinitarian creeds as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. The Hebrew term *ruaḥ,* found nearly 380 times in the Hebrew Bible, basically relates to blowing or breathing and can be translated as either "wind" or "spirit." When used of the living beings, *ruaḥ* refers to the essence of life and vitality in both human beings and animals that is manifested through movement and breathing (Gen. 2:7, 6:17, 7:15; Num. 16:22; Ezek. 10:17). Just as "spirit" was considered the essence of human life, so analogously the term "spirit" was used of the presence, activity and power of God, that is, characteristics that demonstrate that God is truly a "living God" (Deut. 5:26; Josh. 3:10; 1 Sam. 7:26; Isa. 37:4; Dan. 6:20; Matt. 16:16; Rev. 7:2). The divine spirit is

referred to frequently in both the Old Testament as "the Spirit of God" or "the Spirit of the Lord." The phrase "Holy Spirit" itself occurs just three times in the Hebrew Bible (Ps. 51:11; Isa. 63:10, 11). The adjective "holy" (a frequent attribute of God in other contexts; see Lev. 11:44–45, 19:2, 21:8; Josh. 24:19; 1 Sam. 2:2; Isa. 6:3), suggests that God's spirit is a force that moves his people Israel, both individually and collectively, to obey the will of God as revealed through the Torah and the prophets. In several instances, individuals said to be "filled with the Spirit of God" manifest this filling through exceptional wisdom or skill (Exod. 31:3, 35:31). In some of the earlier biblical narratives, particularly Judges and Samuel, the Spirit of God is depicted as a powerful divine force that "comes upon," "falls upon" or "seizes" people, enabling them to win military engagements and perform astonishing feats of strength (Judg. 3:10, 6:34, 11:29, 14:6, 19, 15:14; 1 Sam. 11:6). Related to this is the notion that the Spirit of God was bestowed upon early kings of Israel when they were anointed (1 Sam. 10:1–8, 16:13–14). In the context of the experience of possession trance, the spirit of God is said to "come upon," "fall upon" or "seize" a person who then becomes a prophetic channel for divine revelation (1 Sam. 10:6, 10; 2 Chron. 20:14, 24:20; Ezek. 11:5). There are also references to the experience of vision trance, apparently involving out-of-body experiences, in which prophets are thought to be physically transported to other places by the Spirit of the Lord (1 Kings 18:12; 2 Kings 2:16; Ezek. 37:1; Acts 8:39).

In the New Testament, the terms "Spirit of God" and "Spirit of the Lord" occur only occasionally, while the most common designations are "Spirit" and "Holy Spirit," which are used in a variety of contexts. Early Christians designated the divine agency that spoke through the authors of the Hebrew Bible, such as David and Isaiah, as the Holy Spirit (Matt. 12:36; Acts 1:16, 4:25, 28:25; 2 Pet. 1:21; Heb. 3:7). Similarly, prophetic activity among early Christians is attributed to temporary manifestions of the Holy Spirit (Mark 13:11; Acts 13:2, 4, 21:11; 1 Cor. 12:3; Rev. 2:7, 11, 17). There was a widespread belief that God was present within individual believers, and this continuing divine presence was designated the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5, 8:9; 1 Thess. 4:8), the Spirit of God (Rom. 15:19; 1 Cor. 3:16). The conception of the Comforter or Paraclete, a special term for the Holy Spirit in the Gospel of John, as the alter ego of Jesus contributed toward the developing conception of the Holy Spirit as a divine person (John 14:26, 20:22). Baptism is frequently identified as the ritual moment when the Holy Spirit is thought to dwell in the individual (Matt. 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33; Eph. 1:3), and it is in this context that the pretrinitarian formula in Matthew 28:19 refers to baptizing converts "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." *See also* SPIRIT OF TRUTH; SPIRITS, TWO.

homosexuality Leviticus 20:13 names sexual intercourse between men a capital offense (see also Lev. 18:22); lesbian relationships are not mentioned, perhaps because the law code viewed sexual behavior as requiring a penis. Some scholars argue that the law was intended to combat cultic homosexual prostitution, but evidence for such a practice—Deuteronomy 23:17–18 is often cited—has been challenged. The reference to capital punishment might be viewed in the context of other behaviors so condemned by Leviticus: those who curse parents and those who consult mediums. Romans 1:26–27, appealing to nature, extends the condemnation of homosexuality to lesbians; similarly direct is Pseudo-Phocylides 190–192: "Do not transgress with unlawful sex the limits set by nature. For even animals are not pleased by intercourse of male with male. Let women not imitate the sexual role of men." Romans 1:26–27 is frequently explained as a condemnation of pederasty, but the reference to women compromises the thesis. Two other probable references in early Christian writing to homosexual practice, 1 Corinthians 6:9 (to "soft men" or the penetrated partner) and 1 Timothy 1:10 (to the penetrating partner), appear in vice lists. Condemnation of homosexual activities (some specifically designated as anal intercourse between men) appears in 2 Enoch 10 and 34, as well as, extensively, in both the Sibylline Oracles and Pseudo-Phocylides.

The rabbis deemed the biblical prohibition against homosexuality to be one of the Seven Noachide Commandments, which apply to all nations of the earth (B. Sanhedrin 57b–58a). Further, like Romans, rabbinic law explicitly extends to women the biblical prohibition against homosexuality, forbidding sex between women under the general prohibition against following the abhorrent practices of the Canaanites (Sifrei Aḥarei Mot Parashah 8). At the same time, at least as far as Jews were concerned, the rabbis apparently saw homosexuality and lesbianism as almost unthinkable and only infrequently referred to such practices. While Mishnah Kiddushin 4:14, for instance, prohibits two unmarried men from sleeping in the same cloak, Babylonian Talmud Kiddushin 82a

rejects the idea that this might lead to homosexual intercourse, citing a statement of Judah that Israelites are not suspect of engaging in sodomy.

Ḥoni the Circle Maker pious wonder-worker of the first century B.C.E. During a period of drought, he drew a circle, stood in it, and refused to move until God produced rain of the exact quantity needed for the crops (M. Taanit 3:8). Josephus (*Ant.* 14:22) reports an abbreviated version of this story and continues by describing fighting between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II that led to Ḥoni's murder. B. Taanit 23a, by contrast, says that Ḥoni slept for seventy years, awoke, and, unable to convince anyone that he was Ḥoni, prayed for death and died.

Honorius, Flavius (384–423 C.E.) western Roman emperor (r. 395–423). He was the younger son of Theodosius, the last Roman emperor to rule both the eastern and the western halves of the empire. Theodosius gave his older son, Arcadius, control of the east and Honorius control of the west. Father and sons were united in their unrelenting oppression of paganism and superstition, but eventually both brothers became pawns of advisers and generals. Honorius and the west were controlled by the Vandal Stilicho. The eastern and western empires were in constant conflict with each other and both also were beset by internal struggles. Eutropius, Arcadius's adviser, convinced the Visigothic leader Alaric to go west, and for a decade Alaric attacked the west and forced Honorius to seek security at Ravenna. Stilicho was brought down by an internal plot and assassinated in 408, opening the way for Visigothic victory in the west; the Visigoths sacked Rome in 410. When Honorius's half-sister Placidia was taken captive and was married to Alaric's successor, Athaulh, the union symbolized the barbarization of the western government. Amid much turmoil, Honorius did not oppose those with real power and thus survived and died from natural causes in 423.

Horace (65–8 B.C.E.) Roman poet of the Augustan age. He wrote a large number of poetic works in his collections, *Satires* and *Letters*. He makes some brief references to Jews. In one satire, he mentions that some Romans will not do business on the "thirtieth day, the Sabbath" because of the Jews. Although the exact meaning of this phrase is uncertain, it suggests that some Romans respected Jewish customs, even if in a superstitious manner. Horace attests the fact of conversion to Judaism and even proselytization when he states that his band of poets would, "like the Jews," make the reader one of their number.

Horayot Mishnah tractate on the problem of collective sin, that is, erroneous decisions made by the instruments of government, as distinct from those made by individuals. Collective expiation of guilt is effected through public institutions of government and instruction; the explication is focused on Leviticus 4. The tractate defines the offering presented because of an erroneous decision by a court (chap. 1); the offering presented by a high priest who has unwittingly done that which is contrary to the commandments of the Torah; the ruler (chap. 2), the individual, the anointed priest, and the community (chaps. 2–3) and offerings required for inadvertent sin from each class.

Horeb, Mount an unidentified mountain. By the Second Temple period, Mount Horeb was equated with Mount Sinai, and the two names were used synonymously for the mountain of God. This assimilation of the two mountains to one another reflects a harmonization of those Pentateuchal traditions that use Horeb exclusively with those that use Horeb and Sinai indiscriminately.

From the Persian period onward, Horeb and Sinai are often treated as two different names for the same mountain of God on which Moses received the Ten Commandments and at which the Deity made the covenant with the Israelites. Ezra received his order from YHWH, who was on Horeb, to go to the Israelites. At the beginning of the second century B.C.E., Ben Sira takes a negative view of the events at the sacred mountain. He uses parallelism to suggest that the Israelites were rebuked at Sinai and were informed of their punishment at Horeb. Although this would seem to suggest he viewed the two mountains as different, the parallelism in the verse indicates that he may have thought of them as one and the same. But not everyone treated them as identical. As late as the fourth century C.E., Eusebius suggested that Sinai and Horeb were two different mountains.

Hormizd I Sassanid emperor (r. 272–273 C.E.); also known as Hormizd-Ardashir. In 262 C.E., Shapur I appointed him king of Armenia. The only thing that is certain about his rule is that he waged a war against the Sogians. He seems to have appointed Katir as high priest of Ohrmazda, beginning the latter's rise to power and decreasing Mani's support among the royal house. However, Hormizd did not prevent Mani from preaching in public. His name also appears as Ohrmazda, and on his coins, images of Mithra and Anahita are replaced by images of Ohrmazda.

Hormizd II Sassanid emperor (r. 301–309 C.E.). His father, Naresh, abdicated in his favor in 301. By

the end of his reign, the Romans were entrenched in Armenia and in command of the Adiabenian highlands, the most direct invasion route into central Babylonia. There are no reports of Christian martyrdoms, and this appears to have been a period of stability and peace for the Church. There are no records of anti-Jewish acts during his reign. One source claims that he supported the Mazdean clergy, and another states that he did not listen to the magi.

Hormizd III Sassanid emperor (r. 457–459 C.E.). Upon the death of his father, Yazdagird II, Hormizd III had to contend with Peroz for the throne. Hormizd was favored by his father, and he ruled from Ctesiphon, while Peroz was made governor of Seistan. Peroz sought help from the Hephtalites, and with their help, he eventually defeated and captured Hormizd, won over his troops, and in 459 was established at Ctesiphon.

Hormizd IV Sassanid emperor (r. 579–590 C.E.). He declined to follow the magi's wishes that he persecute the Jews and the Christians. Like his father, he believed that a large empire should allow diversity of opinions and ways of living. He engaged in wars against Rome, the Arabs, and the Turks. In 588, his general, Bahram, suffered a major defeat at Lazica. Hormizd's public insult to his general caused the latter to revolt against the emperor. Eventually, Bahram, supported by a palace revolt, deposed Hormizd in 590 in favor of his son, Khusro II.

horn In addition to the literal meaning of a projection from an animal's head, in the Hebrew Bible, "horn" (Heb.: *keren*) can denote an object that holds liquids, especially oil for anointing (cf. 1 Sam. 16:13; 1 Kings 1:39); a trumpet (cf. Josh. 6:5); or one of the projections from the corners of the altar (Lev. 4:7, 18). The word is also used figuratively for power or salvation, particularly in such phrases as "horn of salvation" (Ps. 18:2) and "to raise one's horn" (Sir. 47:11), and it can refer to the Davidic king (Ezek. 29:21; Ps. 132:17). In apocalyptic literature especially, this meaning can be extended to symbolize a ruler or mythic being (cf. Dan. 7:7–8; Rev. 5:6, 12:3). *See also* SHOFAR.

horoscope astrological chart for an individual, found among the Jews from an early time. Horoscopes are already attested at Qumran at the turn of the era. A number have been found in the Cairo Geniza. Astrology clearly played an important part in the lives of Jews, as in the lives of the peoples around them.

Horvat Amudim (or Horvat ha-Amudim; Arab.: Umm el-Amud) ancient synagogue site on a raised plateau at the east end of the Beth Netofa Valley in Lower Galilee. The site is situated about 15 kilometers northwest of Tiberias. The synagogue is about 22.5 meters by 14 meters, with the inner space divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of columns, with an extra row of columns across the back. Entry into the prayer space was through three entries in the narrow end, a characteristic of a basilica synagogue building. Stone benches were built against the walls on three sides. An Aramaic inscription on a stone found at the site reads as follows: "Yoezer the cantor and Simeon his brother made this gate of the Lord of Heaven." Some think that "gate" refers to the Torah shrine. The interior was furnished with a mosaic floor, in the northwestern side of which was a badly damaged Aramaic inscription. Enough was found to reconstruct the reading: "Be remembered for good . . . the son of Tanhum, who made this pavement of mosaic and roof. May he be blessed. Amen. Selah." Other synagogue art from the site includes a lion in relief from a lintel, probably one of a pair. Coins and pottery from the excavation confirm that the building was built about 300 C.E. and served the congregation during the fourth century C.E.

Horvat Kishor Synagogue Byzantine synagogue site in the southern Judean Shephelah, which is the line of low hills running north and south and lying between the coastal plain and the central Judean Hill country. The site is a large village of about 32 acres in extent with a cemetery. The only remains of the synagogue that have been identified are a large lintel of the fourth or fifth century C.E. In the center of the lintel in low relief stands a seven-branched menorah with hanging appendages at either end of the horizontal crossbar. To the right a vertical vine meander in low relief serves as decoration.

Horvat Rimmon Synagogue synagogue site in southwestern Judea. The earliest village was built about 100 B.C.E. and lasted to about 150 C.E. During the third century, there was a new Jewish population at the site who built a synagogue. The prayer hall of the building was divided into spaces by columns. This synagogue was entered from its long north wall and is therefore termed a broad-house synagogue. A niche in the northeast corner of the inner space was interpreted by the excavators as a room for the Torah shrine. During the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., this synagogue was extensively remodeled and enlarged. Two hoards of gold coins were found beneath the floor. One hoard dated to the fourth century and the second hoard dated to the sixth century C.E. The new synagogue was a

basilica, entered at the narrow end; the interior was divided into a nave and two side aisles by two rows of columns. This synagogue was renovated at the end of the sixth century C.E. The prayer hall featured a finely paved interior. Two fragments of a bronze menorah were found in this synagogue. Another menorah was engraved into the stone floor close to some geometric rosettes.

Horvat Summaqa Synagogue (or Khirbet Summaqa) synagogue site on top of Mount Carmel, south of the modern village of Daliyyat el-Karmil. A synagogue was built here in the third century. The building was about 23.89 meters long by 14.8 meters wide on the interior. This inner space was divided by two rows of columns into a nave and two side aisles. An exterior narthex at the facade, which is on the north end of a north-south building, stood in front of three doorways that brought pedestrian traffic into the prayer space from the narrow lane that fronted the synagogue. This synagogue was deliberately destroyed during the late fourth or early fifth century C.E. The synagogue was rebuilt and renovated soon after its destruction. The floor was paved with a layer of thick, white plaster. The columns were replaced, which suggests that the roof had come down in the general destruction. Further renovations were carried out in the early seventh century C.E. just prior to the Arab invasion.

hosanna From the Hebrew imperative *hosa* (save) plus *na* (please/now), the expression was used in particular during Sukkot celebrations (Ps. 118:25). At Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, the Gospels echo Psalms 118:25–26 and associate "hosanna" with a royal or Davidic hope (Matt. 21:9, 15; Mark 11:9–10; Luke 19:38; John 12:13).

Hosea, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Hosea Commentary title of two fragmentary manuscripts (A and B) of a continuous *pesher* on the Book of Hosea that were found in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952 and published by J. M. Allegro in *DJD* V; the title is abbreviated as 4QpHos. The commentary exhibits the *pesher* form: a citation of the biblical verse, followed by the phrase "its interpretation is," continued by a sectarian exegesis focusing on contemporary events. The present two manuscripts preserve Hosea 2:8–12, in which the interpretation understands the unfaithful wife to be the Jewish people, and 5:13–15 and 6:7, where the "furious young lion" appears. This figure has been identified in the Nahum Commentary as Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.); here he is also called the "last Priest" who will strike "Ephraim" (identified as the Pharisees in the Nahum Commentary). If Jannaeus is the "last" priest, this may call for a composition date of the early first century B.C.E. for the Hosea Commentary.

Hoshanna Rabbah (The Great Hoshanna) the seventh day of Sukkot, marked especially by prayers for rain, circumambulations of the sanctuary (originally around the ancient temple's altar), cries for God's salvation (Hoshanna = Please save!), and beating the ground with willow branches (a natural symbol for rain, since willows grow by the water and droop as if heavy with rain).

Hoshaya I Palestinian amora active in the first half of the second century C.E.; referred to as Hoshayah Rabbah. The son of Ḥama, he was born in the south of the Land of Israel, where he studied with Bar Kappara and Ḥiyya. Later, he was in Caesaria (Y. Terumot 10:2, 47a). He was known for his collection of Tannaitic statements (Y. Horayot 3:5, 47d), which led Zeira (B. Ḥullin 141a–b) to state that any Tannaitic ruling not taught in the academies of Hoshayah or Ḥiyya was not trustworthy.

Hoshaya II scholar; a contemporary of Abbahu (late 3d c. C.E.); never ordained and thus referred to as "colleague of the rabbis." He is often mentioned together with Ḥanina, whose brother he may have been. Both are called priests of the house of Eli. Born in Babylonia, Hoshayah II was a student of Yoḥanan at Tiberias. A shoemaker, he married a daughter of Samuel b. Isaac.

Hoshaya Rabbah *see* HOSHAYA I

hospitality Providing comfort to visitors is esteemed throughout the ancient literature (Gen. 24; Sir. 29:25; Rom. 12:13; 1 Tim. 3:2; 1 Pet. 4:9; Heb. 13:2). Models include Job (Test. Job 10) and the women in his household (Test. Job 7); Abraham (Gen. 18 is extensively developed in Test. Abr. such that Abraham offers hospitality to Death; Test. Isaac 7); God (Ps. 23, 104; on the eschatological banquet, 1 Enoch 62:14); Jesus, who is depicted, especially by Luke, as participating in hospitality offered by others (Zacchaeus, Simon the Pharisee, Martha, and Mary) and as offering hospitality through meals and service (e.g., footwashing [John 13]); and even Pentephres, the Egyptian priest (Jos. Asen. 7).

House of Hillel *see* HILLEL AND SHAMMAI, HOUSES OF

House of Shammai *see* HILLEL AND SHAMMAI, HOUSES OF

house of study *see* SCHOOL

Huldah a site in the Judean coastal plain, 31 kilometers west of Jerusalem. A two-room building with mosaic floor was found in 1953; it at first appeared to be a synagogue, but now the northern

of the two rooms is understood to have been used to store olive oil or wine. The north room has two niches in each of its other three walls, and the remains of storage jars littered the floor, which was paved with white mosaics. The south room, also paved with white mosaics, contained two Greek inscriptions. The first, in a panel outlined in black, shows on the right side a seven-branched menorah and shofar (ram's horn). To the left one sees an incense shovel, etrog (citron), and lulab (palm branch). Nested among these ritual objects one reads in Greek, "Blessing to the People." East of this panel is a square frame surrounding a circular panel in which is written in Greek, "Good luck to Eustochios and Hesychios and Evagrios, the founders." Left of center in the circular room is a circular pool 2.5 meters in diameter with plastered sides and three steps leading down into it. This circular pool is connected by a lead pipe to a second, square pool 1.1 meters square and paved with white mosaics. The south room is entered from the south, that is, from the outside, but the north room has no entry and is separated from the south room by a thin (30 cm. thick) wall or barrier, which is not pierced by a door. In general, the south room resembles a community ritual bath.

ḥullin (Heb.) secular produce for everyday use

Ḥullin Mishnah tractate devoted to the slaughter of secular, or noncultic, animals for everyday use and the preparation and use of meat for the table of the ordinary Israelite. Chapters 1–4 deal with the rules of slaughter of animals; then come other food rules: the law against slaughtering the dam and its young on one day (Lev. 22:28); the requirement to cover up the blood of a slaughtered beast; the taboo against the sciatic nerve (Gen. 32:32); the taboo against cooking meat with milk (Exod. 23:19, 34:26; Deut. 12:21); food uncleanness; gifts that are given to the priest, which include parts of an animal that has been slaughtered (Deut. 18:4) and the first fleece (Deut. 18:4); and letting the dam go from the nest when taking the young (Deut. 22:6–7). The Talmud of Babylonia provides a major commentary to this tractate.

ḥullin metukanim (Heb.) in Rabbinic Judaism, fully tithed produce that is not consecrated and is available for ordinary use

human sacrifice *see* CANNIBALISM, JEWS ACCUSED OF

Ḥuna I Babylonian exilarch and scholar; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch, at the close of the Tannaitic period, the late second century C.E. Judah refers to Ḥuna's superior genealogy and, hence, authority (Gen. Rabbah 33:3). Ḥuna's remains were taken to the Land of Israel for burial.

Ḥuna II without a patronymic, generally a Babylonian amora of the late third century C.E., mentioned frequently in the Babylonian Talmud and often in the Palestinian Talmud as well. A student of Rab, Ḥuna was one of the most influential talmudic rabbis, represented in both homiletical and legal statements and through numerous details preserved about his life. After the deaths of Rab and Samuel, Ḥuna served for forty years as head of the academy at Sura. Like Ḥuna I, and as had become customary, he was buried in the Land of Israel.

Huna b. Abin fourth-century-C.E. Palestinian amora. Born in Babylonia, he studied with Joseph prior to emigrating to the Land of Israel (see Y. Rosh Hashanah 2:2, 58a), where he studied with Jeremiah. His homiletical and legal statements are found frequently in Palestinian midrashic documents and the Jerusalem Talmud. He is also known as Ḥunya or Neḥunya b. Abin.

Ḥuna b. Ḥiyya Babylonian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. He succeeded Judah b. Ezekiel as head of the academy at Pumbedita.

Ḥuna b. Joshua fourth-century-C.E. Babylonian amora; together with Pappa, a disciple of Abayye and Raba. He served as head of the academy founded by Pappa at Naresh.

Ḥuna b. Nathan Babylonian amora and exilarch of the late fourth and early fifth centuries C.E.; a pupil of Pappa. He was esteemed for combining learning and high office (B. Gittin 59a). B. Zebaḥim 19a reports his high position in the court of Yazdegerd I, the Persian king.

Hundakas *see* ḤIDKA

Ḥunya b. Abin *see* ḤUNA B. ABIN

ḥuppah bridal canopy; generally: marriage rite

Huzal town between Nehardea and Sura, known for its synagogue, reported to have been built by the exiles from Judah at the time of the First Temple and in which the divine presence dwelled (B. Megillah 29a)

Hyksos a group of "foreigners" who conquered Egypt in the second millennium B.C.E. Josephus refers to them in *Against Apion,* when trying to refute the anti-Jewish statements of Apion, from whom he probably took his information. From Egyptian sources, we know of such a group who established rule over Egypt from about 1750 to 1550 B.C.E. Their name probably means "foreigners" (rather than "shepherd kings," as Josephus says), though they may have long lived on the margins of Egyptian society. They preceded the Israelite settlement in Palestine by many centuries and probably had no connection with the Israelites.

Hymn Scroll *see* HODAYOT

Hyp. *see* HYPOTHETICA

hyparchy in the Graeco-Roman world, an administrative region governed by a hyparch. Often it seems to have been more or less equivalent to a province, that is, a subdivision of a kingdom or empire. Nevertheless, the exact size is not specific and seems to have varied considerably from time to time and place to place.

Hyperberetaios name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Elul (August/September) and sometimes to the month of Tishrei (September/October).

hypocrite from the Greek term for an actor or one who performs behind a mask, "hypocrite" denotes one who advocates one practice but engages in another. The Psalms of Solomon 4:1–25 pray that God will "remove from the devout those who live in hypocrisy." The charge is leveled in the Gospel tradition against those—especially Pharisees—who practice external rituals but not internal repentance (see especially Matt. 23). The Matthean usage extends the connotations of the epithet to self-righteousness and general evil. Paul charges Jewish Christians such as Peter and Barnabas with hypocrisy (Gal. 2:13) because they began to insist on retaining practices such as dietary regulations in light of pressure from the "circumcision party." The charge is not uncommon in ancient polemic; therefore, one must exercise caution in reading the label "hypocrite" as having historical accuracy.

hypostasis the treating of an abstract quality as if it were a person or being. Thus, it is the next step above personification. For example, in the works of writers such as Philo of Alexandria, attributes of God (e.g., Wisdom and the Logos) might be treated as if they were actually separate beings.

Hypothetica the treatise, by Philo of Alexandria, that is also known as *Apologia pro Iudaeis (Defense of the Jews)*; its title is abbreviated as *Hyp.* Only a portion of this work is preserved in the writings of Eusebius, but one of the extant extracts discusses the laws given in the "Mosaic constitution" (the ideal community envisaged in the Mosaic legislation), while the other treats the Essenes.

Hypsistarians Jewish sect on the Bosphorus in the first century C.E. and found in Asia Minor through the third century C.E.; known from Christian sources of the third and fourth century C.E. Hypsistarians worshipped "the High and Almighty One" and observed some dietary restrictions and the Sabbath. They also followed certain pagan traditions and beliefs and did not practice circumcision.

Hypsistos (Gr., most high) In the Second Temple period, descriptive titles rather than the names of God became common, so that instead of YHWH or Shaddai, one might say "God of Heaven" or "Most High." The latter appeared as Hypsistos in Greek writings, where it sometimes translated the Hebrew Elyon of the Hebrew Bible. *See also* GOD, NAMES OF.

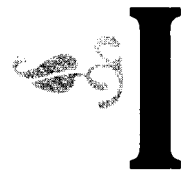
Hyrcania city in Persia, south of the Caspian Sea. Near the end of the Persian period (mid-fourth century B.C.E.) some Jews from around Jericho were deported to Hyrcania.

Hyrcanus II high priest, son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra. Hyrcanus II served as high priest during the rule of his mother, Alexandra (r. 76–67 B.C.E.). After her death, he was displaced by his brother, Antigonus II, who took over the high priesthood and government. Prompted by Antipater the Idumean, father of King Herod the Great, Hyrcanus, with the help of Aretas, the Nabatean king, began a civil war against his brother. In 63 C.E. Pompey, the Roman general who had brought large areas of Asia Minor and Syria under Roman control, intervened. He besieged Antigonus, conquered Jerusalem, and reinstalled Hyrcanus as high priest. Jewish territory, however, was diminished and ruled directly by a Roman governor. In 40 B.C.E., the Parthians invaded Palestine, briefly reinstated Antigonus as ruler, mutilated Hyrcanus so he could no longer serve as high priest, and took him prisoner to Parthia. When Herod regained rule of Palestine in 37, Hyrcanus was returned. In 31 B.C.E., Herod had him killed to remove any possible claim against his throne.

Hyrcanus the Tobiad youngest son of Joseph of the Tobiad family; nephew of Onias II, the high priest. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 12.186–236), he supported the pro-Ptolemaic faction in Jerusalem during the reign of Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.E.), but was forced to retire to the family home at Arak el-Emir, east of the Jordan, where he committed suicide. His property was confiscated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who succeeded Seleucus. 2 Maccabees 3:11 records that he deposited a large sum of money in the Jerusalem Temple treasury.

hyssop a small, aromatic plant, growing on or near walls (1 Kings 4:33); burned with the red heifer (Num. 19:6) and used in other purification rituals (see, e.g., Lev. 14:4ff.; Exod. 12:22). Early rabbinic authorities enumerated a number of different types of hyssop (M. Negaim 14:6) and detailed the correct use of this plant in ritual purification (M. Parah 11–12).

Hystaspes, Oracle of an oracle preserved in the name of an ancient Persian sage that circulated around the beginning of the common era. It is known only in a few quotations. It is commonly thought to have originated in ancient Persia and has a number of parallels with the Persian apocalyptic work Bahman Yasht; however, some scholars believe that it was actually Jewish in origin. It seems to have been a type of anti-Greek oracle, which served as an expression of resistance to Hellenization. It predicts the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and it seems to have used a six-thousand-year scheme of human history. *See also* WORLD YEAR.



I Am one of several biblical names for God; considered by some scholars to be the derivation of YHWH (the Tetragrammaton). In Exodus 3:14, God tells Moses, "I am who I am (*ehyeh asher ehyeh*)," and instructs him to say to the people of Israel, "I am (*ehyeh*) has sent me to you." Exodus 3:15 subsequently uses the name YHWH as an equivalent of "I Am" when God tells Moses, "Thus you shall say to the Israelites, 'The Lord (YHWH) . . . has sent me to you.'"

YHWH is the most important of several Hebrew names for God. The Bible provides two different accounts of its revelation to humankind. In Genesis 4:26, people begin calling God by this name in the time of Enosh. Exodus 6:2, however, introduces the name only after Moses has been rebuffed initially by Pharaoh. Although it is not certain when the Tetragrammaton ceased to be pronounced (Ecclus. 50:18–21 may describe the use of this name), ultimately lack of use resulted in uncertainty over the tradition of vowel sounds in the name and hence in its meaning. Instead of pronouncing the name itself, the word *adonai* (lord) was substituted for it. (Hence the modern "Jehovah" equals the erroneous combination of the vowel sounds for *adonai* with the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton.) In some of the Qumran scrolls, this name is even written in paleo-Hebrew script rather than the more usual Aramaic square letters.

The connection with the "I Am" of Exodus 3:14 suggests that the Tetragrammaton may derive from the verb "to be" (although some commentators have suggested other verbs). Of those who derive the name from the verb "to be," some conclude that it means "He who is" (or, will be). Others see a causative meaning, "He who causes to be." Each of these possibilities emphasizes an important aspect of God's character in the Bible: one, his continual presence; the other, his status as creator.

In the Septuagint, the translator of Exodus 3:14 understood "I am who I am" to mean "I am the one who exists" (*ho ōn*). In other places in the Jewish Bible, however, God uses the phrase "I am" or "I am He" (*ani* or *anoki hu*) of Himself. In these cases the Greek translators, especially the translator of Isaiah, frequently rendered it in Greek as *ego eimi*. This phrase, which literally means "I am," can be understood in Greek not only as a claim about the oneness and existence of God, but also as a divine apellation. Thus, in Isaiah 43.25, the Hebrew, "I, I am He (*anoki, anoki hu*) who wipes away your sins for my sake" can easily be understood in its Greek translation as "I am, *I Am* (*ego eimi, ego eimi*), who wipes away your sins."

The appellative use of *ego eimi* in Second Isaiah, perhaps together with rabbinic uses of *ani hu* (I am; I am He) as a name, greatly influenced the christology of the Gospel of John, in which "I am" frequently comes from the lips of Jesus as a self-designation (6:35, 51; 8:24, 28, 58; 10:7, 9, 11, 14; 11:25; 14:6; 15:1, 5). For the evangelist, these "I am" sayings deliberately play on the connection with the divine name in the Jewish Bible, and he uses the phrase to make the important christologi-

cal claim that Jesus is the revelation and manifestation of God to the world. This interpretation of Jesus is particularly clear in the "absolute" uses of *ego eimi,* that is, those passages where the phrase occurs with no predicate (John 8:24, 28, 58; 13:19). That the evangelist intends the connection is made even clearer by the reactions he attributes to the hearers of Jesus' statements. In 8:58, after Jesus claims, "before Abraham was, I am," the people try to stone him, undoubtedly because they understood the claim being made.

Even though the Fourth Gospel makes the most sophisticated use of the "I am" formula in the New Testament, several passages in the synoptic Gospels also have *ego eimi* emanating from Jesus' lips (Matt. 14:27; Mark 13:6; 14:62). These cases, however, are more difficult to assess and may simply mean "it is I" without christological overtones. *See also* GOD, NAMES OF.

Iao Greek name for the Jewish God, found in some literary sources and frequently in magical inscriptions. It probably represents a transliteration of the name Yahweh or perhaps some shortened form of it. The name is important because the vocalization of the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) was not preserved in the Masoretic text.

Ibn Ezra Synagogue *see* CAIRO GENIZA

Idi b. Abin I Babylonian amora active in the mid-third century C.E. at Shekanzib (B. Yebamot 85a; alternative reading: Hintzabu; a student of Hisda

Idi b. Abin II Babylonian amora; a student of Pappa; head of the academy at Sura, 432–452 C.E.

idolatry worship of the representation (image) of a god. The practice is forbidden in law (Exod. 20:4–5, 23; 34:17; Lev. 19:4; Deut. 4:15–18) and condemned in prophecy (Isa. 40:18–20, 42:17, 44:9–20, 45:16–20, 46:1–7; Jer. 10:3–5). However, not all images were proscribed by all Jews, as the cherubim in the Temple (Exod. 26:1, 36:8; 1 Kings 6:29; 2 Chron. 3:10–14) as well as the murals of Dura-Europos and the mosaics of Beth Alpha indicate. Less an actual threat in the postexilic period, idolatry came to represent any non-Jewish worship, and "idolater" became a synonym for Gentile. The Additions to Daniel, recounting the tales of Bel and the Snake, mocks idol worship as does the Apocalypse of Abraham, which uses the impotence of idols to underly Abraham's monotheism; Joseph and Asenath characterizes its heroine as one who "blesses with her mouth dead and dumb idols" (8:5), which she will then explicitly repudiate. Other condemnations include 1 Enoch 99; 3 Enoch 5; the Letter of Jeremiah; passages in Pseudo-Phocylides; The Book of Biblical Antiquities; Lives of the Prophets; 2 Enoch; the Sibylline Oracles; the Testament of Job; the Testament of Moses; the Testament of Solomon; and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, among others. The gentile writers Strabo and Varro praised the Jews for their imageless cult.

Acts 15:29 forbids eating meat offered to idols; Paul permits it, but advises the Corinthians to refrain in case the weaker member of the congregation believes the action to indicate idolatry (1 Cor. 8:7–13; 10:6–14). Paul fully condemns idolatry itself, which he associates with what he views to be unnatural sexual behavior (Rom. 1:22–27). Colossians 3:5 makes clear that idolatry is to be equated with covetousness: it distracts an individual from focus on God by setting up another object of worship.

Rabbinic Judaism deems idolatry to be one of three cardinal sins (along with deviant sexual practice and murder) in which one may not engage even at the cost of his or her own life. So central to Jewish belief was the rejection of foreign gods that rabbinic texts equate the renunciation of idolatry with an acknowledgment of the whole Torah and its acceptance with a denial of the entirety of God's teachings (B. Horayot 8a; B. Ḥullin 5a; Sifre Deut. 54). The rejection of idolatry was such a central distinguishing mark between Jew and non-Jew that a Gentile who renounced idolatry could be called a Jew (B. Megillah 13a).

While the prohibition against idolatry was central to all Jewish ideology, the rabbis did not treat idol worship as a real and immediate threat in their own day. They understood idolatry to have been entirely uprooted from the Jewish people; therefore, it was no longer the peril it had been in the First Temple period (Song Rabbah 7:14). While the rabbis included the prohibition against idolatry in the Seven Noachide Commandments, which apply to all nations of the earth, they were tolerant towards the idolatrous practices of non-Jews, whom they held acted out of ignorance (Y. Shabbat 16:9, 15c).

Accordingly, rather than focusing upon stemming Jewish acceptance of pagan gods, the rabbinic treatment of idolatry concerns the broader question of how to assure in their contact with non-Jews that Jews do not inadvertently participate in or contribute to idol worship. This is accomplished by placing strict controls upon all contact between Jew and Gentile. Within three days of gentile festivals, Jews are forbidden from having contact with Gentiles or selling them objects that might be used in idol worship (M. Abodah Zarah

1:1–2, 5). Before a pagan festival, even repaying money owed to a Gentile is forbidden, lest the money be used to support idol worship. The rabbis similarly deal with the problem of Israelite travel to and business in cities that contain idols. Business may not be done in an area containing an idol, and one is prohibited from using a road that leads to that city alone. Use of a road that also leads to other places is allowed (M. Abodah Zarah 1:4). As before, the rabbis' concern is preventing a Jew from inadvertently supporting idol worship or even creating an impression that he is himself involved in idolatry.

The rabbinic literature contains numerous references to specific deities, idolatrous rites, and products used in idol worship. Some actual practices and many familiar deities are mentioned, e.g., Peor, Aphrodite, Mercurius, and Asherah. Much of what is mentioned, however, seems idiosyncratic to the rabbinic understanding of pagan rites. Included in this category are M. Abodah Zarah's long lists of foods and animal products that may not be sold to or bought from a Gentile, lest they are to be used in idolatry.

The Talmud makes no specific mention of Israelites' obligation to destroy objects of idol worship or actively to prevent Gentiles from engaging in their worship. The Mishnah, however, provides a benediction to be recited when one sees a place in the Land of Israel in which idols previously were worshiped: "Blessed is he who uprooted idolatry from our land" (M. Berakhot 9:1).

Idumea a Second Temple geographical designation that included the southern Judean hills and the northern Negeb, extending from the coastal cities to the Dead Sea. Idumea was populated by Edomites, Nabateans, Jews, and other peoples. John Hyrcanus conquered Idumea in 129 B.C.E. and forced the population to be circumcised. Antipater the Idumean and his son, Herod the Great, eventually gained power over the last of the Hasmoneans and ruled all Jewish territory. During the Roman period, Idumea was a part of the province of Judea. Idumean forces participated in the revolt against Rome in 66 C.E.

Ifra Hormizd (early 4th c. C.E.) identified in the Babylonian Talmud as Shapur II's mother. The name does not appear in Persian sources. The Talmud records several encounters between her and the rabbis. Once she sent some denarii to Rabbi Joseph for his performance of "a great commandment." The rabbis concluded that the money should be used for redeeming captives from the Gentiles. In another passage, Rabbi Ammi, a Palestinian sage, refused a gift from her, while Raba accepted it in order to keep peace with the government. Eventually, Raba gave the gift to the gentile poor. A third account relates that she sent an animal sacrifice to Raba. In a fourth narrative she sent different types of blood to the same sage, which he successfully identified, testifying to the queen mother's recognition of the rabbis' extraordinary powers. In a fifth passage, she intervened when Shapur planned to punish Raba, whose court had executed a Jew for having intercourse with a gentile woman. The story claims that Ifra Hormizd acknowledged the rabbis' supernatural powers and the effectiveness of their prayers for rain. These accounts indicate that the rabbis believed that they had a friend in the Persian court in the person of the queen mother.

ignorant *see* AM HAARETZ

Ilai **1.** Tannaitic authority of the first century C.E.; a student of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (T. Zebaḥim 2:17); the father of Judah b. Ilai. In Amoraic literature, he is sometimes referred to as Ilai the Elder.

2. Palestinian amora active at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Yoḥanan in Tiberias. He was the teacher of Jonah and Yose.

Ilfa *see* ḤILFA

image of God a notion derived from Genesis 1:26 widely used in the Hellenistic period. Genesis affirms that human beings were created in the image of God. This affirmation, perhaps connected with the prohibition of graven images of the divine (Exod. 20:4; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 4:16; 5:8; 27:15), emphasized the immediacy of the relationship between God and human beings (cf. Ps. 8:5).

Some interpreters of the Second Temple period understood the image of God to be the human soul or spirit (Pseudo-Phocylides 106; Philo, *On the Creation of the World* 69). For others, however, the "image" of Genesis 1:26 was understood as a reference to an intermediary entity that served as a model for humanity. Inspired by the personification of Wisdom (Prov. 8:23), later interpreters would see Wisdom as that image. The Wisdom of Solomon (7:22–8:1) conceives of this "reflection of eternal light" and "image of God's goodness" as an all-pervasive spirit. Philo of Alexandria combined this sapiential notion with Platonic notions of a world soul, the locus of the ideal forms. He spoke of heavenly Wisdom or Word (Logos) as the image of God (*Allegory of the Laws* 1.33, 43; *On the Confusion of Languages* 97, 146–47; *On Flight* 101; *Who is the Heir* 230). Other exegetes found in the mysterious "human form" seen by Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:26) the image of God. These speculative tradi-

tions influenced early Christian affirmations about Christ (2 Cor. 4:4; Heb. 1:3; Col. 1:15).

images symbols of religious importance that were found in synagogal and funerary art and architecture. Various images found in synagogues and Jewish burials include menorahs, representations of the Ark, cultic elements from the Temple, and biblical scenes. The way in which a particular symbol came to be commonly adapted as a Jewish image is not altogether clear, but each image seems to have undergone development from particular to more general usage.

The probable development of the menorah from a symbol to a common Jewish image is instructive for understanding this process. The menorah was used as a vessel in the temple, and the act of lighting the menorah was an important function of the priest. Because of its importance, the menorah came to be seen as a professional sign of the priests during the Second Temple period. After the destruction of the Temple, the menorah developed into a symbolic representation of the function of the priest and in this sense became a widely adapted Jewish image.

The menorah is by the far the most common Jewish image to be found in the art and architecture of synagogues and Jewish burials. Probably as a result of the biblical prohibition against the veneration of images, the menorah was not depicted artistically before the second half of the first century B.C.E. In fact, Jewish images in general did not become widespread until after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. The first known depiction of a menorah is from a coin of the last Hasmonean monarch, Mattahias Antigonus (r. 40–37 B.C.E.). The use of the menorah on his coins was probably an attempt to emphasize the king's Jewishness and to prove his legitimacy.

The menorah consisted of several parts, each of which might vary in form. Biblical sources do not describe the base of the menorah. As is known from an archaeological find from Second Temple Jerusalem, the base of the menorah used in the Second Temple itself was probably conical. Other examples from Beth Shean, Dura Europos, and Hammath-Tiberias depict a menorah base that consists of three animal legs. The most common form was a simple tripod.

The form of the branches was decreed in Exodus 25:33–36. These verses state that the branches should be composed of three cups fashioned as almonds and crowned with a capital and a flower. Many of the early menorahs appear to follow this directive, while some of the later ones follow the same pattern but become more ornate. Light fittings were found at the end of each branch, which varied in composition from glass to bronze to ceramic.

Noting that the menorah became a prominent Jewish image following the destruction of the Second Temple because it provided a concrete visual image of worship, it is no surprise that ritual objects often flanked menorahs in Jewish art. One prominent object was the shofar, or ram's horn, that was used in the temple during the New Year celebration (Rosh Hashanah) and the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur). Other familiar images used in conjunction with the menorah were the lulab (a palm branch) and the etrog (a citrus fruit), both associated with worship during the Feast of Tabernacles. Incense shovels, used to clean the debris left from the menorahs, were also depicted.

Other prominent images that developed in synagogue art were the Ark of the Scrolls and the conch. The Ark of the Scrolls, the place where the scriptures were kept, was placed in a cabinet called a Torah shrine. As both these features were vital to the Jewish faith, they evolved into popular images in synagogue art. The development of the conch motif is somewhat different. The conch is known to carry sacred significance since the first millennium B.C.E. from Egyptian motifs. In Jewish synagogal and funerary art, the conch was initially used as a decorative motif. Later it became associated with the storage niche for the Torah shrine and finally with the Torah shrine itself.

Bible scenes are another well-attested type of motif found on Jewish art from synagogues and burials. Certain Bible scenes appear to have been especially meaningful to the various communities, and these were incorporated into the images of synagogal and funerary art. One example is the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac from the synagogues at Beth Alpha and Dura Europas. Both scenes portray the key parts of the narrative, though each one empahsizes different aspects of the story. This event becomes a symbol for the covenant between God and the Jewish people. Another biblical scene that signifies the preserving of the people of God is Noah's Ark; this scene is found in the synagogue of Gerasa. The synagogue of Naaran contains a depiction of Daniel, again containing the motif of salvation. Other scenes include a depiction of the twelve tribes at the Japhia Synagogue, King David at Gaza, and David and Goliath at Marous (in the Galilee).

Finally, what were commonly known as Hellenistic symbols developed into well-known

images in Jewish works of art. Two examples are the peacock and the Hercules knot, which became minor symbols in Jewish art. In ancient Hellenistic art, the peacock could be purely decorative or it could be used as a symbol of the empress and of immortality. The latter identification arose out of a tradition associating the peacock with the goddess Hera (Juno). The Hercules knot was normally used to bind a crown wreath, which was commonly found in low relief on lintels of synagogues from Palestine. In the Graeco-Roman world, the crown wreath symbolized victory. Thus, the Hercules knot was used on the lintels in the Roman world to create a concrete example of eternal victory by showing that the binding of victory (the crown wreath) could never come undone. How much of the original connotations of these "pagan" images were preserved in Jewish adaptations is still debated. The dominant view is that they were adapted into Jewish images because the Jews lived in the Hellenistic world, but that these symbols did not compromise or transform the Jewish faith. *See also* ARK, REPRESENTATION OF; ETROG; HERCULES KNOT; HOLY OF HOLIES, REPRESENTATION OF; LULAB; MENORAH, REPRESENTATION OF; SARCOPHAGUS DECORATIONS; SHELL.

Ima Shalom (late 1st–early 2d c. C.E.) wife of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and daughter of Simeon B. Gamaliel I. The Talmud reports that she had beautiful children (B. Nedarim 20b), and that after her husband's excommunication, she prevented him from prostrating himself in prayer, lest he utter a curse to punish his excommunicators, including her brother, Gamaliel (B. Baba Metzia 59b).

imbecile a person of severely limited mental capability. In the Mishnah and Talmuds, the imbecile is classified together with the deaf-mute and the minor and deemed to have no independent will. Accordingly, under rabbinic law, the imbecile is unable to perform religious obligations requiring the formulation of intention, such as the designation of agricultural offerings (M. Terumot 1:1) or the preparing of foods in a state of cultic cleanness (T. Terumot 1:1). The imbecile also is excluded from business transactions requiring comprehension (e.g., sale or purchase), and, since he does not understand the implications of his actions, the imbecile cannot be found liable under a claim of negligence.

imitatio dei (Lat., imitation of God) The term is found in modern scholarly writings rather than in ancient Jewish texts. The phrase is used in theological and ethical discussions to describe an attempt to live as God lives (or would live if He were a human being). The concept, if not the term, is well known from the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish literature. In Leviticus 19:2 and elsewhere, God states, "You shall be holy as I am holy." This idea occurs in later Jewish literature as well, especially in rabbinic Judaism.

The idea of imitation of God took on a special form in Christianity with the concept *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ). Although thought of by later Christians as divine, Jesus had by common consent been a man, and the Gospels seemed to describe his life on earth. Having "God in the flesh" as a model and trying to live as Jesus lived facilitated the imitation of God.

immersion the practice of immersing in a pool of water in order to cleanse a person (or vessel) of ritual impurity that derives from contact with a corpse, other defiling object, or bodily flux. The purpose of immersion is to achieve ritual and spiritual, but not physical, cleanness. By talmudic times, the primary function of immersion was to cleanse a woman of the impurity associated with menstruation, so as to render her permitted for sexual relations with her husband. Since talmudic law deems intercourse with a woman in the status of a menstruant to be a severe offense, rabbinic law insists upon meticulous observance of the ritual of immersion for this purpose.

Immersion is carried out in a mikveh, a pool carved into rock or otherwise built into the ground and containing a minimum of forty *seah*s of water (an uncertain amount, representing as little as 250 or as many as 1,000 liters). So as to represent the flowing water that scripture states is to be used for immersion, the water of the mikveh may never have been contained in a vessel. Rainwater, melted snow or ice, or other flowing water is used for this purpose.

immortality, incorruption (Gr.: *athanasia, aphtharsia*) the state or quality of being deathless or not subject to the corruption caused by death. From its first pages, the Bible denies that human beings are immortal (Gen. 3). Deathlessness is reserved for God and the heavenly entourage. The heavenly watchers who mate with mortal women and beget children are condemned because in their immortal state they do not need progeny (1 Enoch 15:3–7). The rise of a belief in resurrection and eternal life brings with it a notion of immortality. The terms immortality and incorruption tend to be limited to texts composed in Greek, but they do not posit the Greek notion of the soul's natural immortality. According to Wisdom of Solomon 2:23–24, sin and the devil caused humans to lose the incorruption of the divine image with which

they had been created, but one achieves immortality through the righteous life (Wisd. of Sol. 1:15, 3:1–4, 5:15–16). Similarly, the martyrs in 4 Maccabees are transformed into immortality and incorruption through their deaths in behalf of the Torah (9:22, 14:5, 16:13, 17:12). In Joseph and Asenath 15:5 and 16:16, Asenath gains immortality, incorruption, and eternal life through her conversion, an idea paralleled in the Qumran Hymns (1QH 3:19–36, 11:3–14). The Second Book of Esdras 7:96–97 associates agelessness as well as immortality and incorruptibility with the future existence of the righteous in heaven, the realm of perfection.

According to Paul, at the return of Christ, all those in Christ, living and dead, will be transformed to receive immortal bodies in the image of the glorified Christ, the Second Adam (1 Cor. 15:42–57). In 2 Corinthians 4:13–5:5, he seems to say that the process of transformation is already underway, a notion consonant with some of the Jewish texts cited above.

Rabbinic authorities conceive of an immortal soul in a narrow sense. Created and bestowed upon the body by God, at the time of the body's death it is taken back to God, where it awaits the time of the resurrection and the world to come. Then it will be restored to that same body (see Y. Kilaim 8:4, 31c; B. Berakhot 60a) together with which it will be judged (B. Sanhedrin 90b–91a). Outside of the eternally existing soul, the rabbis imagined human immortality only in the context of their conception of resurrection. While no human being is immortal, the rabbis held that the righteous could anticipate bodily resurrection and a future life in the messianic world to come. *See also* LIFE, ETERNAL.

imperator (Lat., emperor) originally a title given to Roman commanders who had been successful in their campaigns. With Augustus, however, it came to refer to the head of the Roman Empire, rather like a quasi-king; the power in theory still lay with the Senate. *See also* IMPERIUM.

Imperial Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, IMPERIAL

imperium (Lat., the power or right of ruling or administration) The term specifically applied to the responsibilities of waging war and upholding the law. The concept goes back to the time of the Roman kings and referred to the power held by them. Under the Roman Republic, it was a power held by the state but was given to consuls, dictators, and some others by authority of the Senate. Under the Roman Empire, this power was almost always held by the emperor and only exceptionally allowed to be exercised by others.

imprisonment not a prominent feature of Israelite or Judean society. Most occurrences of "imprisonment" in English Bible translations refer to the forced exile of (some of) the people, particularly the Babylonian deportation and "house arrest" of the Judean ruling elite after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. But some ancient rulers used imprisonment as a means of controlling opponents and critics or disrupters of the established order. Rome usually either killed or enslaved the ordinary people they subjected and took military action against disruptions of any scope. But they used imprisonment to confine minor disrupters of the social order, such as small-scale bandits or vocal dissenters. The last kings of Judah confined the prophet Jeremiah, but were afraid to kill him. Herod imprisoned (and often executed) numerous critics and suspects, including his own sons. Antipas imprisoned and then killed John the Baptist, who had criticized him. Roman governors regularly rounded up and imprisoned bandits in Judea. In all of these cases, imprisonment was used simply for temporary holding rather than as a form of punishment, in contrast to the modern practice.

impure, pure *see* TAHOR, TAMEI

incense shovel device for containing hot coals and incense for use in worship; known in ancient Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian contexts, but also as a major motif in Jewish art. The incense shovel typically was made of bronze or ceramic. Examples are known in most of the museums of the Middle East. The earliest incense shovels from a Jewish context are from the Cave of Letters west of the Roman town of En Gedi. These shovels were among the private possessions of Jews who fled advancing Roman armies during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. A typical incense shovel has a rectangular pan, open at the end opposite the handle, and measures about 13 centimeters by 16 centimeters by 1.6 centimeters deep. The pan has a grooved ornamental molding on the top edge that is wider than the thickness of the bronze. The hollow bronze handle is about 19.5 centimeters long and is equipped with two bronze "cups" mounted on the two corners of the pan near the handle. These shallow cups are round and about 7 centimeters in diameter, but only 2 centimeters deep. Four rings are mounted on the bottom of the pan near the corners to serve as feet, so that the pan and its hot coals will be elevated about 1.6 centimeters above a table. Of the four shovels found at En Gedi, only one was decorated with a floral motif on the handle and on the sides of the pan. To use such an incense shovel, one placed glow-

ing coals in the pan and powdered incense in the cups. The powder could then be sprinkled on the coals as needed during worship. These rectangular pans with handles have been known in Jewish art for some time, though they were not always recognized as incense shovels. They appear especially frequently in low relief carvings on stone or in mosaic floors in synagogues with the menorah, lulab (palm branch), and etrog (citron).

incest Leviticus 18 and 20 and Deuteronomy 23:1 (MT), 27:20, and 21–23 prohibit men from engaging in sexual intercourse with specific individuals related by either blood or marriage; father–daughter incest is not included, perhaps because in the Hebrew legal structure the daughter's sexuality was classified as belonging to her father. Genesis 20:12 (Abraham and Sarah), Genesis 29 (Leah and Rachel with Jacob), and 2 Samuel 13:13 (Tamar and Amnon) provide accounts of relationships the law code would judge incestuous. The Qumran community extended the biblical list of prohibited relationships (see also Jub. 33). Judah's repentence for his "incest" with Tamar (Gen. 38) appears in Jubilees 41 and Testament of Judah 12–13. Other texts addressing incest include Pseudo-Phocylides 179–183; Psalms of Solomon 8; and the Sibylline Oracles 5:390–391; 7:43–45.

While some rabbinic authorities extended the prohibition in Leviticus 18:6–18 against intercourse to relationships not specified by scripture (see B. Yebamot 21a and 22a), the general tendency within rabbinic law was to limit such developments and, indeed, to treat as permitted some relationships forbidden by Leviticus. Sifre Aḥarei-Mot 13:15 explicitly argues that Leviticus's list of prohibited unions is not subject to extension through analogies; B. Yebamot 62b–63 permits marriage between cousins and even encourages a man to marry his niece, especially the daughter of his sister.

According to talmudic law, incest is a capital offense. Sexual relations with one's mother, stepmother, or daughter-in-law are punished by stoning (M. Sanhedrin 7:4), and intercourse with one's daughter, granddaughter, mother- or grandmother-in-law, stepdaughter, or stepgranddaughter is punished by burning (M. Sanhedrin 9:1). Other incestuous acts are punishable with flogging.

inclination, evil and good (Heb.: *yetzer haRa, yetzer Tob*) the two inclinations in every person, to do evil and to do good. They contend with each other; when the impulse or inclination to do evil prevails, a person sins, and the contrary is the case as well. These terms occur in the rabbinic literature. *See also* WAYS, TWO.

In Flaccum the treatise *Against Flaccus* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Flacc.* or *Flaccum.* This treatise is an account of the riots against the Jews in Alexandria in 38–39 C.E. According to Philo, not only did the Roman governor Flaccus fail to protect the Jewish community against the attacks of the Greeks, he positively encouraged the attacks.

inheritance Sons inherit a father's estate, and the firstborn son receives a double portion (Deut. 21:16–17). Should only daughters survive, then they inherit, provided they contract endogamous marriages; in their absence, the father's brother and then the nearest relative inherits (Num. 27:1–11; 36:6–12).

The testamentary genre frequently describes bequests. For example, the Testament of Job depicts the dying hero as bestowing miraculous girdles on his three daughters. Judith bestows her property on "all those who were next of kin to her husband Manaseh and to her own nearest relations" (16:24).

Inheritance also indicated the relationship between God and Israel (Deut. 9:26; Jer. 10:16; Ps. 28:9). In Sirach 24:23 and 1 Enoch 99:14, the law is Israel's inheritance. For Psalms of Solomon 14:7, 1 Enoch 40:9, 2 Enoch 50:2, and 2 Baruch 44:13, the inheritance is eternal life, and this bequest appears, as mediated through Jesus and as a replacement for family-based inheritance, in Matthew 19:29, Mark 10:29–30, 22, and Luke 18:29–30. Matthew 5:5 announces that the meek will inherit the earth (or the land) (see Ps. 37:11; 1 Enoch 5:7). In the Pauline tradition, the baptized are fellow heirs (Rom. 8:17; Col. 3:24; Eph. 5:5) with Christ to the reign of God. In Hebrews, Jesus is heir of all things (1:2); 1 Peter 1:4 promises the faithful "an inheritance imperishable, undefiled, and unfading." The various texts vacillate as to whether the inheritance is present or future, empirical or spiritual, focused on a covenant mediator (e.g., David, Jesus), a faithful individual, or the corporate community.

Like the biblical and Hellenistic literatures, rabbinic texts treat inheritance as a theological category, referring to Jews' acquiring of a special place in God's scheme of salvation. Individuals receive this inheritance by carrying out their obligations under the covenant, for instance, by showing kindness to the poor. As a result, God "will bind a crown upon them in the world to come" (B. Shabbat 104a). The Talmud is careful to note that this inheritance, embodied in the Torah, is the possession of the entire people. It is not a legacy only of scholars or their children (B. Nedarim 81a).

Elaborating the Bible's provisions for inheriting an estate, the rabbis held that sons are first in the line of succession, followed by daughters, the father of the deceased, the brothers of the deceased, the sisters of the deceased, the grandfather, and so on (B. Baba Batra 115a). Unique to the rabbinic approach is the principle that each individual in the order of succession transmits his right of inheritance to his own descendants. Even if an heir should die, the next relative in line inherits only if that preceding individual had no heirs of his own. The rabbis also differed from the Bible in placing in the line of succession the father of deceased, whom scripture does not list among the heirs.

According to rabbinic law, the deceased's property was divided equally among the sons, except for a father's firstborn, who received a double share. A mamzer or a son born after his father's death was treated as a regular heir among the other brothers (B. Yebamot 67a). According to the principle already explained, should one of the sons predecease his father, his sons receive his share in their grandfather's estate.

While a man inherits his deceased wife's separate property, she does not stand in his line of inheritance. Similarly, daughters inherit only if their father had no sons. The rabbinic system meets these women's needs by requiring that, so long as they remain unmarried, they be supported from the estate (B. Ketubot 22b). This claim for support is prior to that of all who stand in the actual line of succession, including the deceased's sons. Depending upon the size of the estate and the length of time for which the women receive support, they therefore may potentially receive a larger share of the estate than those who actually inherit and may even entirely exhaust the estate's value.

injustice (Gr.: *adikia*) actions that are unjust or, more specifically, not consonant with the righteousness required by the Torah. In the Septuagint, the term translates a whole range of Hebrew words denoting wickedness, transgression, and wrongdoing. The Greek negating prefix *alpha* before the root *dik* (right, just) gives the word an explicit connotation not necessarily present in the Hebrew, one that would have resonated with the Greek-speaking people who read the Septuagint, Greek translations of the pseudepigrapha, and Jewish and early Christian works composed in Greek against the background of Greek notions of justice and righteousness. In 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Psalms of Solomon, it is a common term for wicked deeds perpetrated against others. Like its synonym "lawlessness" (Gr.: *anomia*), it is sometimes combined with verbs and verbal nouns meaning "do, doer" to create an idiom meaning to do evil or sin, or to be an evildoer or sinner (cf. 1 Enoch 98:12; Ps. Sol. 4:24; 9:4, 5; Luke 13:27, quoting Ps. 6:8). *See also* LAWLESSNESS.

insanity Rabbinic law holds that an insane person is unable to formulate the intention to fulfill religious obligations or to comprehend the significance of his actions. Accordingly, he is precluded from participating in rituals that require intention, for example, leading the community in prayer or designating agricultural tithes. Additionally, one who is insane may not validly enter into contracts or other agreements. T. Terumot 1:3 refers to temporary insanity, holding that at any point at which the individual appears sane, he is treated in all respects like a person of sound mind.

inscriptions, Aramaic those ancient texts preserved in the Aramaic language in stone or mosaics, but also on pottery, metal, and small objects. The best-known inscriptions of the Persian period are ostraca, or potsherds with inscriptions in ink. For example, an Aramaic ostracon from Tel el-Farah in the south lists the amount of barley that is to be sown in two fields: "For sowing in the field which is near, 3 kors of barley, in the other field, 35 kors." Many Aramaic ostraca were found at ancient Beer Sheba, the largest administrative center of the Negeb, dating from mid-fourth century B.C.E. These are receipts for food and other materials. They are difficult to decipher, but typically they name the date and a commodity (wheat or barley), then its measure. One reads "On the 15th of Ellul, year four four, from . . . eight seahs of wheat." Similarly, distribution lists from Arad, also in the south of the country, direct someone to give to named persons so much barley for so many animals. One reads, "Give to Qos . . . for one horse and one ass, 4 seahs of barley and 3 kabs of . . . , on the sixth." On the other hand simple wine tags are known, as an example painted directly on the pot from Ashdod shows: "Vineyard of Zebediah."

In the Hellenistic period Aramaic continued in strong use. At Khirbet el-Kom, a site south of Bethlehem, a series of ostraca were found that were apparently the receipts or memoranda of two Edomite moneylenders, Qosyada and Qosbana. Five are in Aramaic and one is in Aramaic and Greek. One Aramaic example reads, "Qosyada to Jaaphat, two quarter-shekels. Qosbana to Malha, one shekel and two quarter-shekels." Evidently these transactions took place in 277 B.C.E.

Ossuaries, Roman period stone boxes for storage of bones in a tomb, are a rich repository of Ara-

maic inscriptions. These are most commonly names, but also include titles and other indicators for the family. One such ossuary from Jerusalem reads, "Simon, builder of the Temple." Others have similar laconic inscriptions: "Salome the wife of Shapir," or "Yehonathan the potter." A marble plaque of the first century C.E. contains an interesting Aramaic inscription: "Here were brought the bones of Uzziah, King of Judah, and not to be opened." This apparently refers to King Uzziah, of whom it is recorded in 2 Chronicles 26:23 that he died and was buried with his fathers, though the interpreters understand this to mean outside the city, as he was a leper. Another Aramaic inscription on the wall of a tomb in Jerusalem records the bringing of the bones of a certain Mattathai, son of Yehud, from Babylon to Jerusalem for reburial: "I, Abbah, son of the priest Elaz son of Aaron the elder, I, Abbah, the afflicted, the persecuted, who was born in Jerusalem and exiled to Babylon, and I brought Mattathai son of Yehud and buried him in a cave which I bought by deed."

Ancient synagogues provide by far the largest corpus of Aramaic inscriptions. For example, the mid-third-century synagogue of Dura Europos in ancient Parthia was found to have fifteen Aramaic inscriptions. Many of these were on the ceramic tiles in the ceiling. Most synagogue Aramaic inscriptions appear on lintels, columns, marble slabs, chancel screens, and in mosaic floors. Most are either dedicatory inscriptions or are longer texts for other purposes. The dedicatory inscriptions normally state, "Be remembered for good X the son of Y who donated the Z" or "X the son of Y made (donated) this Z. May it be for him a blessing." Sometimes the donation is a specific part of the synagogue, such as the mosaic floor, a column, or some other member, but on other occasions it is money that was donated. An example of an inscription mentioning a specific part of the synagogue is from Capernaum, inscribed on a column: "Halphe bar Zebidah bar Yohanan made (donated) this column. May it be for him a blessing."

An example of an inscription for other than donors was found in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias. It reads as follows: "Peace be upon everyone who has fulfilled the commandment in this holy place, and who will fulfil the commandment. May the blessing be his. Amen. Amen. Selah. And unto me. Amen." A dedicatory inscription from the synagogue in the House of Kurios Leontis in Beth Shean is less formulaic. It reads as follows: "Be remembered for good all the members of the Holy Congregation who endeavored to repair the holy place. In peace shall they have their blessing. Amen. Peace. Loving kindness in peace." One of the most famous of the textual types of synagogue Aramaic inscriptions is from Rehob, east of Beth Shean. This inscription is twenty-nine lines long and gives a detailed list of fruits and vegetables forbidden or permitted during the sabbatical year in specific regions of ancient Palestine. Of equal interest is the Aramaic portion of a long Hebrew and Aramaic inscription from the mosaic floor of the synagogue at En Gedi. The Aramaic portion begins with a formula: "Be remembered for good Yose and Ezron and Hizziqiyu the sons of Hilfi," then proceeds with a curse against those who would reveal the secret of the town to the Gentiles. It is usually assumed that this is the secret of balsam preparation.

Other important Aramaic inscriptions come from tombs, both within ancient Palestine and in the diaspora. A long tomb inscription from Zoar on the southwestern shore of the Dead Sea reads as follows: "This is the monument of Esther daughter of Adaio who died in the month of Shebat, year three of the sabbatical year 346 years after the destruction of the Temple. Peace. Peace on her." This date translates to 416 C.E. Many Aramaic tomb inscriptions are known from Jewish communities in Egypt; they reveal many of the details of community life.

inscriptions, diaspora texts inscribed, usually in stone, found outside of the Land of Israel. Inscriptions from various sites of the diaspora give insight into Jewish beliefs and customs outside of Israel. The most readily accessible inscriptions from the diaspora are from North Africa, mainly Egypt, but a smattering of archaeological inscriptions are found from other sites as well. These additional sites demonstrate that the inscriptions from North Africa provide an acceptable sample of diaspora inscriptions.

One important site with a Jewish inscription is the Naro Synagogue, located in modern Tunis, Tunisia. This synagogue contains a typical dedicatory inscription. The mosaics found in the central chamber of this synagogue are now kept in the Brooklyn Museum and contain typical Jewish and "pagan" symbols with dedicatory inscriptions. The Jewish symbols of menorahs are joined by more "pagan" symbols of a fish, a cup, peacocks, and animals placed in a vine design. It is commonly held that these images represent various aspects of salvation, and the accompanying inscription shows that this salvation was especially intended for the benefactor who paid for the mosaic. The inscrip-

tion reads, "Thy servant Juliana P . . . at her own expense paved with mosaic the holy synagogue of Naro for her salvation."

The most accessible group of inscriptions from the diaspora are found in Egypt on burial inscriptions. Almost all of these inscriptions are written in Greek, though a few are written in Hebrew and Aramaic. Another set of inscriptions that are preserved are written in Aramaic with Hebrew proper names. The inscriptions are very important for understanding the use of Jewish names in the diaspora, as well as for illuminating Jewish beliefs in the diaspora about the afterlife and grief.

The most essential element of a burial inscription was the name of the deceased and, often, the age at death. Several simply read, Akabiah son of Elionenai," "Joanna Euphrosyne," "Simotera daugher of Heliodorus, a woman of Sidon," and "Philon, son of Hipp . . . , fifty years old." Another type of burial inscription shows that it was at times important to mention the king and queen. One of these inscriptions reads, "On behalf of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, Ptolemy son of Epikydes, chief of police, and the Jews in Athribis [dedicated] the attendant to the Most High God." Other burial inscriptions add a brief evaluatory comment about the deceased. One such inscription reads, "Mariame, excellent woman, farewell. In the thirty-third year."

Another similiar form is a group of inscriptions that develop the evaluatory comment and add a lament in order to encourage readers of the inscription to mourn for the deceased. This is a very interesting development among the Jewish inscriptions from the diaspora, because it shows that the mourning of others was an important aspect of proper grief. Another important motif is that of the figure of Hades serving as a bridegroom for a young woman of marriageable age. One typical inscription from this group reads, "Weep for me, stranger, a maiden ripe for marriage, who formerly shone in a great house. For, together with my bridal garments, I, untimely, have received this hateful tomb as my bridal chamber. For when the noise revellers are my . . . was going to make my father's house resound, suddenly Hades came and snatched me away, like a rose in a garden nurtured by fresh rain. And I, stranger, who was twenty years . . ."

A similar inscription also calls on the stranger to mourn the deceased who was even younger. It reads, "Look on my gravestone, passerby, and having considered it, weep. Beat with your hands five times for the five year old. For now I lie in the tomb, without even having shared marriage. My parents suffer likewise for the son who pleased them, and my friends look for their comrade and companion; but my body lies in the blessed place. Weeping say, Untimely dead, deeply mourned, you who were always renowned for all virtue."

These inscriptions provide different clues on beliefs and customs from the diaspora. Most of the inscriptions show that the Jews attempted to preserve their culture, while at the same time adopting some of the beliefs and customs of the non-Jews around them.

inscriptions, Greek From the period between Alexander the Great and Muhammad, more than fifteen hundred Jewish inscriptions on stone in Greek are extant, the vast majority of them being epitaphs. They are an important but much neglected source for the study of Jewish life and thought in late antiquity. Though there are several hundreds of Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Latin, these amount to no more than some twenty-five percent of the total number. The heavy preponderance of Greek is an impressive testimony to the influence of Hellenistic culture on the Jews in this period, not only in the diaspora but also in the Land of Israel where a great number of Jewish Greek inscriptions have been found. Even rabbis and their families in the famous rabbinic center of Beth Shearim in Galilee wrote most of their tomb inscriptions in Greek. It is only from the sixth century C.E. onward that Greek was gradually replaced by Hebrew in epigraphic sources. Greek influence is visible not only in the language but also in the forms, formulas, and motifs in the epitaphs. That is only to be expected since there is little evidence of an Israelite tradition in composing tomb inscriptions. Indeed, it was the Greeks who had elevated funerary inscriptions to an art form. In these Jewish epitaphs we find many Hellenistic features: Greek forms like hexametric and iambic poems; Greek literary motifs like death as marriage to the god of the netherworld; Greek mythological figures such as Hades, Charon, Lethe, and others; numerous concepts and formulas of pagan origin (although probably filled with a new sense in some cases, e.g., Moira, originally the goddess of Fate); the Greek notion of astral immortality; and Greek epigraphical conventions, such as the dialogue of the deceased with the passer-by and threats or even curses aimed at potential tomb robbers. In Jewish inscriptions of a nonfunerary nature, we find, for instance, Greek honorary and dedicatory inscriptions (from synagogues) and Greek forms for declarations of manumission of slaves.

The geographical spread of these inscriptions

reveals, even more than the literary sources, that Jews were indeed living all over the ancient world, from Morocco and Spain in the West to Iraq in the East. This is especially true for the Roman period from which the majority of the inscriptions date; although from places such as Leontopolis in Egypt (with its rival Jewish temple) or the Greek island of Delos there is plenty of epigraphical evidence for a strongly Hellenized Jewry from as early as the middle of the second century B.C.E. onward. From many of the inscriptions it is apparent that Jews were often fully integrated into the surrounding society because, for instance, they are said to have been members of the local city council or to have exercised other important public offices. It seems, however, that it was especially in western Asia Minor that Jews reached these high positions; for the city of Rome and other major cultural centers there is no (or much less of) such evidence, although the Jews probably nowhere lived in isolation, as far as we can judge. It should be added, however, that functions in the religious community are mentioned much more often than secular professions and occupations, which is an important indication of the fact that the synagogal community played a major role in the life of ancient Jews. Often inscriptions are our only sources that provide information about the titles of synagogue officials in the diaspora. Moreover, they reveal that in a good many diaspora synagogues women had positions of leadership, which is another indication that it was not until the early Middle Ages that the rabbis began to dominate diaspora communities. On the whole, the more than two thousand inscriptions reveal surprisingly little influence of rabbinic ideas, even though laudatory epithets such as "loving the Torah," "loving the commandments," "loving the synagogue," and the frequent mention of synagogal functions leave us in no doubt about the religious commitment of many Jews.

The average age at death (mentioned in some 550 epitaphs) turns out to be about twenty-eight years. Although it is very hard to determine how representative this data is, it may be said that most probably the Jews shared with pagans both the fate of a short life expectancy—the average length of life for the Roman Empire as a whole lying somewhere between twenty and thirty years—and the fate of a high infant and child mortality, with probably not half of those born reaching adulthood. Even though one would expect in such a situation clear expressions of hope for some sort of afterlife, most of the epitaphs yield very little information concerning the ideas of either the survivors or the deceased about life after death. Only a handful of inscriptions testifies to a variety of forms of belief in afterlife (such as the traditional conception of the gloomy netherworld, immortality of the soul, or becoming a star), and there is only one inscription that explicitly confesses a belief in the resurrection of the body. This need not imply that it is only the few authors of these epitaphs who believed in afterlife—in early Christian epitaphs this belief finds expression relatively rarely as well—but neither can it be said on the basis of this evidence that Jews widely believed in life after death or resurrection. (It must be added that it is unclear what is implied by epitaphs that exhort the deceased to keep courage.) What one does find expressed often is grief about the untimely death of the beloved one(s), much as in pagan epitaphs. Frequently one finds laments over the loss of young persons who had died without having had the chance to marry or beget children, which was felt to be a particularly cruel form of unfinished life. In short, these inscriptions yield important information that is often not found in literary sources and, therefore, they deserve more serious scrutiny than they have received hitherto.

inscriptions, Hebrew those ancient texts preserved in the Hebrew language in stone or mosaics, but also on pottery, metal, and small objects. The best-known Hebrew inscriptions of the Persian period are simple jar handles with the word "Yehud" (Judea) or "Jerusalem" stamped upon them. These occasionally occur with a proper name, such as Hanana or Yehoezer the Governor. From fragments of a fourth-century B.C.E. pottery storage jar from Shikmona on the coast of Israel, we read "Ben Matton, 25 royal (measures) of wine of Gath Karmel (the Carmel Press)." Since this is a Phoenician script, it may be preferable to read this as Phoenician, a related language.

In the Hellenistic period, finds of inscriptions multiply, but most of them are in Greek. Hebrew inscriptions, however, usually of personal names, occur on storage jars from Qumran, the site famous for its association with the Dead Sea Scrolls. The names found in Hebrew include Roma and Yehohanan, the latter also found in its short form Yohanan. Other Hebrew words on other storage jars from Qumran record their contents, such as balsam, or its use, mikveh or ritual bath. Hebrew tomb inscriptions of the Hellenistic period include the inscription of the sons of Hezir, which is found on the facade of the monumental tomb in the Kidron Valley just east of the Temple Mount. The

inscription reads, "This is the tomb and the memorial of Elazar, Hania, Yoezer, Judah, Simeon, and Yohanan, sons of Joseph son of Obed; Joseph and Elazar, sons of Hania, priest of the sons of Hezir." This inscription is often dated to mid-first century B.C.E.

The biblical city of Gezer apparently had become a country estate owned by a single man, Alkios, in mid-first century B.C.E. The boundary stones of the estate have been found around the ancient mound of the city inscribed directly into the bedrock in Hebrew and Greek. The Hebrew says "boundary of Gezer." The Greek says "of Alkios."

From excavations in Jerusalem a part of a leg of a small stone vessel has been found inscribed *qrbn* (qorban) or "sacrifice." This vessel was surely from the Temple worship. A large stone from the top of the southwest tower of the Temple Mount was inscribed "From the place of trumpeting . . ." in Hebrew.

Ossuaries for the reburial of the bones of the dead also occur with Hebrew inscriptions. These usually are to be dated from mid-first century B.C.E. to mid-second century C.E. Most often this is simply a name, such as Yehonan ben Hanania, a title, such as "mother," or a similar phrase, such as "the sons of Eliezer." Other variations on such inscriptions occur, such as "Martha, our mother" or "John the craftsman," or "Salome the proselyte."

Synagogues supply the largest body of Hebrew inscriptions during the Roman and Byzantine periods. The first group is made up of dedicatory inscriptions, of which there are surprisingly few examples in Hebrew. (Most are in Greek or Aramaic.) For example, from Dabbura in the Golan Heights comes the Hebrew inscription, "This is the school of R. Elezar ha-Qappar," usually dated to the second or third century C.E. A dedicatory inscription with a precise date was found at Naburaya in Upper Galilee: "The synagogue was built 494 years after the destruction of the Temple" (564 C.E.). On the lintel inscription from the small synagogue at Kefar Baram, before it was destroyed, one could read, "May there be peace on this place and on all the places of Israel. Yose the Levite, son of Levi made this lintel. May his acts be blessed. Shalom." A Hebrew inscription from Alma, also in Upper Galilee, was composed in a similar fashion: "May there be peace upon this place and upon all the places of His people Israel. Amen. Selah." One usually interprets the word "place" to mean "synagogue."

The second type of synagogue inscription is textual and may contain various elements. For example, two fragments of a marble plaque from the synagogue at Caesarea contained a list of the priestly courses and the localities in the Galilee to which they fled after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. On the other hand, the eighteen-line inscription from the mosaic floor of the synagogue at En Gedi on the west shores of the Dead Sea contains both a Hebrew and an Aramaic section. The first eight lines are in Hebrew and list the thirteen ancestors of the world according to 1 Chronicles 1:1–4. Lines 3 and 4 list the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Lines 5 through 7a list the twelve months of the year. Lines 7b through 8 list the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with the word "Peace." Then the three companions of Daniel appear in their Hebrew names: Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and finally "Peace unto Israel." The remainder is in Aramaic. Other synagogues with zodiacs normally have the signs of the zodiac identified in Hebrew, as are the four seasons. In the synagogue at Beth Alpha west of Beth Shean, Hebrew was used to identify the figures in the presentation of the binding of Isaac in the first panel in the mosaic floor.

A few other Hebrew inscriptions are known from the third to the sixth centuries C.E. For example, sometime during the fourth century C.E. an anonymous person scratched Isaiah 66:13–14 on the western wall of the Temple Mount. It reads, "You shall see, and your heart shall rejoice; your house (shall flourish) like a garden." This may refer to the joy that greeted the emperor Julian's proclamation in mid-fourth century that the Jews were to be allowed to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. When Julian was killed in Parthia, the permission was rescinded.

inspiration term used to describe the supernatural influence exerted upon individuals that enables them to perform certain tasks, to produce oral or written messages (which are then considered to be supernatural revelations possessing divine authority), or to have supernatural wisdom and insight into the meaning of earlier revelations or revelatory writings. Modern Jewish and Christian communities typically regard the particular collection or canon of scriptures they revere as inspired and authoritative, though this judgment, often vague and undefined, is based primarily on each religious community's theological assessment of the religious value of the sacred texts, rather than on a general claim articulated within the texts themselves. In rabbinic Judaism the belief that the Torah was *min shamayim* (from heaven) was a

major way of emphasizing its unique inspiration and authority.

Inspiration to perform particular tasks is sometimes expressed in the Hebrew Bible through the idiom "God placed it in the heart." In Exodus 35:34, for example, it is said of Betzalel the master craftsman (who was filled with the spirit of God, v. 31), that God "put it into his heart" to teach his skill to others. The same idiom is also used of the divine guidance given to Nehemiah in his plans for restoring Jerusalem (Neh. 2:12, 7:5). Divine inspiration is often associated with the two major types of altered states of consciousness, possession trance and vision trance, both involving temporary personality changes. When Saul was possessed by the spirit of the Lord and began to behave like a prophet, for example, the text says that he was "turned into a different person" (1 Sam. 10:6). Possession trance entails the belief that supernatural beings or spirits enter or control an individual's personality, while vision trance typically involves visions or out-of-body experiences. Both types of trance are attributed to prophets in the Hebrew Bible.

Israelite prophets claimed divine inspiration and authority for their messages in a variety of ways. Sometimes the revelations they received were attributed to the activity of the spirit of God (Judg. 3:10; 1 Sam. 10:10; Isa. 48:16, 59:21, 61:1; Ezek. 3:12–15), and for this reason an ancient designation for a prophet was "man of the spirit" (Hos. 9:7). Another type of claim to inspiration is involved in the prophet's assertion that "YHWH's hand" was upon him (Ezek. 3:14, 8:1, 33:21–22; Isa. 8:11; Jer. 15:17), an expression strongly suggesting divine control or possession. Yet another way of claiming divine inspiration was the frequent introduction of oracular speeches with the messenger formula "thus says YHWH" (Amos 1:1, 3:11, 7:17), and the proclamation formula "hear the word of YHWH" (1 Kings 22:19; Jer. 2:4; Ezek. 3:3), and conclusion of such speeches with formulas like "YHWH has spoken" (Amos 1:5, 8, 15, 2:3, 5:17). The revelatory trance could be experienced as a vision seen by the prophet (Amos 1:1, 7:1, 4, 7, 8:1). One distinctive type of prophetic visionary experience involved the prophet's perception of his presence at the deliberations of the heavenly court (1 Kings 19:22–33).

In early Christianity, the inspiration and authority of the Jewish scriptures, either in the form of the Hebrew Bible or in its translated and expanded form, the Greek Septuagint, was increasingly emphasized. The term *theopneustos,* meaning inspired by God, is used in 2 Timothy 3:16, where it is claimed that "all Scripture [i.e., the Jewish scriptures] is inspired by God." Another way of expressing the notion of inspiration is by claiming that biblical authors such as David wrote "in the spirit" (Mark 12:36; Matt. 22:43). While there is overwhelming evidence for revelatory experiences in early Christianity (Acts 2:1–21, 8:14–17, 10:44–46, 19:1–6; 1 Cor. 12–14; 1 Thess. 5:19), it is only in the Revelation of John that there is an explicit claim for divine inspiration (Rev. 1:1–2, 21:8–21).

intention the mental determination of an action's purpose or desired result. Rabbinic Judaism ascribes paramount importance to intention, holding that the meaning and significance of an action are determined by the individual's underlying purpose rather than by what he or she physically does or says. This idea appears in rudimentary form within scripture's priestly source, which distinguishes between intentional and unintentional desecration of holy things (Lev. 22:10–14) and between homicide and manslaughter (Num. 35:16–28). It is fully developed within later rabbinic Judaism, which deems intention central in many aspects of law and ritual.

Scripture generally understands the significance of an action to be inherent in its outcome. In Leviticus, for example, a priest's offering of a sacrifice is valid as long as he carries out the proper actions, regardless of what he is thinking while he performs them. Comparably, scripture deems foods to become subject to uncleanness when they are wet, whether or not an individual purposely moistens them. Physical condition alone determines status. Rabbinic writings by contrast generally hold that physical actions have no inherent meaning. An action's significance or an object's status, rather, must be determined in light of the intention and purpose of the person involved.

This rabbinic view holds that people inherit an incomplete world, which awaits human interpretation and ordering. This notion is familiar from the Yahwistic creation story (Gen. 2:4–20), in which Adam names the animals and thus completes Creation. But it is quite unlike the priestly conception (see Gen. 1:1–2:3), which understands humankind to have been placed in a completed and perfectly ordered world. In this view, classification and interpretation are based entirely upon outward appearances, established by God without regard to human cognition and purpose.

The mishnaic perspective imputes to Israelites the power to determine what is sacred and profane, to judge what actions conform to or break

the law, and to establish the status of physical objects. For instance, the Mishnah holds that only intentionally moistened foods become susceptible to uncleanness. Similarly, the rabbis treat as foods, subject to tithes, only things someone actually intends to eat. If the individual plans to discard the substance, then even if it is edible, it takes on the status of refuse, exempt from tithing. Finally, the Mishnah's authorities hold that a priest—or any individual engaged in a ritual action—must formulate the intention properly to perform that act of worship. If he intends to do the wrong thing, his act is not valid, even if his physical actions conform to the rules. In all these cases, human intention and purpose are primary in establishing the significance and effect of actions.

The Mishnah's rabbis thus hold that human will and purpose impart meaning to a world that has no inherent order. In this way, Israelites share in what the rabbis perceive to be the continuing creation of the universe. They share with God the task of imparting meaning and order to what otherwise is chaotic. This idea represents a major distinction between the rabbinic perspective and that of scripture's priestly code, in which Israelites confront a world completed and perfected in the original events of creation and therefore unaffected by human thought and purpose.

intercession the pleading of humanity's case before God by human and divine beings. In the Hebrew Bible prophets intercede for the sinful nation (Exod. 33:12–23; Amos 7:2; Jer. 15:1), and priestly sacrificial rites mediate between God and humanity. Following the exile and the absence of a sacrificial cult, we see the priest Ezra offering a prayer of repentance in behalf of the people (Ezra 9:6–15), and later texts stereotype high priests in this role (2 Macc. 3:31; 3 Macc. 2:1–20).

At some indeterminate point, the role of intercessor is ascribed to members of the heavenly courtroom. It is suggested in Job 9:33, 16:19, and 19:25–27, but comes into full bloom in the apocalyptic literature of the early Hellenistic period. For the authors of 1 Enoch, four named angels relay the prayers of a decimated humanity (chap. 9), and other texts repeat the image (chap. 47, 89:59–90:17). Often these intercessors are associated with heavenly books that contain the names of the righteous and the record of their good deeds and their enemies' evil deeds (1 Enoch 97:2–3, 98:6–8, 104:1–3). Angelic intercession is pivotal in the action of the Book of Tobit (3:16–17, 12:12–15).

Although the notion of angelic intercession is not absent from the New Testament (Matt. 18:10), in general, the exalted Jesus has taken over the role of heavenly intercessor. The Epistle to the Hebrews expounds Jesus' heavenly high priesthood in great detail, but the idea appears earlier in Romans 8:34 with an allusion to the priestly Psalm 110. *See also* ANGEL.

interest the amount paid for the use of borrowed money. In contemporary usage, interest is distinguished from usury, which refers to a rate of interest higher than what is permitted by law or common practice. In dealings between Israelites, biblical and rabbinic law prohibit the payment of any interest whatsoever. In discussions of Jewish law, therefore, the terms interest and usury are interchangeable.

Rabbinic authorities clearly recognize the value of money over time. For instance, they distinguish between the worth of a note of indebtedness payable in ten years and the much greater value of such a note payable in thirty days (M. Makkot 1:1). Even so, rabbinic law consistently enlarges upon scripture's prohibition against interest, thereby foreclosing any possibility of a lender's receiving in return more than he lent. Within this rabbinic system, profit from all sorts of investments is categorized as forbidden interest and even the appearance of interest is to be avoided. This applies, for example, in a case in which one purchases a home and some months later sells it back to the original owner for the same amount of money. This is to be avoided since it creates the appearance that the purchaser enjoyed the use of the home in exchange for the original seller's use of his money (M. Arakhin 9:3).

The rabbinic approach to interest reflects a larger economic system, familiar from Aristotelian economics, in which barter is seen as natural and good, while profit—economic gain derived from money that has not been used in an exchange of commodities—is unnatural. In the rabbinic like the Aristotelian system, money functions as a means of exchange only. Interest violates money's essential purpose and creates opportunities for inappropriate economic gain.

intermediate days *see* ḤOL HAMOED

Ios. *see* DE IOSEPHO

Irenaeus bishop of Lyons (fl. 180 C.E.). In his major extant work, *Adversus omnes haereses* (Against All Heresies), written against the Gnostics, the Christian Bible takes recognizable shape as constituted of two Testaments. Irenaeus referred to an Old Testament, comprising the Septuagint, and coined the name New Testament for the collection of Christian documents, which he

knew as including the four Gospels, a collection of Paul's Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, Revelation, 1 Peter, and 1 and 2 John. Prior to Irenaeus's work, Christians had claimed the sacred writings of the Jews by reading them as witnesses to Christ. Decisions on which Christian writings to include rested fundamentally on whether a given writing gave a theologically correct interpretation of the Christian faith in general and of Christ in particular. Irenaeus's work marks crystallization of the almost complete Christian canon. It also includes reflection on interpretation; for example, *Adversus haereses* II.25.3–28 outlines conditions for the right use of the scriptures.

Isaac son of Abraham and Sarah; father of Jacob and Esau. God's promises are passed down through Isaac, rather than Ishmael, Abraham's firstborn. Paul sees this as proof that divine election depends on grace (Rom. 9:7–8; Gal. 4:28). The writings of the rabbis enhance the miraculous aspects of Isaac's birth.

In Genesis 27:1–40, Rebekah and Jacob trick Isaac into giving Jacob the blessing of the firstborn, even though Esau was born first. Jubilees 19:15–31 justifies this by saying Abraham loves Jacob because he is learned, in accord with Jubilees' interest in halakhic learning. Abraham blesses Jacob in Rebekah's sight, legitimating her deception of Isaac.

The sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22) is of particular interest to tradition. Jubilees 17:15–18:19 sees it as a test of Abraham's faith. Josephus (*Ant.* 1.13.1–4, secs. 222–36), Philo (*On Abr.* 32–36, secs. 167–207), and Pseudo-Philo (18:5, 32:1–4, 40:2) stress both Isaac's and Abraham's willingness that the sacrifice proceed. Philo and Pseudo-Philo consider it a real sacrifice, as does rabbinic tradition. In Pseudo-Philo, God chooses Israel because of Isaac's blood (18:5).

In Hebrews 11:17–19, the sacrifice of Isaac illustrates Abraham's faith. Isaac's faith is connected to his blessings for his sons (Heb. 11:20). James 2:21–24 considers Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac a "work," proving that both faith and works are necessary for justification. The Testament of Isaac is a Christian work picturing Isaac as an ascetic who teaches and tours the heavens before his death.

Isaac I Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch; not cited in the Mishnah, but mentioned frequently in the Talmuds, Mekhilta, and Sifrei

Isaac b. Abdimi Babylonian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; known primarily for his biblical exegesis; often in dispute with Ḥisda. Regarding Isaac, Raḇa (B. Zeḇaḥim 43b) states: "Every passage of scripture that R. Isaac b. Abdimi did not expound, and every passage on Tannaitic authority which Zera did not expound, are not really explained." Isaac's teachings frequently are transmitted by Abayye or Raḇa.

Isaac b. Eleazar **1.** Palestinian amora active at the end of the second century C.E.; a relative of Yoḥanan, who delivered his funeral eulogy; the same individual as Isaac Ḥakola or Ben Ḥakola, found in both Talmuds (see B. Pesaḥim 113b).

2. Palestinian amora active in the second half of the fourth century C.E.; a native of Caesaria. Both legal and homiletical authorities cite sayings in his name.

Isaac b. Naḥman third-century-C.E. Palestinian amora; a contemporary of Jacob b. Idi, with whom, according to Y. Peah 8:9 (21b), he served as a lay leader of the community, possibly Tiberias

Isaac Ḥakola *see* ISAAC B. ELEAZAR

Isaac Nappaḥa third-century-C.E. Palestinian amora; a student of Yoḥanan; in sources other than the Babylonian Talmud, generally referred to simply as R. Isaac, without designation as "the smith." He was active at Tiberias and Caesarea with Ammi, Abbahu, and Ḥanina b. Pappa. He also traveled to Babylonia, where he transmitted teachings from the Land of Israel. Isaac is known for both his legal and exegetical teachings.

Isaac of Antioch (d. 459 C.E.) Syrian church father. In his homily against the Jews he argues that they should not feel a sense of pride for having the law because there were righteous people before Sinai—such as Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Seth—who were blessed even though they did not keep the law. The law was given to the Jews because they had rebelled and sinned through the golden calf. According to Isaac, Jacob had disinherited the Jews in his will, and Jesus "had revoked the curse of the law" on the cross. He argues that circumcision, an operation for removing the foreskin that is done by the hand, is replaced by baptism, which is a removal of sin accomplished by the Holy Spirit. Isaac accuses the Jews of encouraging the Christians to sin by inviting them to keep the Sabbath and to practice circumcision. He chastises the Christians for using Jewish amulets and charms. Isaac states that because God still loves the Jews, he will forgive them if they become Christians.

Isaiah prophet in Jerusalem in the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. Lives of the Prophets and Martyrdom of Isaiah relate the nonbiblical tradition of Isaiah's death at Manasseh's hands by being sawed in half (cf. Heb. 11:37). The explanation of

this strange fate may lie in rabbinic legends that tell of Isaiah magically hiding in a cedar, which is then sawed in two. In Martyrdom of Isaiah 3:8–9, the prophet is charged with claiming to have seen God, contrary to Moses' words (Exod. 33:20; see Isa. 6). Martyrdom of Isaiah 6–11 is a Christian work telling of Isaiah's vision of a trip to heaven, where he foresees Jesus' career. *See also* ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM OF.

Isaiah, Ascension of *see* ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM OF

Isaiah, Martyrdom of a legendary account of Isaiah's death. Although elements in the legend are referred to in Hebrews 11:37 and in rabbinic texts (B. Yebam. 49b; B. Sanh. 103b; Y. Sanh. 10:2; cf. Lives of the Prophets 1), the story itself is preserved only as a part of the second-century Christian apocalypse, the Ascension of Isaiah.

The legend is set in the reign of Manasseh, who has turned Jerusalem into a center of apostasy, lawlessness, and the occult arts and a place where the righteous are persecuted (2:4–6). As a result, Isaiah and his friends flee to the Judean wilderness, where their hiding place is discovered by Isaiah's opponent, a false prophet named Bechir-ra, a descendant of Zedekiah ben Henaanah, the opponent of Micaiah ben Imlah. Bechir-ra accuses the prophets of predicting the fall of Jerusalem and Judea and the captivity of the king and people, and he criticizes Isaiah for claiming to have seen God (Isa. 6:1ff.; cf. Exod. 33:20) and for calling Jerusalem "Sodom" and the princes "the people of Gomorrah." The king condemns Isaiah to be sawed in two.

Apart from the specific sins attributed to Manasseh (2 Kings 21), the parallels to the story of Ahab, Micaiah, and Zedekiah (cf. 1 Kings 22), and the reference to Isaiah's throne vision, the details of this narrative have no specific counterparts in the Bible and may be indicators of the story's origin. Details in chapter 5 recall the martyr stories in 2 Maccabees 6–7 and could point to a time of origin during the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes; however, one would expect a foreign king as the antagonist, as is the case in several texts from this period which feature Nebuchadnezzar as the arch-villain. The polarity that sets Isaiah and his cadre of true prophets against Bechir-ra and his entourage suggests a situation in which a group of true believers oppose establishment leaders who are seen as false teachers. This narrative structure, as well as the retreat from the corruption of Jerusalem to the wilderness of Judea, parallels the circumstances of the Qumran Community, and the text could have emanated from such a group.

Elements in the actual account of Isaiah's death, especially his inspiration by the Holy Spirit at the moment of death and his refusal to recant, become common fare in later accounts that emphasize the martyr's ecstasy and transformation to immortality at the moment of death (cf. 4 Macc. 14–17; Gosp. Peter 4).

Isaiah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Ishmael son of Abraham and Hagar, Sarah's Egyptian slave; Isaac's older half-brother. The promise of land is passed down through Isaac, not Ishmael (Gen. 17:1–22). Ishmael is considered the ancestor of the Arabs. In Gal. 4:21–31, Paul allegorizes Sarah and Hagar, interpreting them as old and new covenants. As Ishmael "persecuted" Isaac (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.12.3, sec. 215), so the present children of the slave Hagar (those under Torah) persecute those in Christ. For Paul, those under Torah are in slavery, and those in Christ are free (Gal. 4–5).

Ishmael b. Elisha one of the most important Tannaitic authorities, active at the beginning of the second century C.E.; generally referred to without the patronymic, often in dispute with Akiba. He is particularly known for the thirteen hermeneutical principles cited in his name. His school is held to stand behind the midrashic compilations Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael (on Exodus), Sifrei to Numbers, and part of Sifrei to Deuteronomy.

Ishmael b. Yohanan b. Beroka Tannaitic authority of the middle of the second century C.E. He is frequently quoted in agreement with or opposition to Simeon b. Gamaliel II. He repeats the exegetical principle that scripture employs ordinary human idiom. While his name appears infrequently in the Mishnah, it is associated with about fifty statements in the Tosefta and Talmuds.

Ishmael b. Yose b. Halafta Tannaitic authority at the end of the second century C.E. He transmitted teachings of his father, Yose b. Halafta, and followed him in leadership of the academy at Sephoris. At Y. Megillah 4:1, 77d, Ishmael reports that he can write out the entire scripture from memory. B. Baba Metzia 84a reports that Ishmael was forced to work for the government, and he is criticized for not having fled.

Isidorus Alexandrian opponent of the Jews in the period around the riots in 38 C.E., when the Jewish community suffered greatly. A version of the story is found in the Acta Alexandrinorum, according to which Isidorus brought a private lawsuit against Agrippa I and was tried and executed by Claudius.

Isis goddess originating in ancient Egypt whose worship and cult spread across the ancient world.

She was worshiped in Palestine and other parts of the Roman Empire as late as the sixth century C.E. In Egyptian religion, Isis was the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus. From the earliest times of Egyptian religion, she was seen as the supreme mother goddess who possessed the ultimate creative powers of the soil. This control of the creative powers of the earth caused her to be assimilated into other cults throughout the ancient Near East, and she was identified with numerous other Semitic, Greek, and Roman deities.

Archaeological evidence of an Isis worship in Palestine dates back to at least the Late Bronze Age. A foundation tablet of an administration building at Tell Aphek (14 km from modern Tel Aviv) identifies the local governor with the epithet, "Beloved by Isis, the Great, mother of the god, the one of On." In the Hellenistic period, there is evidence of an actual Isis cult in Palestine. Remains of a third-century-C.E. temple to Isis were uncovered at Samaria underneath the ruins of a Roman temple to Kore. A Greek dedicatory inscription confirms that this temple was primarily devoted to the worship of Isis.

From the evidence of Jewish names formed from the name Isis, it is possible to deduce that the worship of Isis became familiar enough that the name was a choice for a child's name. For example, the name Eisas, from Isis, is attested in Catacomb 16 at Beth Shearim. The veneration of Isis probably continued in Palestine well into the first few centuries of the common era.

isopoliteia (Gr., equal citizenship) The term is often used by Josephus to imply an equality of citizenship of the Jews with the Greeks in a Greek polis (city). Despite Josephus's claim, it is now generally accepted that the Jews as a whole did not have such citizenship in most Greek cities. The Jews were usually given the right to practice their own laws, but this was as an ethnic community (*politeuma*), not as citizens. Josephus's statements represent a form of pro-Jewish propaganda, perhaps in support of those Jews who were arguing for rights of equal citizenship.

Israel (Heb., one who strives with God) the name given to Jacob after he wrestled with God (Gen. 32:28). It was used for his descendants, understood as the twelve tribes of Israel, and for the land given to them by God. They often refer to themselves as the sons of Israel and to God as the God of Israel. During the divided monarchy, Israel was the northern kingdom, in contrast to Judah, the southern kingdom. "Israel" is the name used by the authors and audiences of postexilic Jewish literature for themselves, in contrast to "Jews," a name used by or in address to outsiders. "Jews" is a Hellenized form of "Judeans," referring originally to the inhabitants of the Persian province of Yehud (539–332 B.C.E.), an area around Jerusalem roughly corresponding to the homeland of the tribe of Judah. The Greek term was used for adherents of the Jewish way of life in both Judea and the diaspora. True to this usage, Josephus speaks of Israel when he is recounting the biblical story in the first eleven books of his *Antiquities of the Jews,* and then uses "Jews" when he describes their part in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In 1 Maccabees and Judith, which recount conflict with the gentile world, "Israel" is used frequently as a way of affirming Jewish identity. *See also* ISRAEL, LAND OF; ISRAEL, PEOPLE OF.

Israel, Land of **1.** in Second Temple literature, a designation that usually refers to the region of Israel; the term "land," however, can be used for territory owned or inhabited by any individual or group. The Bible contains legislation that protects the property rights of individuals. Land was not to be removed permanently from the control of the family to which it was allotted originally (see the story about Naboth's vineyard in 1 Kings 21). Land that had been sold was supposed to be returned to the first owner in the fiftieth year, that is, at the end of a jubilee period of forty-nine years (Lev. 25). There is no evidence that this concept was ever put into practice, but the Book of Jubilees dates Israel's regaining of its land (the conquest of Canaan) to end of the fiftieth jubilee period—a large-scale application of the biblical concept.

The Land of Israel plays a large role in biblical and Second Temple literature. In Genesis, God promises that his descendants will one day possess the Land of Canaan whose boundaries stretched from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates River (Gen. 15). The long story of their absence from that land, their return to it, and their conquest of it occupies much of the first six books of the Bible. The prophets threatened the nation with loss of the land if they were unfaithful to the covenant; after several centuries their words came true, when Assyria exiled many residents of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.E. and the Babylonians deported thousands from the southern kingdom in 587 and 586 B.C.E. The prophet Ezekiel described a vision in which, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, he saw the presence of the Lord leaving the Temple because of its impurity. Though not all residents left the land, the return to the land of a sizable number of Jewish people from Babylon and points

east began in 538 B.C.E. and continued in different waves for some time thereafter. This, too, happened in accordance with prophecy (see, e.g., Jer. 32). The Jewish state in Israel remained small during much of the postexilic period, but during the time of the Maccabean, or Hasmonean, dynasty (152–63 B.C.E.), the borders were expanded considerably. The Second Temple, which stood from 515 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., remained the focal point of religion for Jews in Israel and to a certain extent for those in other lands. All males were required to make pilgrimage to the Temple three times in a year, and it is known that large crowds were present at those festive times (see, e.g., Acts 2). In the New Testament, the land is mentioned a number of times. It was the place where Jesus lived, died, and rose. In fact, the Gospel of Matthew (chap. 2) presents his brief departure from it to Egypt and his return to it as a repetition of the ancient Israelite Exodus. In Hebrews, the promise of land to Abraham and his offspring is reinterpreted as the assurance of a heavenly homeland (Heb. 11).

2. in rabbinic Judaism, the Holy Land, centered upon Jerusalem, extending to Judea and Samaria, with variable boundaries elsewhere. It is regarded as cultically clean; all other lands are cultically unclean, bearing corpse-uncleanness. The Holy Land is a central category in Judaism; it is where Israel, the people, belong, and it is owned uniquely by Israel, the people, in partnership with God. This joint ownership is expressed in a variety of concrete rules. First, Israel, as tenant on God's Holy Land, maintains the property in the ways God requires, keeping the rules that mark the land and its crops as holy. Next, the hour at which the sanctification of the land comes to form a critical mass, namely, in the ripened crops, is the moment ponderous with danger and heightened holiness. Israel's will so affects the crops as to mark a part of them as holy and the rest of them as available for common use. The human will is determinative in the process of sanctification. When Israel wants to use the produce of the land, at that moment God asserts the divine right to ownership of a share of the crop, which is parceled out among God's clients, the priests, Levites, poor, and the like.

What happens in the Holy Land at appointed times marks off spaces of the land as holy in yet another way. The center of the land and the focus of its sanctification is the Temple. There, the produce of the land is received and given back to God, the one who created and sanctified the land. At these unusual moments of sanctification, the inhabitants of the land in their social being in villages enter a state of spatial sanctification; that is, the village boundaries mark off holy space, within which one must remain during the holy time. This is expressed in two ways. First, the Temple itself observes and expresses the special, recurring holy time. Second, the villages of the Holy Land are brought into alignment with the Temple, forming a complement and completion to the Temple's sacred being. The advent of the appointed times precipitates a spatial reordering of the land such that the boundaries of the sacred are matched and mirrored in village and in Temple. At the heightened holiness marked by these moments of appointed times, therefore, the occasion for an affective sanctification is worked out. Like the harvest, the advent of an appointed time, a pilgrim festival, also a sacred season, is made to express the regular, orderly, and predictable sort of sanctification for Israel that the system as a whole seeks.

The Mishnah's economic theory regards land as the sole form of wealth and capital, and land in this sense means only land in the Land of Israel. Only the householder figures as an economic actor, and the householder is defined as one who owns land in the Land of Israel. As principal and head of so sizable a network of material relationships, the householder saw himself as pivot of the village, the irreducible building block of society, the solid and responsible center of it all. The householder controlled the means of production and held the governance of the basic economic unit of the village as such. Traders and peddlers and others outside the economy of the household also functioned outside the framework of the village as such; by definition, they were not settled, landed, stable. Their economic tasks required them to travel from place to place, for instance, to collect produce and resell it at the market. But so far as the Mishnah's picture of society in its economic relationships and productive aspects is concerned, the whole was held together through the householder. He who owns something is the only one who may sanctify it; in heaven, God sanctifies, and on earth, the householder does. Ownership of a slice of land in the Holy Land formed the center of the system.

Israel, people of **1.** in Second Temple times (c. 515 B.C.E.–70 C.E.), the Jewish people. During this long period, the nation of Israel was scattered into several centers of population, with the largest numbers being in Babylon (where some were exiled in the sixth century B.C.E.), Egypt, and the Land of Israel. In each place, the Jewish people established their own societal arrangements and wrote their

own literature. The Jewish community in Egypt produced the first ancient translation of the Hebrew Bible by rendering it into Greek (the Septuagint). The process had already begun in the third century B.C.E. Jerusalem served as a center for all Jews in the sense that the Temple was there (Jews everywhere contributed to its expenses), and it was the goal of the three annual pilgrimages (the festivals of unleavened bread, weeks, and booths). At some point in the Second Temple period, synagogues appeared in different localities, including Israel.

There was little political independence for the people of Israel throughout these centuries. In fact, the most influential Jewish leader seems often to have been the high priest, although at several points in these centuries, there is mention of a council that exercised some administrative and judicial powers. When the Temple was rebuilt (515 B.C.E.) after the Babylonians had destroyed it, Israel was part of the immense Persian Empire; the central government ruled it by means of appointed officials—Nehemiah, for example—who were Jewish. Once Persia fell to Alexander the Great (about 330 B.C.E.), Israel became part of the Hellenistic world. First, it was ruled by the Ptolemies in Egypt; beginning in about 200 B.C.E. the Seleucid Empire, centered in Syria, took control. A brief period of native rule resulted when the Maccabean family led a revolt, which won the Jews in Israel a degree of independence from Seleucid control. Members of the Maccabean (or Hasmonean) family served as the political and religious heads of the state from 152 to 63 B.C.E., when the Romans, led by Pompey, captured Jerusalem. Roman control took different forms as time progressed (client kings, such as Herod the Great, or governors, such as Pontius Pilate), but it witnessed the rise of strong Jewish opposition, which eventually caused a revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). That revolt, to which a radical group called the Zealots made a significant contribution, ended with the demolition of Jerusalem and its Temple and immense loss of life.

During the Second Temple period, there were different parties or factions among the people. Josephus the historian mentions the three major parties, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and describes their varying beliefs and practices in some detail; he also says that the Zealots agreed with the Pharisees but were violently opposed to foreign rule. The spoken language of Israel seems to have been Aramaic throughout this period, though Hebrew was used and, later, some Greek.

2. in rabbinic Judaism, the holy people of God; the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the group of which the Hebrew scriptures speak, deemed by Judaism to be the living people of Israel "after the flesh," the Jewish people. The doctrine of "Israel" implicit in the Mishnah (c. 200 C.E.) is that the community now stands in the place of the Temple of Jerusalem, which was destroyed in 70 C.E.—"Israel" now serves as had the Temple. As in the vision of Ezekiel, chapters 40 through 47, the Temple had marked the boundaries among the hierarchy of society, with the high priest going to the innermost sanctum, the other priests then going closest to the holiest place, and all others approaching in hierarchical distance: Levites, Israelite males, women, and outward to the Gentiles. "Israel" served this second task of social hierarchization, as well as the outer-facing task of political differentiation of "Israel" from everyone else, "the nations." In the second phase in the formation of the Judaism of the dual Torah, from the formation of the Talmud of the Land of Israel at the end of the fourth century, "Israel" became a historical entity, with traits that were intrinsic, not merely aspects of a relationship of comparison and contrast. "Israel" served not only as a classification but also as the hero of stories, the subject of sustained (if episodic) narratives. "Israel" in the writings redacted in the late fourth and fifth centuries gains flesh and substance, becoming not merely a category to be set into relationship with other categories, but the name of a palpable social group, living out a concrete historical existence in a world of material reality, about which people told important stories and made weighty comments—a different "Israel" altogether.

Israelite term for Jew; Hebrew; descendant of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah and Rachel

Issi *see* ASSI

Issi b. Akabiah *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Issi b. Gamaliel *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Issi b. Gur Arye *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Issi b. Judah *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Issi b. Mehallel *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

issur haNaah (Heb., prohibition against [deriving] benefit) prohibition against deriving any profit whatsoever from an object; distinguished from a less inclusive prohibition, which forbids, for instance, eating or drinking the thing but allows other benefit, for example, sale or use of a prohibited animal's skin (see B. Shebuot 24a–b)

Issus, Battle of battle at Issus, to the east of Tarsus and the Cicilian Gates, in which Alexander the

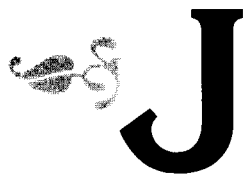
Great defeated the Persian emperor Darius III in 333 B.C.E. When Darius fled east, Alexander proceeded south toward Egypt, receiving the submission of Jerusalem on the way, but fighting a difficult seven-month siege at Tyre.

ius gladii (Lat., law of the sword) term used by modern scholars (though the Romans may not have used the expression themselves) with reference to the right of passing a sentence of capital punishment and carrying it out. It is now generally agreed that the Jews under Roman rule did not have this right.

Iyon city, also called Tel-Dabin, in the north of the Land of Israel, in the area of Susita, east of the Sea of Galilee. According to T. Shebiit 4:10, produce that is cultivated in Iyon is subject to tithing, as though the city were part of the Land of Israel proper. T. Shebiit 4:11 explicitly lists Iyon as a border area.

Iyyar eighth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to April/May

Izates king of Adiabene during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.). His kingdom in northern Mesopotamia was dependent on the Parthians. Izates and many of his family became Jews and made many donations to Jerusalem and the Temple. His five sons were educated in Jerusalem.



Jacob son of Isaac and Rebekah; Esau's younger twin. God is often called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian tradition. Esau sold his birthright to Jacob for a bowl of stew. Rebekah and Jacob tricked Isaac into giving the firstborn's blessing to Jacob, who became the bearer of the promises (Genesis 25:29–34; cf. Jub. 19:15–31, 26, which justifies the deception). Jacob's name probably derives from the verb "to supplant" (Heb.: *kb*). Paul takes this to mean that election depends on grace, not descent (Rom. 9:10–13).

Jacob had twelve sons and one daughter. The twelve sons were the eponymous ancestors of the Israelite tribes, so all Israel is the "House of Jacob," or simply "Jacob." Returning from Mesopotamia, Jacob wrestled one night with a mysterious "man" (Gen. 32:24–30; cf. 35:9–15). The man changed Jacob's name to Israel, originally meaning "may God strive." From that time on, Jacob's descendants were also called children of Israel or Israel.

Stories about the patriarchs are used to explain later relationships. Jacob's brother, Esau, moved to Seir (Gen. 33:16), and his descendants became the Edomites (later, Idumeans). This posits a kinship between Israel and the Edomites and asserts Israel's superiority. Jubilees 37–38 tells of antipathy between Jacob and Esau, reflecting rivalry between Jews and Idumeans in the author's own day. Theodotus, in *On the Jews,* rewrites from Genesis 34 to describe Jewish-Samaritan relations.

In Genesis 49 Jacob blesses his sons before dying. This testamentary setting is a prototype for the many testaments of ancient heroes written throughout the period of early Judaism. (The Testament of Jacob is a Christian work, not to be dated before the second century.) Jacob's prediction that the scepter would not pass from Judah (Gen. 49:10) was taken messianically in Jewish and Christian tradition. Balaam's prophecy of the star of Jacob and the scepter of Israel (Num. 24:17) was used in the Dead Sea Scrolls to refer to two messiahs (CD 7:18–21; 1QM 11:6–7; 4QTest. 9–13).

In Philo and in Jubilees, Jacob and the other patriarchs become models of Torah-abiding behavior. The Wisdom of Solomon 10:10 attributes Jacob's escape from Esau to Jacob's righteousness, and the Damascus Rule calls Jacob a friend of God and member of the covenant forever. In Joseph and Asenath 22, Jacob is described in angelic and even divine terms, and agrees to be a father to Asenath, a convert to Judaism.

Within the rabbinic literature, Jacob's life is viewed as symbolic of later Jewish history. Especially insofar as he was called Israel (Gen. 32:28), Jacob represents the nation as a whole, while his chief antagonists, Esau and Laban, are equated with Rome. In this reading, the conflict between the Israelite nation and Rome was predestined, represented in the struggle that took place in Rebekah's womb even before Jacob and Esau's birth (Gen. 25:22; Gen. Rabbah 63:6). The rabbis further represented this conflict in their claim that, although Jacob and Esau both were given equal

opportunities to learn Torah and follow the ways of God, only Jacob did so, with Esau becoming instead an idolater (Gen. Rabbah 63:10). The irreconcilable opposition between Jew and non-Jew was depicted, finally, in the contrast between the handsome Jacob, representing the spiritual beauty of Judaism, and the ruddy and ugly Esau, characterizing what the rabbis saw as the warmongering and contemptible world of paganism (Gen. Rabbah 63:8).

Much attention is given to explaining the apparently devious methods by which Jacob acquired the birthright and blessing of the firstborn. The rabbis explain that Jacob did not act out of selfishness but wished only to acquire from the spiritually unworthy Esau the right to offer family sacrifices, at that time given by the firstborn (Gen. Rabbah 63:13). Comparably, Jacob did not intend to deceive his father by telling him, "I am Esau, your firstborn" (Gen. 27:19). The sentence is properly understood as laconic and actually included the following, bracketed words: "I am [the one who will receive the Ten Commandments, which begin with the word 'I'], [but] Esau [is indeed] your firstborn" (Gen. Rabbah 65:14).

While generally treated as a model of piety, Jacob is not above criticism. The dreadful result of Jacob's preferential treatment of Joseph proves the importance of a parent's treating all of his children equally (B. Shabbat 10b). Jacob is criticized further for failing to intercede with God to prevent the Israelites' enslavement in Egypt (B. Shabbat 89b). Overall, however, Jacob is seen as a model of proper behavior, for which he was appropriately rewarded. Along with Abraham and Isaac, he was one of only three people to whom God gave a foretaste of the life of the world to come and over whom the evil inclination had no control. He was one of six people over whom the angel of death had no power (B. Baba Batra 17a). According to one source, like the immortal Jewish people, Jacob never died at all (B. Taanit 5b).

Jacob b. Iddi Palestinian amora at the end of the third century C.E.; a student of Yoḥanan. He and Isaac b. Naḥman were community leaders in Tiberias (Y. Peah 8:9, 98b). Later, he lived in Tyre, to which Zera sent rabbis traveling between Palestine and Babylonia, so that they could learn Jacob's views on various issues (B. Erubin 80a; B. Baba Metzia 43b; B. Ḥullin 98a).

Jacobites followers of a form of Monophysite Christianity, named for Jacob Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa. In 559 C.E., Baradaeus visited Khusro I to gain tolerance of the Jacobite Christians. The Jacobite sect eventually became the national church of Syria. Baradaeus was martyred in 578 for converting a member of the royal family.

Jambres *see* JANNES AND JAMBRES

James, brother of Jesus brother of Jesus of Nazareth; also called James the Just. Various New Testament passages refer to James and other brothers and sisters of Jesus (Mark 6:3; Matt. 13:55–56; Acts 1:14). Christian tradition has regarded these brothers and sisters as either children born to Joseph and Mary after Jesus, as stepbrothers and stepsisters, or as cousins (the last two positions preserve the traditional belief in the virginity of Mary). Paul refers to Cephas (Peter) and "James the brother of the Lord" as leaders ("pillars") of the Jerusalem community of Jews who followed Jesus (Gal. 1:19; 2:9, 12). James is also listed with those to whom the risen Jesus appeared (1 Cor. 15:7). Acts of the Apostles refers to James without introduction as a leader in the Jerusalem community (12:17, 15:13, 21:18). According to Josephus, Ananus (son of Ananus), who was high priest when Festus died (62 C.E.), took advantage of the interregnum to execute James and others for transgressing the law.

James, Epistle of an early Christian writing by James; a book of the New Testament. This brief writing known as the Epistle, or Letter, of James has been the subject of controversy since ancient times. Which person named James wrote it? Is it really a letter? Why does it disagree so sharply with the point of view expressed by Paul in his letters?

Of all the people named James (Gr.: Iakobos) in the New Testament, the one most likely meant is James, the brother of Jesus, who after Jesus' death became leader of the church in Jerusalem (Mark 6:3; Gal. 1:19; Acts 15:13). The author of the Epistle of James rejects Paul's teaching (Rom. 3:21) that one can gain acceptance from God on the basis of faith without obedience to the law of Moses (James 2:14–17). But the epistle is written in highly philosophical language (reflecting Stoic and Cynic teachings) that seems unlikely for a pious Jew from a small town in Galilee (Nazareth). The style of the work resembles an essay in the form of a letter claiming to have been written by the Greek philosopher Socrates, but it presents ideas common around the beginning of the second century C.E. Unlike the letters of Paul, where specific issues are addressed that have arisen in the community to which he is writing, this work deals only with general principles of moral behavior.

Neither does the Epistle of James deal with the broader issues that James debated with Paul:

whether Gentile Christian males should be circumcised and whether Gentiles should observe the Jewish dietary laws (Gal. 1–2). When James discusses temptation, it is not testing done by the devil or trials that the faithful must endure before the end of the present age, as in Paul and the Gospels. Instead, temptation is an inner struggle, whose desired outcome is the triumph of morality and the life of conformity to the ethical principles embodied in the laws. Even the images the author uses for guiding the moral life—horse and bit, ship and rudder, fire out of control, water produced by springs, trees bearing fruit (3:3–12)—are just those found in the Cynic-Stoic writings of this period. Two popular themes of contemporary philosophy that are mentioned in James are (1) the transmigration of souls from one body to another—the "wheel of life" or cycle of nature (3:6)—and (2) the predictability of the movement of heavenly bodies as an inference from solstices and eclipses through which they move (1:17). Heavenly wisdom is to manifest itself in purity and peace, and mercy and impartiality within the community of faith (3:13–4:12). The return of Christ in triumph is still expected (5:7), and members should seek to restore to the faith those who have wandered from the truth (5:19–20). The writing is clearly an attempt to formulate faith and practice in ways that build on earlier traditions but are in conversation with the intellectual developments of the Roman world at the start of the second century C.E.

Jamnia *see* YAḆNEH

Jannaeus *see* ALEXANDER JANNAEUS

Jannes and Jambres the names given to two magicians identified as the opponents of Moses and Aaron in Pharaoh's court (cf. Exod. 7–8). The first extant references to these named characters are in the Damascus Document (CD 5:18–19) and 2 Timothy 3:8–9, where they are identified as false teachers. The names recur in a variety of later Jewish, Christian, and pagan texts.

A book about Jannes and Jambres is mentioned by Origen in the third century. Fragments of the book are extant in one Latin manuscript and two Greek papyri of the third and fourth centuries. The narrative, such as it can be reconstructed, is shot through with references to magic, necromancy, and cosmic portents. Jannes is struck dead for his sins, but his shade returns to warn his brother of the punishments suffered in the netherworld.

Japhia Synagogue synagogue site 3 kilometers southwest of Nazareth at the south edge of Lower Galilee. Japhia, also known as Yaffa or Yafia, is usually identified with the Yafia of Joshua 19:12. Josephus knew of the town in the first century C.E., mentioning it as the largest village in Galilee, strongly fortified, and containing a large population (*Vita* 230). Japhia also played a role in the First Revolt. Josephus records that the Romans took 2,150 captives there, while they killed the rest of the inhabitants (*War* 3.7.31: 289). No literary references to the town appear after the First Revolt, but there were surely Jewish inhabitants here in the third and fourth centuries who built the synagogue. The building is partially covered by modern structures, so that only its width of about 15 meters could be found. Interior space was divided by two rows of columns into a nave and aisle. The columns had been set upon square column bases about 74 centimeters square and 41 centimeters high. A lintel stone from the synagogue, recorded in 1921, depicts two eagles with spread wings on either side of a wreath. A second stone depicts two rosettes on either side of a seven-branched menorah. The synagogue was finished with an ornate mosaic that appears to have included a zodiac. The frame around the zodiac was once elaborately furnished with depictions of animals; the surviving images in the frame include an eagle with outstretched wings, the head of a medusa, and a tiger. Two of the twelve circles intended for signs of the zodiac are extant. One shows a bull, while the other depicts a horned animal, perhaps a wild ox. Since the wild ox is not normally part of a zodiac, the excavator hypothesized that this was actually a calendar or other pattern with animals as symbols for the twelve tribes of Israel. The building is oriented east to west, which is a surprise.

Jason Jewish high priest (175–172 B.C.E.). Jason (Heb.: Joshua) is said by 2 Maccabees 4:7–10 to have replaced his brother Onias III by promising the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes large sums of money. Jason is portrayed in 2 Maccabees 4 as fostering a program aimed at Hellenizing the Jewish people of Jerusalem. He in turn was outbid for the high priesthood by Menelaus in 172 B.C.E. After a futile attempt to regain power in 168 B.C.E., Jason died in exile and disgrace (2 Macc. 5:1–10).

Jason of Cyrene Jewish historian in the Hellenistic period. The author of 2 Maccabees states at 2:19–23 that he has abridged a five-volume history by Jason with a content that roughly corresponds to 2 Maccabees. Other than this reference, we know nothing about Jason, but there is no reason not to take the claim in 2 Maccabees at face value.

Jeconiah *see* JEHOIACHIN

Jehohanan son of Eliashib; a person in whose chamber Ezra rested (Ezra 10:6). His identity is

greatly disputed. He may be the high priest who was the grandson of Eliashab (Neh. 12:22–23) and was mentioned in an Elephantine papyrus (408 B.C.E.). Since the names are common among priests and nonpriests, he may also have been a hypothetical earlier high priest or a nonpriest. The identification of Jehohanan depends partly on the dispute over the date of Ezra's mission to Jerusalem.

Jehoiachin king of Judah; also known as Jeconiah. The son of Jehoiakim, he became king in 597 B.C.E. and was taken captive to Babylon three months later. 2 Baruch 1:1 suggests that he (rather than Zedekiah) was king when Jerusalem fell in 587 B.C.E.

Jehovah transliteration of the divine name, based on a misunderstanding of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton YHWH. Jews did not pronounce the name of God; they referred to God as *adonai* (lord). Translators took the vowels of *adonai* and added them to the consonants JHVH, hence JeHoVaH. *See also* GOD, NAMES OF; I AM.

Jerahmeel (Heb., may God have mercy) most likely the correct name of the angel who appears in various Jewish sources under the names Remiel, Jeremiel, Eremiel, and Ramiel (1 Enoch 20:8 [Greek Codex Panopolitanus]; 4 Ezra 4:36; Apoc. Zeph. 6:11–17; 2 Bar. 55:3). He is often connected with traditions relating to the resurrection of the dead (cf. also Rev. 6:9–11 with 2 Esdras 4:33–37), whence very possibly the transformation of his name to a form of the Hebrew *rum* (to lift up).

Jeremiah **1.** son of Hilkiah; prophet in Jerusalem from 627 to 587 B.C.E. Of priestly lineage, Jeremiah was from the village of Anathoth, to which David's high priest Abiathar was expelled by Solomon. The biblical Book of Jeremiah contains many of his oracles, as well as narrative material bearing on his life. His opposition to religious and social abuses earned him the enmity of many in Jerusalem, including other prophets. His famous Temple sermon (Jer. 7 and 26) warns against complacency that God will protect Jerusalem despite covenant violations. He also counseled submission to Babylonian rule. After Jerusalem's destruction in 587 B.C.E., he was taken forcibly to Egypt, where he died. The Epistle of Jeremiah is not by the prophet, but it builds on the anti-idolatry theme of Jeremiah 10 and uses the epistolary form of Jeremiah 29. The Book of Lamentations has often been attributed to him, incorrectly.

Most later traditions about Jeremiah concern Jerusalem and the Temple. The legend arose that before the destruction of the Temple, Jeremiah hid the ark and the vessels, and that they would be found again in the last days (2 Macc. 2:4–8; Eupolemus [frg. 4]; Lives of the Prophets 2:11–19; 4 Bar. 3:6–11; cf. 2 Bar. 6:7–9). 4 Baruch is also called Paraleipomena Jeremiou, Jeremiah being its main character. According to 2 Baruch 2:1 and 4 Baruch 1:1–2, Baruch and Jeremiah had to leave Jerusalem before it could be destroyed, because their righteousness and prayers protected it. In 2 Maccabees 15:12–16, Judas Maccabeus has a vision in which he sees the high priest Onias praying for the Jews. Beside him is Jeremiah, who is described as one who "loves the family of Israel and prays much for the people and the holy city—Jeremiah, the prophet of God" (2 Macc. 15:14). Jeremiah then gives Judas a golden sword with which to strike down his enemies.

Lives of the Prophets 2 preserves a tradition in which Jeremiah drove the asps and crocodiles out of Egypt, and another that claims that Alexander the Great scattered the remains of Jeremiah around Alexandria to protect it. The work claims that the Egyptians held Jeremiah in great esteem. In some sources, he is said to have died by stoning (Lives 2; 4 Bar. 9). In Matthew 16:14, Jesus is said by some to be Jeremiah raised from the dead.

2. Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; born in Babylonia, later lived in Caesaria as a student of Abbahu and others; after a period of exclusion from the academy, and after the death of his principal teacher, Zera I, he became a recognized authority and head of the school at Tiberias. He spoke with disdain of Babylonian authorities (e.g., B. Pesaḥim 34b).

Jeremiah, Letter of treatise against idolatry ascribed to Jeremiah. The work takes its inspiration from biblical polemics against idol worship, notably Jeremiah 10:2–15, as well as from the prophet's letter to the Babylonian exiles (Jer. 29). The superscription of the work claims that it is a copy of another letter by Jeremiah (v. 1), but apart from the introduction in verses 2–7 and the use of second person address in the book's refrains, it has none of the typical features of a letter. The Letter of Jeremiah is known from the Greek Bible, where it is placed either between Lamentations and Ezekiel or, more often, as the last chapter of 1 Baruch. The earliest testimony to the work is a fragment of the Greek text found at Qumran. The date of composition is uncertain; the text could have been composed at any time between the fourth century B.C.E. (cf. v. 3 and its reference to an exile of seven generations) and 100 B.C.E., when the author of 2 Maccabees made reference to it (2:2).

This text is satirical and mocking in its tone, like

other works polemicizing against idolatry, such as Bel and the Dragon and the Apocalypse of Abraham 1–8, and irony is a major rhetorical device. The author's strategy is to lay out a series of repetitive evidences and arguments that idols are not the gods that Gentiles suppose them to be. Each of its ten sections is punctuated by a refrain that underscores this point (vv. 16, 23, 29, 40, 44, 52, 56, 65, 69, 73). The point is further emphasized through the repeated use of the negative. Idols are *not* gods because of all the things they do not and cannot do (vv. 8, 19, 34, 35). Specifically, they do not and cannot do all the things that gods do: they do not control the universe, they are not sovereign over kings, and they cannot act as the beneficent deliverers of humankind. Indeed, they cannot do even the things that humans do: speak, see, and breathe (vv. 8, 19, 25). With scathing irony, the author describes the topsy-turvy situation in gentile religion. These would-be divine helpers of humanity are the helpless objects of human actions, and in fact they are themselves fabricated by human beings. Made of wood and overlaid with gold and silver, they are symbols of their own falseness—of their not being what they are claimed to be (vv. 44, 50). In the end, they are lifeless, disintegrating (vv. 12, 20, 72), and useless. Hence the refrain: they are not gods; therefore, do not fear them.

Jeremiah, Paraleipomena of (from Gr., the things omitted from Jeremiah) a narrative about the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah's exile to Babylon, his return, and his martyr's death. The text is preserved in a long and a short form, in a large number of Greek manuscripts and in several daughter versions. Although its conclusion indicates that it is Christian in its present form, the work is probably a Jewish composition from the early second century C.E.

Chapters 1–4 are a legendary account of the destruction of Jerusalem that closely parallels 2 Baruch 1–10, but with Jeremiah rather than Baruch playing the primary role as interlocutor with God. Before Jeremiah is taken to Babylon (contrast Jer. 43:5–44:30), he sends Abimelech to the vineyard of Agrippa outside Jerusalem with a basket of figs. When Abimelech awakes from a sixty-six-year sleep, he finds the figs ripened and not spoiled. This is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection and a sign that the exiles are to return to their homeland. Baruch sends a letter to Jeremiah via eagle informing him of these events (chaps. 5–7). Jeremiah leads the returnees back to Judah; those who had married Babylonians are turned away from Jerusalem and they found the city of Samaria (chap. 8). In the Jerusalem Temple, Jeremiah has an ecstatic trance in which he sees God and the Son of God and learns of the founding of the church. When his soul returns to his body and he recounts the vision, the people stone him for blasphemy.

The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah has numerous parallels with other Jeremiah and Baruch literature: the opening narrative; the figure of Abimelech; Baruch's letter sent by eagle (2 Bar. 78–87, esp. 87:1); the story's movement from destruction and exile to return (1 Baruch). A Jeremianic legend about the burial of the Temple vessels in 3:7–20 is alluded to in 2 Maccabees 2:1–8 (cf. Lives of the Prophets 2:11–19), which indicates that the core of the narrative stems from the second century B.C.E., where it may have been related to Antiochus Epiphanes' seizure of the Temple vessels (1 Macc. 1:21–24). The length of Abimelech's long nap suggests that the Paraleipomena was written approximately sixty-six years after the destruction of Jerusalem, around 136 C.E., perhaps in connection with events surrounding the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135). The legend of Jeremiah's death by stoning is alluded to in the Life of Jeremiah (Lives of the Prophets 2:1) and probably also in Hebrews 11:37, immediately before an apparent allusion to a similar legend about Isaiah's death (see Isaiah, Martyrdom of).

Jeremiah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Jeremiah b. Abba rabbi of the late third and early fourth century C.E. Born in Babylonia, he lived in Israel where he served as the head of the academy at Tiberias. He is especially known for his pronouncements regarding prayer. In the Jerusalem Talmud, he is sometimes referred to without the patronymic or, alternatively, as Jeremiah b. Va.

Jeremiah b. Va *see* JEREMIAH B. ABBA

Jeremiel *see* JERAḤMEEL

Jericho oasis city in the Judean Desert that succeeded the biblical city of the same name, though in the Hasmonean period it was built on either side of the Wadi Qelt, about one mile south of biblical Jericho. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods it became an economic center for balsam and dates. Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.) built a palace at Jericho. The principal edifice of this palace was a square building (about 50 by 50 meters) with square towers on each corner, built largely of mud brick. The central building was surrounded by a moat on the north, west, and east. In the interior of the building were rooms with beautifully painted stucco. West of the central building were two small swimming pools measuring about 8 by 8 meters.

Less than a generation later, the palace was enlarged on the northeast with a peristyle garden, two much larger swimming pools, and a pavilion. By the time of Queen Alexandra Shlomzion (76–67 B.C.E.), the palace experienced a second enlargement. On the south were added twin central courtyard palaces, each about 25 by 25 meters in size. Three more swimming pools were built. Within the new complex were found rooms decorated with frescoes, a bathhouse, and ritual baths. The Hasmonean palace was destroyed by the earthquake of 31 B.C.E.

Herod the Great built a single large structure at Jericho, south of the Hasmonean palace, as his first winter palace. Later, as his second winter palace, he rebuilt and enlarged the complex, adding a personal villa, a bath house, palatial rooms around peristyle courtyards, and service areas. About 15 B.C.E., Herod built a third palace at Jericho, and the three structures then functioned together as his winter palace. The third palace occupied both sides of the Wadi Qelt and covered about seven-and- one-half acres. There was a large triclinium with columns on three sides, a sunken garden, a long colonnade, many rooms decorated with frescoes, and a Roman style bathhouse. The exterior of the structure was built with decorative, Roman-style masonry in square stones and concrete called *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum*.

A synagogue is known at Jericho from the late Byzantine period, as are other buildings and occupations. Extensive cemeteries are known at Jericho from the Hellenistic through the Byzantine periods, including coffin burials of Jewish families during the early Roman period.

Jericho Synagogue synagogue found just north of Tell es-Sultan (ancient Jericho) about 10 kilometers north of the Dead Sea. From paleographic analysis of the inscriptions, the synagogue was probably used during the eighth century C.E. This date is also supported by the fact that several eighth-century Arab coins were found at the site. Other small finds, however, consisting of three glass vessels and a fragmentary bronze lamp have led to the suggestion of a founding date of either the late sixth or early seventh century. Since the date of the synagogue is uncertain, it is also unclear whether there is any relationship between the use of this synagogue and Byzantine Jericho, located about 2 kilometers south of Tell es-Sultan.

The floor plan of the synagogue was a rectangular, basilica shape. Its walls were 13 meters by 10 meters. Four pairs of square pillars laid in two rows serve to divide the building. There is a nave in the middle, and two aisles on the sides. The apse at the front of the synagogue faces southwest, directly toward Jerusalem. Two stone steps in front of the apse connect it to the central nave. There is only one entrance, located in the middle of the northeast wall.

The floor is paved with a geometric mosaic in three panels, all of which avoid human and animal figures, as was common during this period. In the middle panel of the mosaic, a menorah is placed in a circular frame. A lulab and shofar adorn each side of the menorah, and a brief Hebrew inscription is found directly below the menorah. It reads, "Peace upon Israel."

There is also an Aramaic inscription of six lines in the mosaic pavement near the entrance to the synagogue, which is particularly important because it explicitly connects contributions toward the construction of the mosaic to an eschatological reward. The entire inscription reads, "Be remembered for good the memory of the entire holy community, the old and the young, whom the Lord of the Universe aided and were strengthened and made the mosaic. He who knows their names and those of their children and of their families, may He inscribe them in the Book of Life [together] with all the pious, friends to all Israel. Amen."

The inscription explicitly connects "be remembered for good" with an eschatological meaning. The petition to God to have the donors' names inscribed in the "Book of Life" shows that it was believed that the donation had a direct connection with receiving life in the end-time. It is also important to note that the phrase "Book of Life" is written in Hebrew, not Aramaic like the rest of the inscription. This is probably because the phrase was used in the prayers for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, which also carry eschatological connotations.

Jerome (342–420 C.E.) Latin church father. He was born Eusebius Hieronymus at Strido, Dalmatia. After studying in Rome, where he was baptized as Jerome, he spent his early life in Gaul. In about 370 he renounced his career as a civil servant and joined a group of ascetics in Aquileia. From 375 to 378 he lived as a hermit in the desert of Chalcis in Syria, where he met an apostate Jew who taught him Hebrew. He was ordained in Paulinus's "little church" and traveled to Constantinople to argue for the recognition of the "little church" before the council of 381. There he met Gregory of Nazianzus and heard his exegeses of the Bible. From 382 to 385 he served as secretary to Pope Damascus I in Rome. Upon the pope's death in 384, he traveled

with his female friend Paula to Bethlehem. There he continued his Hebrew studies with several Jewish teachers, one of whom, Bar Ḥanina from Tiberias, visited him at night because he was afraid of the Jews attacking him for teaching the Christians.

Jerome became extremely proficient in pronouncing Hebrew, and his transliteration of Hebrew is an important source for our knowledge of Hebrew pronunciation during his time. His intimate knowledge of Hebrew served him well in his Latin translation of the Bible. This translation along with his Latin translation of the Greek New Testament, known as the Vulgate, was accepted as the official version of the Bible by the Catholic Church at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. The translation was done in several stages. At times he relied on Origen's texts, at others he relied on the Greek texts of Aquila and Symmancus. He also rendered many of the books of the Apocrypha into Latin. Among conservative Christians his translation was condemned; they accused him of following the Jews and ignoring the Christian interpretive traditions. Jerome also wrote many biblical commentaries in which he was influenced by Origen and Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as by some of his Jewish teachers. In fact, his commentaries seem to contain some examples of Jewish midrashim that have been otherwise lost.

Despite his contact with Jews and his studies with them, Jerome had a negative attitude toward Jewish observances and Jewish law. Jerome condemns Judaizing Christians, and in a series of letters between Jerome and Augustine we find the former criticizing the early Christians who accepted Jewish practices. In his commentary on Galatians 2:1, Jerome wrote that Peter and Paul had fabricated their dispute concerning the importance of Christians following Jewish observance in order to convince their followers in Jerusalem that Jewish ritual was meaningless and unnecessary. While Augustine wrote that Peter and Paul continued their Jewish observance, Jerome argued that they could not have done this. Jews who become Christians must stop their Jewish observances, "what they have initiated in the synagogues of Satan."

Jerusalem In the first centuries of the common era the city was the focus of two wars for Jewish independence. The war of 66 to 70 C.E. resulted in the destruction of the Second Temple and of the city. The Bar Kosiba Revolt of 132 to 135 C.E. was instigated in part by Hadrian's establishment of a Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, on Jerusalem's ruins. The failure of the Bar Kosiba Revolt led to a prohibition against Jews entering the city at all, upon penalty of death. Beginning with Emperor Constantine, the city was under almost unbroken Christian control from 324 C.E. until the Arab conquest of 638.

Jerusalem's theological significance stemmed from the presence there of the Temple and the Ark of Covenant, which meant that the city was the center of Israelite religion and cult. Prophetic writings and the Book of Psalms depict Jerusalem's Mount Zion as God's permanent home, located at the center of the world. These writings hold that, at the end of days, all nations will come to Jerusalem to recognize God's rule (Isa. 2:2–4). As a result of the Israelite people's sins, the city might have been destroyed. But the nation should find consolation in the certainty that Jerusalem will be rebuilt and enjoy greatness (Jer. 30:18–19; Isa. 40:1–2; 52:1–10; Zech. 8:3–8).

Like scripture, rabbinic writings and later Judaism understand the destroyed Jerusalem to symbolize the nation's fortunes. Through longing for the city's restoration, Jews express hope for the fulfillment of God's messianic promise. Rabbinic texts hold that the city's western wall, Gate of the Priests, and Huldah Gate will never be destroyed and believe that, despite the destruction of the Temple, God's presence still dwells at the western wall. Seeing Jerusalem as central to the redemption of all humanity, the rabbis depict all people as mourning the city's destruction and rejoicing at its future restoration. At the end of days, Jerusalem will become a home to all nations (Abot deR. Natan 35), marking a time of universal peace and brotherhood under the rule of the one God.

Jerusalem, archaeology of excavation and survey of the holy city. Archaeological remains indicate that the returnees to Jerusalem in 538 B.C.E. occupied the ridge of the city of David. Later rebuilding has all but obliterated the Persian period city, but it is clear that it was quite small compared to Solomon's city. Nehemiah's wall (Neh. 3:1–32) has been identified with a short segment on the summit of the eastern slope of the city of David. The water gate, mentioned in Nehemiah 12:37, has been found in the wall above the Gihon spring at the foot of the east slopes of the city of David. In the remains of the city more than seventy seals were found with names like Ahazai and Hanania. Many Yehud (Judah) seal impressions were found, reflecting the name of the area around Jerusalem in this period. Persian period occupation did not extend to the modern Jewish quarter of the Old City. The "broad wall" of Nehemiah 3:8 and 12:38

is mentioned as a marker of the extent of Nehemiah's work. This wall has been identified in the Jewish quarter of the Old City and is apparently a surviving Israelite wall that Nehemiah did not elect to repair. The First Temple was restored in its place north of the city of David.

In the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. the city slowly began to expand west of the Temple Mount into quarters remaining from the previous Iron Age occupation. Ancient literary sources such as the Letter of Aristeas mention extensive building activities. The main public work in this period was the building of the Baris Fortress northwest of the Temple Mount. Since this was later torn down for the construction of the Antonia Fortress on the same site, no remains of the Baris have been identified archaeologically. Also built in this period were the aqueduct to Jerusalem from Bethlehem, which has been identified, and the two sheep's pools found north of the Temple Mount.

In the Hasmonean period (167–37 B.C.E.) expansion to the western hill continued. The construction of the city wall was the major building project of the Hasmoneans and expanded the thirty-acre Persian city to about 160 acres. Extensive construction on this wall commenced in mid-second century B.C.E. The wall was built in stages, with the erection of the western wall as the first stage. This wall was built at the far west of the western hill, about 900 meters west of the western wall of the Temple Mount, and its foundations and towers have been identified at several places. A steep scarp protected the eastern and southern sides of this new Upper City until the building of the wall from west to east to the intersection of the Hinnom and the Kidron valleys, just south of the city of David. Ancient literature mentions Hasmonean building projects such as the Hasmonean palace, the council building, and the gymnasium and its attached courtyard, but so far none of these have been located archaeologically.

During the Hasmonean period a bridge was built across the Tyropeon Valley linking the Temple Mount with the Upper City on the western hill. This bridge was discovered in excavations during the last half of the nineteenth century. Also, Hasmonean towers were built against the walls around the city of David. The Acra fortress was built by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV in 168 B.C.E. and was located somewhere south of the Temple Mount. Several large cisterns, walls, and other remains of this period have been advanced as remnants of this fortress, but its precise location is unknown.

Small finds from houses of this period include pottery vessels of many types, including imported wares. Rhodian jar handles stamped with Greek inscriptions attest to the wine and the name of the Greek priest in Rhodes under whose aegis the wine was exported. Some jar handles are known with seals of a pentagram and the word Jerusalem stamped between the points of the pentagram. Many coins of the Hasmonean rulers were found, including a hoard of coins of Mattathias Antigonus, the last Hasmonean king.

During the Herodian period, Jerusalem underwent growth and prosperity, as revealed in the archaeological finds. The Temple Mount was expanded to 35 acres within its retaining walls and was the largest building project in the city. Herod also built a palace to the west, the outside towers of which have been found. Just north of his palace he built a fortress with three towers, one of which, the Hippicus tower, can be viewed today at the Jaffa gate and the appended "David's tower." Herod strengthened the city walls. Excavations have unearthed extensive remains of houses of this period, including the "burnt house," a mansion, perhaps of a priestly family, and others. The houses were rectilinear in plan, with rooms around central courtyards. Basement areas included work spaces, storage, and pools interpreted as mikveh, or ritual baths.

Archaeology attests to the violent end of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Roman arrowheads, round stone ballistae, the equivalent of modern artillery, and a thick ashy layer were found everywhere within the walls of Jerusalem. Equally clear is the evidence of the quartering of the Tenth Legion Fretensis (Ironsides) within the area of the Armenian quarters and Jewish quarters in the modern Old City. Roof tiles stamped with variations on "Leg. X.F." have been found in abundance, as well as clay pipes, bricks, pottery, coins, and other evidences of Roman occupation. This camp seems to have covered about 380 by 250 meters. Equally sudden was the urban renewal under the emperor Hadrian in 135 C.E., when Jerusalem was refounded as Aelia Capitolina. Coins of Hadrian minted in Aelia Capitolina show a temple to the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, but the remains of such a temple on the Temple Mount have not yet been traced. Archaeological investigation has revealed the main, northern gate and its inner plaza, the Tyropeon Valley street with its columns, and other streets in the new northeast quarter, Beth Zatha, and its small forum. A large forum occupied the area of the modern Muristan shopping area, and the foundations of a temple to

Aphrodite have been found beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the north side of the forum. A Roman arch was erected in the northeast of the city, a portion of which today is known as the Ecce Homo Arch. Nearby a temple to the god of healing, Asklepios, was built over the double sheep's pool. Latin inscriptions have been found here and there, and no evidence of Jewish remains anywhere are known.

In the Byzantine era there was a burst of building activity in Jerusalem, especially with the adoption of Christianity as the emperor Constantine's religion in 324 C.E. A series of churches were built in Jerusalem. A detailed map of Jerusalem of the sixth century survives in the floor of a church at Madeba in Transjordan. It shows the city walls and six gates, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the colonnaded streets, and other details. In the middle of the fourth century the emperor Julian (r. 361–363 C.E.), called "the Apostate" in Christian sources, returned to the old Roman religion and decreed freedom of worship for all his subjects. He also granted the Jews permission to rebuild the Temple, but no archaeological vestiges of that short-lived attempt survive. The carving of Isaiah 66:14 on the western retaining wall of the Temple Mount is usually associated with this event. Since it is in Hebrew it shows that Jews indeed were to be found in Jerusalem. On the other hand, another possibility dates it from the fifth century, when the empress Eudocia allowed Jews to visit Jerusalem. From the Byzantine period is the massive Cardo or colonnaded street, recently opened to the public. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher was also built in the fourth century, but embellished by successive Christian emperors.

Jerusalem log *see* LOG

Jerushalmi, Targum *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Jesse father of David, from Bethlehem of Judah; grandson of Ruth, Boaz's Moabite wife (Ruth 4:13–17). Jesse's importance resides in his being the father of King David, who is often called "son of Jesse." In 1 Samuel 16, Jesse does Samuel's bidding by summoning David from among the sheep, and Jesse later sends David to Saul with gifts. Isaiah 11:1–10 describes an idyllic future when a "root from the stump of Jesse" (a reference to a Davidic king) will rule. In the Book of Biblical Antiquities 59:4, David blames his parents for not calling him when Samuel came to anoint him. Jesus, son of David, is also son of Jesse (Matt. 1:5–6; Luke 3:32; Rom. 5:12; Acts 13:22–23).

Jesus, son of Gamaliel high priest (63–64 C.E.), appointed by Agrippa II. According to rabbinic literature, he was married to Martha, daughter of Boethus. His supporters engaged in street battles with those of his predecessor, Jesus, son of Damnaeus. He was among the chief priests who counseled against the war with Rome and opposed the Zealots. He and Ananus, son of Ananus, were killed by the Idumeans when the latter slaughtered the nobility of Jerusalem in the winter of 67–68 C.E. His father's name is also rendered as Gamla or Gamlas.

Jesus of Nazareth a Jewish popular reformer or leader who was active in Galilee, especially along the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee around Capernaum; in the New Testament, the Messiah and the Son of God. The name Jesus is from the Hebrew Jeshua, an abbreviated form of Joshua. According to Matthew, chapter 2, and Luke 1:5, Jesus was born during the reign of Herod the Great (d. 4 B.C.E.) in Bethlehem, though Luke places his birth also during the governorship of Quirinius in Syria and during a census (6 C.E.). John treats him as a native of Nazareth in central Lower Galilee (1:46, 7:42); all agree that he grew up there. He was executed in Jerusalem sometime during Pontius Pilate's governorship (26–36 C.E.), probably because he was perceived as a potential troublemaker. (The Gospels tend to stress the responsibility of the national Jewish authorities as part of an anti-Jewish polemic.) His exact roles and teaching are very difficult to reconstruct since the Gospel accounts are second- or third-generation theological narratives, reflecting both early traditions and later interpretations of Jesus. Most scholars hold that he taught a renewal of Judaism or fulfillment of God's promises to Israel, using the symbol of the Kingdom of God, understood as an eschatological and/or present reality. He was also a popular healer and miracle worker, who reached out to marginal members of society. His followers experienced him as risen from the dead and quickly acknowledged him as the Messiah. This title in Greek, Christ, very soon functioned as a second name.

jewelry objects (often precious or semiprecious) that were used for personal ornamental decoration. From the earliest of prehistoric times, people have adorned themselves with jewelry. The various types of jewelry found within a culture can reveal beliefs about the afterlife, religious superstitions, customs, and tenants, but the jewelry may also simply be used for personal beauty. Of the archaeological discoveries of jewelry in the Holy Land, various forms are known from the Chalcolithic periods down through the Second Temple and Byzantine periods.

The earlier finds of jewelry from Israel are characteristic of the ancient Near East. The earliest gold object in Israel comes from an Early Bronze Age II tomb near the Sea of Galilee. Similar objects are known from Gazer, Byblos, and Troy. Israelite objects from the Late Bronze Age have appeared at such sites as Beth Shemesh and Achzib. Much of this jewelry is reminiscent of Egyptian religious motifs and contains images of Isis, Hathor, and other religious symbols. Other finds from the Late Bronze and various stages of the Iron Age also exhibit Canaanite as well as Egyptian motifs.

Beginning in the Persian period, much of the jewelry from Israel begins to resemble the types known from Hellenistic cultures. In the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, the centers for jewelry production were Alexandria and Antioch-on-the-Orontes. An abundance of the jewelry from Israel during the Second Temple period resembles this Hellenistic jewelry, and many scholars feel that much of the jewelry even originated from these production centers.

Two important finds from the City of David excavations in Jerusalem provide explicit evidence that at least some of the jewelry with these Hellenistic motifs was produced in Israel itself. The City of David excavations uncovered two molds that were used for manufacturing jewelry. The first mold was designed to produce five different types of jewelry: two different forms of earrings, a rectangular pendant, a bud pendant, and a ball pendant. All of these forms have parallels in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, and several actual pieces of jewelry resembling these molds have been found in Israel. The second mold dates from the late Byzantine period and is fragmentary, so the type of jewelry is uncertain. It seems to have been used to make either a pendant or an earring.

Common motifs from the Persian period through the Roman period include various Greek and Roman gods, Eros figures, snakes, goats, and dolphins. During the Roman period, medallions with the head of an emperor became common. In Nahal Raqafot in Jerusalem, several pieces of jewelry that were discovered at this site illustrate this Hellenistic influence. These pieces are not displayed in the Israel Museum and include an earring with a rosette connected to a horizontal bar with animal figures. Three pearls are attached. Another piece is a brooch in a gold frame with inlaid semiprecious stones enclosing an onyx cameo. The cameo contains a representation of the bust of Minerva that holds a shield with the image of a gorgoneion. Finally, there was a gold ring that contained a blue onyx decorated with the figure of an elephant, a common motif of Roman jewelry.

During the Byzantine period, the Hellenistic and Roman motifs tend to be replaced with Christian symbols. At Acre, several burials were discovered that are particularly helpful in understanding jewelry with Christian motifs.

A tradition from the Hebrew Bible (cf. Exod. 28:17–20, 39:10–13 and Ezek. 28:13) and from the historian Josephus relates that the high priest in both the First and Second Temple period wore a breast plate decorated with twelve gems. The exact identity of the gems is still somewhat debated, because there are variances among the Hebrew accounts and the Greek translations. The best climate is that this breastplate contained the following gems: sardius, topaz, carbuncle, emerald, sapphire, diamond, jacinth, agate, amethyst, beryl, onyx, and jasper.

Jewish Literary Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, JEWISH LITERARY

Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, JEWISH PALESTINIAN

Jewish War, The a historical work by Josephus in seven books that is often referred to by its Latin title, *Bellum Judaicum*. The work, whose title is abbreviated as *War* or *B.J.*, begins about the time of the Maccabean revolt and moves through Hasmonean and Herodian rule; the bulk of its content, however, is devoted to the beginnings and course of the Revolt against Rome in 66 to 70 C.E.

Jews *see* ISRAEL, PEOPLE OF

Joazer, son of Boethus high priest appointed by Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. and removed by Archelaus after Herod's death. He had become high priest again by 6 C.E., when Quirinius conducted a census. He convinced the people to accede to the census but lost influence to his popular opponents. In 6 C.E. Quirinius replaced him with Ananus, son of Seth.

Job, daughters of Hemera, Kasia, and Amaltheia's Horn—Job's three daughters—appear in the Testament of Job 46–50 (dependent on Job 42:14, where the daughters are named Jemimah, Keziah, and Keren-Happuch). Responding to his daughters' concern about being passed over by his testament in favor of their seven brothers, Job promises the daughters a better legacy: three miraculous, multicolored bands (phylacteries) that will enable them both to earn a living and to live in heaven (47:2). For Job, the phylacteries have provided healing; for the daughters, they function both as amulets and as catalysts for ecstatic speech. Chapter 51 claims that the daughters' hymns and accompany-

ing explanations are preserved in books by their uncle, Nereus. *See also* JOB, TESTAMENT OF.

Job, targums to There are two targums to Job: one found in Qumran Cave 11 (11QtgJob), the other from the rabbinic period. The Qumran targum is in fragments, with its only consecutive section being from Job 37:10–42:11. This highly literal targum has been dated from the first century C.E. The rabbinic targum to Job is complete and may date from the fifth century. There seems to be no relationship between the two texts; they differ not only in word choice but also in dialect. The later targum is more expansive, often giving several different renditions of the same passage—both literal and aggadic. Its language contains elements of both Jewish Palestinian Aramaic as well as Eastern Aramaic. In addition to these targums, there are reports of early rabbis condemning a targum to Job.

Job, Testament of an account of Job's life, told in the form of his testamentary instructions to his children. It is preserved in three Greek manuscripts from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, a Slavonic version, and a manuscript of a Coptic version dating from the fifth century. It was composed in Egypt, very likely in the first century C.E., in Jewish circles that some scholars have related to the Therapeutai. Its original language was Greek.

Central to the book is the contrast between heavenly realities and this world, which is the area of Satan's activities. Job's primary characteristic is his insight into these realities and his ability to perceive and combat Satan's deceptions.

The narrative opens by explaining the origin of Job's knowledge and the reason for Satan's attack on him (Test. Job 1–5; cf. Job 1–2). God reveals to Job that the local idol temple is really Satan's dwelling, and Job burns the temple (cf. Jub. 12:1–14, of Abraham).

In a set of duels with Satan, in which he loses his possessions, his children, and the respect of his wife, Job emerges as a spiritual athlete, sustained in his contest by the virtues of patience, endurance, and perseverance (1:6–27:7). The second major narrative section describes Job's debate with his friends; he is depicted as king of Egypt and they as monarchs from other countries (chaps. 28–43). Identified as a mouthpiece of Satan, Elihu contrasts Job's former glory with his present degradation. When Job appeals to his possession of a throne in heaven, Baldad and Sophar diagnose him as mentally deranged. Job proves his point by mediating a vision in which his wife and the kings see the enthroned Deity flanked by the children crowned with heavenly glory.

The retrospective narrative returns to the testamentary situation (chaps. 46–51), and Job distributes his restored wealth to the seven sons of his second family. Then, in what is perhaps the most remarkable feature of the book, he bestows on his daughters a set of sashes, which allow them to tune into heavenly realities and to sing with the tongues of angels. This event reverses the book's general tendency to depict women as lacking in insight. The story concludes with Job's death and burial and the ascent of his soul to the heaven to which he had constantly appealed (chaps. 52–53).

Connections between the Testament of Job and Jewish and Christian literature are manifold and complex. The book's cosmic dualism recalls the world view of apocalyptic literature and, perhaps more relevant, Wisdom of Solomon 1–6. Job's portrayal as a spiritual athlete parallels tales of the martyrs and employs motifs typical of some Greek philosophical literature. The celebrated "patience of Job" (James 5:11) derives from this tradition rather than the biblical story. Similarities to some of the Abrahamic literature indicates how traditions and motifs can be transferred from figure to figure. In some of its details, the Testament parallels the Greek rather than the Hebrew version of the Book of Job. The book, with its references to female inspiration, was valued by members of the Christian Montanist movement in the second and third centuries.

Jobab the second king of Edom, according to Genesis 36:33. In the Testament of Job 1–3, Job, who is king in Egypt (28:7), is identified with Jobab the son of Esau; a similar identification appears in the Septuagint of Job 42:17.

Jodfat *see* YODFAT

Joel, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Johanan *see under* YOḤANAN

John, Jews in the Gospel of The most sectarian and polemical of the Gospels, the Gospel of John criticizes and attacks various Jewish groups, Samaritans, Gentiles, and other followers of Jesus with whom it disagrees. The Gospel has undergone several stages of composition and thus reflects a series of battles against diverse opponents. The Johannine community had its origin as a group of Jews in Judea who followed the teachings of Jesus. References to being expelled from the synagogue (9:22, 12:42, 16:2) testify to a later schism between the Johannine group and Jewish communal authorities. The term Jews occurs frequently in the Gospel. Sometimes it refers neutrally to the Jewish people or Judeans, but mostly it is used as a code for the Jewish opponents of Jesus, mainly the

authorities, such as the chief priests and Pharisees. The Pharisees are depicted as communal authorities with judicial responsibilities (9:13), a much more substantial role than they have in the other Gospels. The Jewish people as a whole are not explicitly attacked. The author distinguishes true Israelites (1:47), who are open to Jesus, from the authorities, who are depicted as plotting against him. He also alludes disapprovingly to Jews who believed in Jesus but feared to say so openly (12:42–43). Nevertheless, the complex rhetoric and symbolism of the Gospel are used to distance the Johannine community from its original home in the Jewish community. The choice of the term Jews for the community's opponents has the same effect and tends to stigmatize all Jews, rather than the authorities to whom the references are made. Thus the Gospel of John has been a source of later Christian polemics against Jews.

John Chrysostom (c. 347–407 C.E.) famous preacher in Antioch who became bishop of Constantinople in 398. He was baptized in 368, ordained priest in 386, and earned the name "golden-mouthed" for his popular series of sermons on New Testament books and other subjects. His sermons and other works quickly became widely read in the Eastern Church. He also preached eight notoriously anti-Jewish sermons, which actually were addressed to and against Christians who were participating in Jewish festival celebrations. His polemics reveal that many Christians were drawn to Jewish practices, teaching, and synagogues. The invective in these sermons sought to denigrate the powerful, well-established, and attractive Jewish community in favor of the more recent, insurgent Christian community. Chrysostom, like many early Christian teachers, interpreted the Bible, especially the prophets, in a way that supported Christianity and deligitimated Judaism after Jesus. Later, as bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom became involved in imperial and ecclesiastical political disputes, was removed from office, and died in exile.

John Hyrcanus high priest and prince (r. 135/134–104 B.C.E.). He succeeded his father, Simon Maccabee, after Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law, assassinated Simon and two of Hyrcanus's brothers. Hyrcanus then secured Jerusalem and besieged Ptolemy, who eventually fled. During John's first year, Antiochus VII Sidentes, the Seleucid ruler of Syria, invaded Judea in an attempt to reassert his rule. After Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem for the better part of a year, he secured the Syrian's departure by surrendering his arms, having the walls of Jerusalem torn down, paying a large tribute, handing over hostages, giving up some coastal cities, and subordinating himself again to the Seleucid monarchy. Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus on his Parthian campaign in 129 B.C.E. When Antiochus was killed in battle, Hyrcanus used the internal disorder of the Seleucid kingdom as an occasion to cease paying tribute and to conquer territory adjacent to Judea, including Idumea, Medeba, and part of Samaria, where he destroyed the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim and Shechem. Late in his rule he also besieged and destroyed the town of Samaria. He was the first Hasmonean king to employ mercenaries.

Hyrcanus's title was high priest and his coins indicate that he ruled in conjunction with the "congregation of the Jews," probably meaning a council in Jerusalem. Josephus says that Hyrcanus's internal policy was influenced first by the Pharisees and then, after a dispute, by the Sadducees. The story by the Jewish historian Josephus and in the Talmud (B. Kidd. 66a) is clearly legendary and its historical worth is hard to assess. The dispute seems to have concerned Hyrcanus's legitimacy as a priest and thus as ruler. It may also have been motivated by factional politics among Hyrcanus's courtiers that led to the ascendency of the Sadducees and fall of the Pharisees from favor. The Talmud attributes the break to King Yannai, that is, Alexander Jannaeus, whom it viewed as cruel and wicked. The Mishnah (Maaser Sheni 5:15) attributes several rulings to Johanan the High Priest, that is, John Hyrcanus, and rabbinic commentary interprets these somewhat unclear rulings favorably. Under Hyrcanus, the Jewish kingdom achieved independence and stability and increased its size significantly.

John of Gischala first-century-C.E. Zealot, born in Gischala, a city in central lower Galilee; leader of the Zealot group in Jerusalem during the war with Rome. He was a popular leader who opposed the more cautious approach to war taken by Josephus, who was given command by the Jerusalem authorities. He unsuccessfully tried first to assassinate Josephus and then to have him removed. In late 67 C.E., when Galilee had been subdued and Titus was besieging Gischala, John escaped to Jerusalem, where he became the leader of the militants called Zealots. In the civil war that ensued in 68 and 69, John's party was one of three that killed the Jerusalem leadership, burned supplies, and turned on one another. He was captured by Titus in the conquest of Jerusalem, displayed in Vespasian and Titus's triumph, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

John the Baptist a lower-order priest (Luke 1) who preached a prophetic message of doom and repentance in the Judean wilderness (Mark 1; Luke 3; Matt. 3). The Gospels picture him as a forerunner of Jesus (Mark 1:7–8; John 1:29–35). He was imprisoned and executed by Herod Antipas at Machaerus because he was the leader of a large popular movement (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116–119; Mark 6:17–29). His disciples continued his movement into the mid-first century C.E. (Acts 18:25, 19:3–4).

Jokneam *see* YOKNEAM

Jonah **1.** prophet who is the main character of the Book of Jonah; perhaps the Jonah of 2 Kings 14:25, who prophesied about the expanded borders for Israel that Jereboam II attained. In the Book of Jonah, God commands the prophet to preach against the gentile city of Nineveh. Jonah attempts to flee by sea, but a storm arises, and he tells the sailors to cast him overboard to evade God's anger. After they comply, he is swallowed by a fish. In the fish's belly, he prays to God, whereupon the fish spits him out onto dry land. God again demands that he prophesy against Nineveh. When he does so, the Ninevites repent and thus avoid punishment. This angers Jonah.

Later Jewish tradition identifies Jonah with the widow's son raised from the dead by Elijah in 1 Kings 17:17–24 (Lives of the Prophets 10:4–6; some rabbinic sources). In Luke 11:29–32, the sign of Jonah that Jesus says his opponents will receive seems to refer to Jonah's preaching, taken as a parallel to that of Jesus. At the judgment, the repentant Ninevites will condemn Jesus' generation, which did not listen to him. In the parallel passage in Matthew 12:39–41, the element of preaching remains, but the real sign becomes Jonah's rescue after three days in the fish's belly, taken as analogous to Jesus' stay in the tomb.

2. leading Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; head of the academy at Tiberias; student of Zera I, Ila, and, in particular, Jeremiah. He was known for the efficacy of his prayers and for miracles that resulted from his pious behavior.

Jonah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Jonah of Botzra Palestinian amora of the mid-fourth century C.E.

Jonathan Tannaitic authority active in the mid-second century C.E.; of the school of Ishmael. The name is not mentioned in the Mishnah, but does occur in the Mekhilta and Sifrei and may be equated with the infrequently mentioned Jonathan b. Joseph. In the talmudic literature, the name Jonathan without a patronymic refers to Jonathan b. Eleazar.

Jonathan, son of Mattathias second-century B.C.E. Maccabean leader. He carried on the Jewish revolutionary Maccabean movement begun by his father and his brother Judas. The fifth son of the priest Mattathias of Modein, and surnamed Apphus, Jonathan was the leader of the Maccabean movement from 160 to 142 B.C.E. He relied on diplomatic and military initiatives to increase and stabilize its influence. The exploits of Jonathan are described chiefly in 1 Maccabees 9:23–13:30. When the Seleucid pretender Alexander Balas offered him the Jewish high priesthood (vacant from 159 to 152 B.C.E.), Jonathan "put on the sacred vestments" (1 Macc. 10:21). Jonathan was captured by Trypho in 143 B.C.E. and later put to death in Bascama. He (or his brother Simon) may have been the "wicked priest" criticized in some Qumran scrolls.

Jonathan, Targum *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Jonathan b. Amram student of Judah the Patriarch, active in the late second and early third centuries C.E., during the transition between Tannaitic and Amoraic authority. The few laws attributed to him concern levitical cleanness. Jonathan b. Amram was known for his extreme modesty and unwillingness to profit from his knowledge of Torah (B. Baba Batra 8a).

Jonathan b. Baayan commander of the area around En Gedi, a major port for supplies shipped across the Dead Sea, during the Bar Kosiba Revolt. He was a recipient of many of the Bar Kosiba letters, written between 132 and 135 C.E. One refers to the confiscation of produce of a wealthy landowner in En Gedi who refused to cooperate with the revolt and who seems to have been guilty of profiteering. Another letter was written in Greek because there were no scribes available who could write Hebrew or Aramaic. A third letter charges Jonathan and his co-commander with "sitting eating and drinking and caring nothing for their brothers."

Jonathan b. Eleazar Amoraic authority. He was born in Babylonia, but from an early age lived in the Land of Israel. In the talmudic literature and Midrash, he is referred to simply as Jonathan, without the patronymic. Active at the beginning of the Amoraic period, in the early third century C.E., he was in the circle of Ḥanina at Sepphoris, where he was referred to as "prince of the city." Known primarily for his exegetical teachings, he was a student of Simeon b. Yose b. Lakoniah and a teacher of Samuel b. Naḥman.

Jonathan b. Uzziel According to the Babylonian Talmud (B. Meg. 3a), Jonathan b. Uzziel was the

greatest of Hillel's disciples, while Yoḥanan b. Zakkai was the least. Jonathan is credited with writing the Targum to the Prophets, an attribution that is apocryphal.

Jonathan of Beth Guvrin Palestinian amora of the third century C.E., cited exclusively in midrashic contexts

Joppa ancient port city located just south of present-day Tel Aviv, 56 kilometers from Jerusalem; also known as Jaffa or Yapho. The city is situated on a rock about 35 meters above the water. Its natural harbor was formed by a breakfront made up of a collection of rocks about 12 meters offshore, parallel to the coastline. Joppa served as a major port from the Middle Bronze Age down through the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

The name Joppa comes from the Semitic word for "beauty" or "beautiful." It is mentioned in both the Hebrew Bible and in many extrabiblical texts because it served as a major port and travel center throughout antiquity. Joshua 19:46 identifies Joppa as the northern boundary of the tribe of Dan. It is also mentioned in 2 Chronicles 2:16 and Ezra 3:7 as the place where cedars, sent via sea from Tyre and Sidon, were gathered before being sent to Jerusalem for use in constructing the First Temple and in its repair under Ezra. In the New Testament, Joppa is mentioned in conjunction with the missionary work of Peter (Acts 9:36ff.). Extrabiblical texts identify Joppa as an early fifteenth-century Egyptian victory stela of Thutmose III. It is again mentioned in two fourteenth-century-B.C.E. letters from Egyptian Amarna and in the conquest list of Sennacherib, an Assyrian emperor, from 701 B.C.E.

In the Hellenistic period, Joppa became a Greek colony and a major center of ancient Greek and Roman influence in Palestine. From this time on, the name Joppa is frequent in historical documents of the Greeks and Romans. These citations make the identification of modern Jaffa with ancient Joppa certain. Recent excavations from the 1950s and 1960s have unearthed remains of Joppa dating back to the Middle Bronze Age. Also discovered was a fortress from the Persian and Hellenistic periods. This fortress was used by the Greeks and by the Hasmoneans when Joppa was the central port for Judah.

During the Hasmonean period, Joppa was taken from the Seleucid Greeks and was used by the Judeans as a central port. The city soon became independent, and the Hellenistic citizens were known to have had anti-Jewish sentiments. There is even a tragic account of two hundred Jewish citizens being drowned by spiteful inhabitants in 164 B.C.E. Even though the Jewish monarch, Herod the Great, captured the city in 37 B.C.E., he established Caesarea (a harbor further north on the Mediterranean coast) as the central port of Judah. It seems probable that this action was taken in response to Joppa's resistance to him and to other Jewish leaders preceding him.

Jose *see under* YOSE

Joseph **1.** eleventh son of Jacob (Gen. 30:22–24). The cycle of stories about Joseph in Genesis 37, 39–50 are shaped in general by a genre employed in the ancient Near East to recount tales about persecuted and vindicated courtiers (cf. Daniel 3 and 6, Esther, the story of Ahikar, and the Book of Tobit, as well as the Book of Susanna). Joseph's brothers conspire against him because his dreams foretell his future domination over them. He is condemned to death, rescued, installed as vizier of Egypt, and vindicated when his brothers bow down before him. His encounter with Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39) adds to the motif of his mantic wisdom and the emphasis on his righteous conduct, specifically his chastity. This, however, is balanced by the notice of his marriage to the daughter of an aristocrat (41:45).

The Testament of Joseph recounts a pair of stories that emphasize qualities of Joseph that are to be emulated (chaps. 3–9, 10:5–16:5). The first focuses on his chastity or moderation (Gr.: *sōphrosynē*) and draws on motifs from the classical Greek story of Phaedra. Joseph's character as a spiritual athlete contending for virtue is a typical feature of Hellenistic moral philosophy and Jewish martyr traditions (e.g., 4 Maccabees and the Testament of Job). The second narrative highlights Joseph's love for his brothers. These moralizing narratives are preceded by a poetic summary of Joseph's life that features the humilation/exaltation pattern of the court-story genre.

In a different vein, the romantic tale of Joseph and Asenath explains how an Israelite patriarch could have married the daughter of an Egyptian priest: she abandoned her idols and converted to the true God. The story contrasts a pair of disparate motifs that are already implicit in the biblical accounts. Joseph is depicted as "a son of God," with certain angellike characteristics, and his chastity is emphasized. At the same time, true to its genre as a romance, the story highlights certain erotic features, and it may even reflect some elements from the Greek story of Eros and Psyche. Details from the stories in the Testament of Joseph and Joseph and Asenath are found in a wide variety of rabbinic texts.

In the New Testament, Joseph is especially important in Stephen's speech (Acts 7), which, following the genre of the Genesis story, cites him as an example of the kind of persecuted and vindicated righteous one (7:9–10) that is epitomized in the crucified and exalted Jesus (7:52–56).

2. Jewish convert to Christianity in the fourth century C.E. Epiphanius records his story. Joseph claimed that he was an important member of the patriarch's court in Tiberias and guardian of the child Judah IV. However, when he learned that Jesus' name had magical powers and could be used for healing, he became a Christian, making his conversion public while on a mission in Cilicia on behalf of the patriarch. Constantine honored him with the title *comes* (companion of the emperor). With the emperor's support he returned to Galilee and built churches in Tiberias, Sepphoris, Capernaum, and Nazareth.

Joseph, Prayer of a pseudepigraphical Jewish (or possibly Christian) writing probably dating from the first century C.E. The work was most likely composed in Aramaic or Greek in either Palestine or Egypt. Although, according to one canon list, the Prayer originally had 1,100 lines, it survives today only in three short fragments quoted by Origen. The fragmentary nature of the work makes it difficult to formulate definite statements about its content or literary form.

The longest fragment, Fragment A, is quoted in Origen's *Commentary on John*. Fragment B is quoted in the Philocalia and also by Eusebius and Procopius of Gaza; Fragment C appears only in the Philocalia.

The surviving text of the Prayer presents some highly unusual material. In Fragment A, the patriarch Jacob identifies himself as "an angel of God and a ruling spirit" and "the firstborn of every living thing" (A 1, 3). Jacob then recounts a story, based on Genesis 32:24–32, about his wrestling match with the angel Uriel. Uriel acknowledges Jacob's angelic status; Uriel fights with Jacob out of envy over their relative positions; and Jacob identifies Uriel's status as being significantly below his own. Fragment B contains only one sentence, while in Fragment C, Origen reflects upon Fragments A and B.

Since Joseph is never mentioned in the extant text, its title, Prayer of Joseph, presents something of a mystery. Most commentators assume that Joseph is the recipient of Jacob's discourse in Fragments A and B and that the setting for the discourse was Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons in Genesis 48. It seems probable that the lost portions of the work do contain "prayers" of Joseph.

Some scholars have argued that the text's focus on angelology and its identification of Jacob's angelic status reflect an interest in the mystical ascent to God's throne that is characteristic of Merkabah mysticism.

Joseph, son of Tobiah tax collector in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 B.C.E.). In the legendary tale found in Josephus (*Ant.* 12.4.2–11) Joseph was nominated by the people to act as their representative to Ptolemy when the high priest Onias II refused to pay taxes. Joseph placated the king and won his favor, gaining the contract to collect taxes in Coele Syria, Phoenicia, Judea, and Samaria. Joseph is said to have built up the Jewish nation and to have dealt harshly with the Hellenistic cities of Ashkelon and Scythopolis, who refused to comply.

Joseph and Asenath a Jewish romantic tale that recounts the circumstances of Joseph's marriage to the daughter of an Egyptian priest (Gen. 41:45). The story is preserved in several text forms of long, short, and intermediate length, in sixteen Greek manuscripts of the tenth century and later, and in eight versions translated from the Greek. It appears to be a Jewish (rather than Christian) composition, written in an unknown provenance in Egypt during the first century B.C.E. or the first century C.E.

The story divides into three major parts (chaps. 1–18, 19–21, 22–29). In part 1 Asenath rejects her parents' decision that she should marry Joseph, but agrees to do so when his glorious appearance convinces her that he is "a son of God." Joseph, for his part, refuses her because her worship of idols and eating of food sacrificed to them have made her unclean. Devastated by this rejection, she repents of her idolatry and is visited by the chief of the heavenly host (Michael, though he is unnamed), who provides her with "the bread of life, the cup of immortality, and the ointment of incorruptibility," thus making her eligible to be Joseph's bride. Part 2 repeats in short form the sequence in part 1. Again Joseph visits Asenath's house, where he perceives the new life in her and accepts her as his bride. In part 3, Simeon and Levi foil a plot by Pharaoh's son to kidnap Asenath and murder Joseph.

Thus the story of Joseph and Asenath explains the patriarch's marriage to a gentile woman by positing her conversion to Judaism. In the account of her repentance and the appearance of the heavenly man, not only is she granted immortality and eternal life, she is commissioned to be "a walled mother-city of all who take refuge with the name of the Lord God, the king of ages" (16:16). Thus

the story serves as a religious myth that explains the origins of proselytism. That this point is made in a marriage story may indicate that it is intended to deal specifically with the issue of Jew/Gentile marriages. In combining Egyptian mythological motifs with a strong emphasis on the uniqueness of Israel's God in a narrative told from the point of view of the proselyte, the author may have been creating the story that would be especially appealing to new or potential converts to Judaism. Although Joseph and Asenath is a polished literary composition, it incorporates traditional material. This is evident in some parallels with later Jewish stories about Asenath, in which she is said to have been the daughter of Dinah and Shechem (e.g., Pirkei R. Eliezer 38; Midr. Aggadah, Buber ed., I.97). According to these traditions, Joseph could marry Asenath because she was, in fact, the daughter of an Israelite woman. Remnants of the tradition may be seen in the description of Asenath (1:4–5), in the actions of Pharaoh's son, who is a counterpart of Shechem (chaps. 1, 23), and in the major role played by Simeon and Levi, Asenath's protectors (chaps. 22–29).

Joseph and Asenath speaks with much of the technical idiom of Jewish religious literature, notably in its critique of idolatry and its description of conversion as a movement from death to life. At the same time, the story is clothed in the trappings of contemporary Greek romantic literature and has occasional erotic nuances. Its extensive preservation in Christian circles suggests a perceived typology between Joseph "the son of God" and Jesus, between Joseph and Asenath's marriage and the marriage of Christ and the church (cf. Eph. 5:21–33), and between the rituals in chapters 15–16 and the Eucharist.

Joseph b. Ḥama Babylonian amora, active at Maḥoza and Pumbedita in the third century C.E.; the father of Raba; a student of Sheshet and Ḥuna. B. Baba Batra 29b and B. Baba Kamma 97a speak of his and his family's ownership of slaves, a practice contested by Raba.

Joseph b. Ḥiyya Babylonian amora; succeeded Rabbah as head of the academy at Pumbedita; died 333 C.E., after two years in that position. A student of Judah b. Ezekiel, he frequently is cited in both Talmuds. B. Ḥagigah 13a reports his knowledge of chariot mysticism. B. Horayot 13b states that because of his comprehensive learning, Joseph was called Sinai. Several medieval commentators attribute to him authorship of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets and the Targums to the Writings.

Joseph b. Judah *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Joseph of Husal *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Joseph the Babylonian *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Josephus Jewish historian who recorded the fall of the Second Temple. Born in Jerusalem to an aristocratic priestly family around 37 C.E., Josephus lived through the tumultuous years leading to the Revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). Just before the revolt he was sent to Rome on an embassy to secure the release of some priests imprisoned by the Roman authorities. In the early stages of the revolt he was appointed by the leadership in Jerusalem to a position of responsibility in Galilee. There he organized the resistance to Rome while trying to placate the diverse local factions. He was captured by the army of the Roman general Vespasian after the siege of Jotapata (Yodfat) in 68. After his capture he predicted that Vespasian would become emperor of Rome. When the prediction came true, Josephus was released and employed by Titus, Vespasian's son and successor, as head of the Roman forces during the siege of Jerusalem. From his vantage point in the Roman camp, Josephus witnessed the destruction of the city and the Temple in 70.

After the revolt Vespasian and Titus brought Josephus to Rome where he spent the rest of his days in literary activity, supported initially by the Flavian emperors, and then by a wealthy freedman, Epaphroditus. His first work, an account of the war written in Aramaic, probably as a warning to Jews not to rekindle any violent resistance to Rome, has not survived. He then composed an account in Greek, *The Jewish War,* which he published in large part by 79 C.E. This seven-volume work first gives a brief overview of the history of the Jews in the Hellenistic period and then describes in detail the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus, the factional strife that raged in Jerusalem before and during the Roman siege, and the destruction of Jerusalem and the aftermath, including the fall of Masada. Josephus blames the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple on the revolutionary leaders while exonerating the Romans as instruments of the divine will.

In 93–94 C.E. Josephus published a longer and more comprehensive work, *Antiquities of the Jews,* in twenty books. Modeled on antiquarian historiography like that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the *Antiquities* surveyed the history of the Jewish people from Adam to the period just prior to the Revolt against Rome. The first ten books paraphrase the Bible and embellish scriptural narrative with devices of dramatic historiography: pathos, psychological analysis, set speeches, and moraliz-

ing touches. Book 11 recounts postexilic history, relying on 1 and 2 Esdras and Esther. Book 12 paraphrases the Letter of Aristeas and 1 Maccabees. Josephus also provides documentary evidence for Jewish rights in Greek cities (12:119–28; 138–53), information on the Samaritans (12:257–64), and a legend about the influential Tobiad family of the third and second centuries B.C.E. (12:154–256). Books 13 and 14 continue the history of the Hasmoneans, using 1 Maccabees and Hellenistic historical sources. Books 15 and 16 give a critical account of Herod's reign. Book 17 continues the account of the Herodian family. Book 18 deals with various episodes of first-century Jewish history, both in the Land of Israel and in the diaspora, and includes a report on Jesus, the so-called Testimonium Flavianum (18:63–64). Book 19 describes the accession of the emperor Claudius, in which Herod Agrippa I played a prominent role. Book 20 brings the account to the beginning of the Revolt against Rome.

As an appendix to the *Antiquities,* Josephus composed an autobiography, *Vita.* The work gives a brief description of his youth, when he sampled the religious options available within Judaism before deciding to conduct his affairs as a Pharisee. The bulk of the work gives another account of the participation by Josephus in the early stages of the revolt, when he served as "general" in Galilee. His reminiscences were apparently prompted by an unflattering report given by a rival historian, Justus of Tiberias. Josephus defends his actions and tries to portray his activity as that of a moderate.

The final work in the Josephan corpus is *Against Apion,* an apologetic tract written to refute a series of slanders against the Jews composed by an Egyptian opponent at the end of the Hellenistic period. The Jews were not, as Apion and others had portrayed them, antisocial misanthropes who descended from lepers expelled from Egypt and who conducted a bizarre cult worshiping the head of an ass in the Temple. The Jews were instead a people of revered antiquity, the Hyksos of Egyptian history. The excellent Jewish constitution and laws provide for a model human society.

The value of Josephus as a historian has been variously assessed. He is clearly tendentious, although his biases are generally obvious, and he is frequently inattentive to details. Nonetheless, he remains an invaluable source for the history of the period. He preserves valuable documentary sources, including a collection of laws and decrees relating to Jews (*Ant.* 14). For many events, such as the details of Herod's reign or the events in Adiabene in the first century, he is our only source. His labor as an apologist preserves a valuable record of the cultural conflicts of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

Joshua successor to Moses (Deut. 31:23, 34:9). He led Israel into the promised land and apportioned it among the tribes, according to the Book of Joshua. His name means "Yahweh is salvation." A later form of the name is rendered into Greek as Jesus. Joshua's service to Moses included cultic and military duties (Exod. 17:9–13, 33:11). Of the twelve spies sent into Canaan, only he and Caleb brought back an encouraging report (Num. 13–14).

Sirach describes Joshua as a mighty warrior (and thus a savior of Israel, true to his name), a prophet, and faithful to God (46:1–10). Eupolemus (frg. 2) and Josephus (*Ant.* 4.7.2, sec. 165; 4.8.46, sec. 311) also see Joshua as a prophet. In 1 Macc. 2:55, he is remembered for his obedience to God's commands. In 4 Ezra 7:107, he intercedes for Israel (alluding to Joshua 7). Joshua's story in the Book of Biblical Antiquities occupies chapters 20–24 and emphasizes his division of the land as fulfillment of divine promises, his testamentary exhortation to remain faithful to the covenant (based on Josh. 23–24), and his opposition to the Transjordanian altar (Josh. 22). The Testament of Moses stresses Joshua's role as Moses' successor, and says that the revelations given to Moses were entrusted to Joshua. In Acts 7:45 he is remembered for bringing the Tent of Testimony into the promised land (see Heb. 4:8).

Joshua, Samaritan Book of one of the Samaritan Chronicles, also known as Chronicle 4. It roughly parallels the book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible in its first half, but the rest of the book continues to the time of Baba Rabba. Although an important work to the Samaritans, it is not a part of their canon.

Joshua, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Joshua b. Galgula commander of the area around Hebron during the Bar Kosiba Revolt (132–135 C.E.). In one of the Bar Kosiba letters, Joshua and his staff are threatened with imprisonment if they mistreat any of the Galileans residing in the area, probably a reference to refugees who had moved southwards as Rome conquered the north. Another letter, written toward the end of the revolt, indicates that the military situation was changing drastically. It refers to the approaching pagans and the fact that travel between the neighboring villages and the military headquarters at Hebron was impossible.

Joshua b. Gamla (d. 69 or 70 C.E.) high priest in the last years of the Second Temple. According to

several talmudic passages, he was married to one of the richest women in Jerusalem, Martha, daughter of Boethus (see B. Yoma 18a). He may be identical to Joshua b. Gamaliel, identified by Josephus (*Ant.* 20:213) as a high priest appointed by Agrippa II. According to B. Baba Batra 21a, Joshua b. Gamla established a system of public education that covered all of the Land of Israel.

Joshua b. Hananiah rabbi in the Land of Israel from c. 70 C.E. to before the Bar Kokhba rebellion of 132–135. In Mishnah Abot 2:8 he is listed as a disciple of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, the alleged founder of rabbinic Judaism. His teaching that a person's intention in an act should be central in determining liability appears to have been important in the development of the early rabbinic position on intention.

Joshua b. Iddi Babylonian amora of the late fifth century C.E.; a contemporary of Ashi. B. Shabat 93a reports that he fasted to prevent an unfavorable dream and, accordingly, declined to participate in a meal at Ashi's house.

Joshua b. Korḥa Tannaitic authority of the middle of the second century C.E., recalled for being bald, which accounts for his patronymic, Korḥa, which means bald-headed. Joshua opposed all cooperation with the Romans and called his student, Eleazar v. Simeon, who served as a police officer, "vinegar, son of wine." He is known primarily from exegetical comments. Rashi holds that he was the son of Akiba, who reportedly was bald (*korḥa*). The Tosefot reject this claim, which finds no support in the talmudic sources.

Joshua b. Levi Palestinian amora of the first half of the third century C.E. A native of Lydda, he studied with Eleazar haKappar, Bar Kappara, and Judah b. Pedaiah. Joshua made trips to Caesarea and Rome to discuss Roman relations with the Jewish community (Y. Berakhot 5:1, 9a; Y. Terumot 8:10, 46b; Gen. Rabbah 78:5). He was known for his legal and, especially, exegetical abilities.

Joshua b. Neḥemiah Palestinian amora active in the fourth century C.E. Except for one reference in the Palestinian Talmud, he is cited exclusively in the midrashic literature. His name frequently is attached to parables.

Joshua b. Peraḥyah along with Nittai of Arbel, one of the pairs listed at M. Abot 1:6. He was a scholar active in the second half of the second century B.C.E. At M. Ḥagigah 2:2, he holds that one does not lay hands on a festival sacrifice. M. Abot 1:7 reports his statement: "Keep away from a bad neighbor; and do not get involved with a wicked man; and do not give up hope of retribution."

B. Sotah 47a states that Joshua was a teacher of Jesus who, although finding Jesus guilty of a sin, was responsible for his failure to repent. Parallel stories involving other rabbis (see, e.g., Y. Ḥagigah 2:2, 77d) suggest that this report about Joshua b. Peraḥyah is a late elaboration of a stock story.

Josiah Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E.; an eminent student of Ishmael. While his name is absent from the Mishnah, he is frequently cited in the Mekhilta, in dispute with Jonathan. Sifrei Numbers 123 refers to his presence in Nisibis, at the academy of Judah b. Batyra.

Josippon a Hebrew version of the 66–70 C.E. Jewish war with Rome. The name Josippon (Yosippon) is a Hebrew form of the name Josephus. The book probably originated about the tenth century C.E., though some would date it earlier. The contents seem to be taken primarily from a Latin version of Josephus's *The Jewish War* passed down under the name of Hegesippus; however, it also contains some additional material from Latin versions of the Apocrypha and even some books from Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*. In addition, there is other aggadic material from various sources, such as a version of the legend that Alexander visited Jerusalem and bowed to the high priest.

Jotapata *see* YODFAT

Jovian Roman emperor (r. 363–364 C.E.). He took part in Julian's Persian campaign and was elevated to emperor by the army upon Julian's death. He made an unpopular peace with the Persians, returning to them the territory in the east that Diocletian had won, along with the cities of Nisibis and Singara. He was a devout Christian and restored to the Church the privileges that Julian had abrogated. At the same time, he denounced those who were intolerant toward the pagans. He reigned only a few months and died before he and his troops could return to Constantinople.

joy a quality of the eschatological life. Although nouns and verbs denoting joy and rejoicing have many contexts and connotations, there is a long tradition for associating them with the end-time, especially in contrast to the sorrow and grief that have attended life in this world. A variety of words denoting joy run like a thread through the chapters of Second and Third Isaiah (Isa. 40–66), as they proclaim the return from exile, the hope of a new Jerusalem, and the promise of a new heaven and a new earth. At the end of the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 92–105), having vividly depicted the oppression of the righteous by the sinners, the author explicitly contrasts former troubles and future joy (102:4–103:4, 104:12–105:2).

The notion of eschatological joy permeates the New Testament at many points. The birth of Jesus will be a joy to all the people and is cause for praise from the heavenly chorus (Luke 2:10–14). Paul's letter to the Philippians, its prison setting notwithstanding, is marked by repeated references to the apostle's joy. Matthew's parable about the great judgment describes the heavenly kingdom as "the joy of your Lord" (Matt. 25:21, 23).

Jubilees, Book of a narrative work, written in Hebrew in about 150 B.C.E., that retells the biblical stories from Genesis 1 through Exodus 20 as they were understood by the author. The book is now divided into fifty chapters and is a little longer than the Book of Genesis. The writer was probably a priest who lived in the Land of Israel. He seems to have been concerned that his contemporaries did not have a proper understanding of the first parts of the Bible and their crucial implications. To give greater authority to his words, he presented his book as a divine revelation communcated by an angel to Moses on Mount Sinai. The fourteen or fifteen fragmentary copies of the book that were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate that Hebrew was its original language and provide the only evidence now existing for the original Hebrew text. However, it seems not to have been highly regarded by most Jews at a later time; hence it was not copied and went out of use. Before its disappearance it was translated into Greek and possibly into Syriac. No complete manuscript of either translation has survived, only citations from them in other works. The Greek translation served as the base for subsequent renderings of the text into Latin and Ethiopic—the latter is the only complete version of Jubilees that is available. Among Ethiopian Christians, the book seems to have enjoyed biblical status. European missionaries in Ethiopia brought copies of the book, which was believed to have been lost, to the attention of Western scholars in the nineteenth century. As a result, modern study of the book began only in the 1840s.

As he relates the biblical stories, the writer envelops them in a chronology that employs time units of seven and forty-nine years (= a jubilee)—a feature that explains the name of the book. The entry into Canaan will happen, according to his chronology, at the end of the fiftieth jubilee of years, that is, in the year 2450 since the Creation. He also relates that the angels revealed to Enoch the correct length of the solar year (364 days exactly—evenly divisible into fifty-two weeks). The moon was to play no role in measuring time. Besides his interest in dating events, the author is concerned to show that the ancient biblical heroes engaged in practices that in the Bible arose only later. For example, Noah celebrated the Festival of Weeks, and Abraham inaugurated the Festivals of Unleavened Bread and the Festival of Booths. He seems intent on convincing readers that distinctive Jewish practices have ancient and authoritative roots and thus must not be rejected under cosmopolitan pressures in the Hellenistic age. The book shares a number of features with the Enoch literature (for example, the 364-day solar calendar) and, like that literature, must have been valued by the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Its later influence, outside of Ethiopia, seems not to have been large, although a number of Christian writers refer to it or cite passages from it.

Jubilee year the fiftieth year, following seven Sabbatical cycles. During this year, agricultural labor is prohibited (as during the Sabbatical year), hereditary property (other than that which is in walled cities) is returned to its original owners, and Hebrew slaves who have not completed their six-year terms or who have refused to leave their masters are emancipated (Lev. 25:11–40). The Hebrew term for the Jubilee year, Yobel, refers to the ram's horn, blown to announce the Jubilee's start (Lev. 25:9). Sifra beHar Sinai 7:1 spells out the rabbinic notion that the Jubilee year preserves God's original allotment of property to the tribes and helps bring an end to slavery. Recognizing, too, that during the Jubilee, the land brings forth food without human intervention, the rabbis saw the fiftieth year as a return to the original, perfected state in which God created the world and intended it to exist.

Judaea capta Latin inscription meaning "Judea captive," found on a coin of Agrippa II, which also has a bust of Titus and a picture of Judea as a woman in chains. The coin seems to have been produced in 90 C.E. on the twentieth anniversary of the conquest of Judea by Titus.

Judah fourth son of Jacob and Leah; eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Judah. In Genesis 38, he has intercourse with his daughter-in-law Tamar, mistaking her for a prostitute. Judah's place in later tradition is as the progenitor of the royal tribe, since David was from the tribe of Judah. In Jacob's blessing, Judah's dominance as ancestor of the ruling tribe and his military prowess are prominent (Gen. 49:8–12).

Throughout the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the dominance of the tribe of Levi as the priestly tribe and of the tribe of Judah as the royal tribe is emphasized, though Judah is subordinate

to Levi. The Testament of Judah 2–9 highlights Judah's military exploits (see Jub. 34, 38; LAB 10:3). Judah's lying with Tamar is seen as the result of drunkenness (Test. Jud. 12:3). Judah warns against drunkenness, fornication, and love of money (Test. Jud. 13–19). Jubilees legitimates Judah's and Levi's leadership positions through a blessing by Isaac (31:11–17) and says that Judah repented of his sin with Tamar and was forgiven (41:23–24).

The New Testament claims that Jesus was descended from Judah, since he was the Davidic Messiah (Matt. 1:2–3, 2:6; Luke 3:33; Heb. 7:14). Revelation 5:5 calls Jesus the "Lion of Judah," a phrase originating in Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49:9).

Judah, Persian province of After the collapse of the Neo-Babylonian empire in 539 B.C.E., Judah (Yehud) automatically passed under Persian control as a small province in the vast Fifth Satrapy, which included Babylon and the Trans-Euphrates region (Babili-Ebirnari). This administrative arrangement remained in place until Xerxes I (r. 486–465) made Babylon a separate satrapy after crushing a revolt there in the early years of the reign. The province seems to have had its own identity independent of Samaria from the beginning (see references to governors preceding Nehemiah in Ezra 5:14; Neh. 5:15; Hag. 1:1; Mal. 1:18), but was put on a firm footing only with the administration of Nehemiah during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.E.).

Judah, Rab *see* JUDAH B. EZEKIEL

Judah II (d. 270 C.E.) Tannaitic authority and patriarch; the grandson of Judah I and son of Gamaliel III, whom he followed as patriarch; active in Tiberias in the mid-third century C.E. Referred to as Judah, as Judah Nesiah, or, sometimes, like his grandfather, as Rabbi. Accordingly, it often is difficult to determine to which Judah reference is made.

Judah III son of Gamaliel IV; patriarch from 290 C.E. to his death in 320 C.E.; a student of Yoḥanan. Judah III was in the circle of Ḥiyya, Ammi, and Assi, whom he sent to provide scribes and teachers for towns throughout the Land of Israel (Y. Ḥagigah 1:7, 76c). Y. Terumot 8:10, 46B–C, reports of a meeting between Judah III and Diocletian when the latter stayed in Tiberias while waging war against the Persians.

Judah IV son of Gamaliel V; patriarch in the late fourth century C.E. Apparently he was unpopular with contemporary rabbinic authorities, who refused to attend his sister's funeral (Y. Berakhot 3:1, 6a). Little is known about him.

Judah b. Baba Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E., known for his piety and modesty (T. Sotah 13:4). After Akiba was executed by the Romans, Judah ordained several of his students, a capital offense. Surprised by Roman troops, he told the students to flee while he remained and was martyred (B. Sanhedrin 14a).

Judah b. Batyra **1.** Tannaitic authority active at the close of the Second Temple period. B. Pesaḥim 3b indicates that prior to the destruction, he moved to Nisibis, in Babylonia.

2. later Tannaitic authority of the same name, whose existence is posited on the basis of interactions between Judah b. Batyra, Akiba, and other authorities in the mid-second century C.E. This Judah apparently was born in Rome, educated in the Land of Israel, and, like the earlier Judah, ultimately went to Nisibis.

Judah b. Ezekiel Babylonian amora active in the third century C.E.; normally referred to simply as Judah, without the patronymic; the most prominent student of Rab. After Rab's death, he studied with Samuel, who called him Shinena (sharp-witted, or large-toothed). Judah founded the academy at Pumbedita, where he died in 299. He was known for his intensity and vigor in study.

Judah b. Ḥiyya Amoraic authority of the late second and early third centuries C.E.; born in Babylonia; moved with his twin brother and father to the Land of Israel, where he studied with Judah the Patriarch. His father-in-law, Yannai, referred to him as Sinai, indicating the breadth and depth of his scholarship.

Judah b. Ilai Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; referred to simply as Judah, without the patronymic, in the talmudic literature. A native of Usha, Judah may have been a student of Tarfon in Lydda (see M. Nedarim 6:6). He cites principles of Akiba (e.g., T. Ohalot 4:2), whom scholars therefore consider also to have been his teacher. According to B. Sanhedrin 14a, he was one of the five students ordained by Judah b. Baba during the Hadrianic persecution that followed the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Judah played a leading role in establishing the rabbinical academy in Usha, and he also opened the Sanhedrin in Yabneh (B. Berakhot 63b). His importance was recognized by later talmudic authorities, who refer to the rabbis of Judah's period collectively as "the generation of Judah b. Ilai" (B. Sanhedrin 20a). The talmudic literature contains many of his laws and other statements, some given on his own authority and others in the name of past rabbis, including Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, who had been his father's teacher,

Akiba, Meir, and the Houses of Hillel and Shammai. In legal contexts, Judah is chiefly in dispute with Simeon b. Yohai. In exegetical settings, his principle disputant is Nehemiah. Judah was a teacher of Judah the Patriarch (B. Shebuot 13a) and of Ishmael b. Yose (B. Sukkot 18a).

Judah b. Lakish (late 2d c. C.E.) Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch. He frequently transmits statements of Simeon b. Gamaliel II in controversies with Yose b. Judah.

Judah b. Nahmani Palestinian amora of the third century C.E.; the meturgeman of Simeon b. Lakish, charged with conveying the master's quietly spoken lectures to the students assembled at the academy at Tiberias. He was in his own right a learned and respected teacher (see, e.g., Y. Sukkah 5:1, 55a; B. Sanhedrin 7b).

Judah b. Pazzi *see* JUDAH B. SIMEON B. PAZZI

Judah b. Pedaiah Palestinian amora of the early third century C.E.; referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as Bar Pada, in the Jerusalem Talmud as Bar Pedaiah, and in midrashic compilations by his full name. He was a student of Judah the Patriarch or, alternatively, of Hiyya and of his uncle, Bar Kappara.

Judah b. Shalom Palestinian amora of the late fourth century C.E.; referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud as Yudan

Judah b. Simeon b. Pazzi Palestinian amora active at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; also referred to as Judah b. Simon and Judah b. Pazzi. He frequently cites legal and exegetical statements in the names of his father, Joshua b. Levi, Yohanan, and Simeon b. Lakish. He often employs parables.

Judah b. Simon *see* JUDAH B. SIMEON B. PAZZI

Judah b. Tabbai along with Simeon b. Shetah, one of the pairs referred to by M. Abot 1:2–15; active in the first century B.C.E. Attributed to him is the maxim: "Do not make yourself like an advocate before judges [while you yourself are judging a case]. And when the litigants stand before you, regard them as guilty. And when they leave you, regard them as acquitted, when they have accepted your judgment" (M. Abot 1:8).

Judah b. Tema Tannaitic authority; possibly a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch. At M. Abot 5:20, he is reported as saying: "Be strong as a leopard, fast as an eagle, fleet as a gazelle, and brave as a lion, to carry out the will of your Father who is in heaven."

Judah the Prince head of Palestinian Jewish community who promulgated the Mishnah in 200 C.E.

Judaism Judaism, the religion deriving from God's revelation to Moses at Sinai, is a monotheistic religion, as are Islam and Christianity, which affirm that same revelation. Distinguished from polytheistic and other nonmonotheistic religions, all three maintain that God is one and unique, transcendent, and not subject to the rules of nature but wholly other. Judaism differs from Christianity in recognizing as God's revelation the Hebrew scriptures, but not the New Testament. It differs from Islam in holding Moses to be unique among prophets and in recognizing no prophecy beyond the scriptural record. Differentiating Judaism from Christianity and Islam is easier than defining Judaism because the word "Judaism" applies to a variety of closely related religions, past and present. These share a number of traits. For example, all of them revere the Torah (literally, revelation; often mistranslated, the law) revealed by God to Moses at Sinai—even if they do so to different degrees. But they also differ among themselves in important ways. Thus to define Judaism as a unitary and uniform religion, unfolding in a single continuous history from beginning to present, is simply not possible.

Dealing with the diversity of Judaisms within Judaism proves somewhat easier if we speak not of a "religion" but of a "religious system." A religious system comprises three components: (1) It presents a worldview explaining who the people it encounters are, where they come from, and what they must do. In general, what a Judaism defines as "the Torah" will contain that worldview. (2) It prescribes a way of life, which expresses in concrete deeds the religious system's worldview. It thereby links the life of the individual to the community. For each Judaism, its way of life comprises what it sets forth as the things someone must do. (3) It designates a particular social group, which is the group to whom the worldview and way of life refer. For a Judaic system, obviously, that group is "Israel" or, more specifically, the group it considers to constitute Israel—beginning with itself. A Judaic system, or a Judaism, thus comprises a worldview, a way of life, and a group of Jews who hold the one and live by the other. A striking and also distinctive symbol expresses the whole all together and at once; such a generative symbol may be "Torah," God's revelation to Moses at Sinai, or it may be "Israel," God's holy people. Each Judaic system alleges that it represents the true and authentic Judaism, or Torah, or will of God for Israel, and that its devotees are Israel. And each Judaism ordinarily situates itself in a single historical line—hence, a linear history—from the entirety of the past. Commonly, a Judaism sees itself as a natural outgrowth, the increment of time and

change. These traits of historical or even supernatural origin characterize nearly all Judaisms.

How, then, do we distinguish one Judaism from another? We can do so when we identify the principal symbol to which a given system appeals—when we uncover its urgent question and define the answer it considers "natural." All Judaisms, wherever formed and whatever type of question they have deemed urgent, must face up to the same persistent social facts that all Jews for all time have confronted. All Judaisms identify in common the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses (the Torah). The Torah explains "where it all began" and forms a critical component of the holy writings of every Judaism ever known. The key question is, what problem does the Pentateuchal authorship—the people who put it all together as we now have it—find urgent? And can we translate that problem into terms that are socially relevant wherever Jews have lived, from then to now? If we can, then we can account for any Judaism and every Judaism.

Judaism finds its origins in two sequential happenings, which together form a single event—the Babylonian exile and the subsequent return to Jerusalem. In 586 B.C.E., the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed. In addition, the political classes of the Jewish state and the persons of economic worth, the craftsmen and artisans—anybody who counted—were taken away to the homeland of the conquering empire. Around three generations later, toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E., the Babylonian Empire fell to the Persian one. The Persian emperor Cyrus, as a matter of public policy, sought to win the loyalty of his diverse empire by restoring to their points of origin populations removed from their homelands by the Babylonians. Consequently, the Jews of Babylonia were given the right to return to the Land of Israel. At this time, only very small numbers of them took the opportunity. These Jews made a start at rebuilding the Temple. And some time later, in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. (c. 450 B.C.E.), a successor of Cyrus allowed a Jewish high court official, Nehemiah, together with a top bureaucrat and civil servant, Ezra, to go back to Jerusalem and, with the support of the state, to rebuild the Temple and establish a Jewish government in the surrounding region. These two events come together as "exile and return," and are framed in terms as mythic and transcendent in their context. The historical events of 586 B.C.E. and 450 B.C.E. are transformed in the Pentateuch's picture of the history and destiny of Israel into that generative myth of exile and return that characterizes every Judaism, then to now.

In order to grasp the Pentateuch's main point, the vital concern that its compilers dealt with, we have first to understand how it took shape. The Five Books of Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) speak of the creation of the world and God's identification of the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who also was called Israel) as God's people. The people of Israel are portrayed as taking shape in Canaan, which was promised to Abraham and his seed and would be called the Land of Israel. The people are portrayed as then going down to Egypt, being freed of the bondage of Egypt by Moses, who led the people to Sinai, and being given the Torah by God. The Torah is described as comprising rules that were to govern Israel's holy community and Israelites' service to God in the cult and in the temple that would be built in time to come. It also contained the message that when Israel kept the covenant, the contract made with God by the patriarchs and given substance at Sinai, then God would favor Israel, but when Israel did not comply, then God would punish it. The Pentateuch as we now have it is the work of an authorship of a particular period. Thus the message of the Pentateuch, encompassing diverse prior viewpoints and messages to be sure, is one that addresses the social world of the ultimate authorship, which has put everything together to say that one thing.

Each Judaism responded to events within the pattern laid out by scripture in the original encounter with the "single event" comprising the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.E. and the return to Jerusalem in the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. That event was, to begin with, interpreted as a paradigm of death and resurrection. The destruction of the Temple and the subsequent exile symbolized death, while the return from exile, with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and reinstitution of the Temple cult, constituted resurrection. It answered the question, who is Israel? by defining the rules that govern what it means to be Israel. These rules involve the formation of Israel and its covenant with God, time and again insisting on the holiness of Israel and its separateness from other peoples. They also involve the conditional possession of the land as the mark of the covenant. The people of Israel have the land not as a given but as a gift. So long as the people honor the covenant, the land will be theirs and they will prosper in it. If the people violate the Torah, the conditions of the covenant, they will lose the land. The key scriptures are Leviticus, chapter 26, and Deuteronomy, chapter 32. But if one reviews the narrative of Gen-

esis, with its account of how the people took shape and how they got the land, one sees that the relationship of Israel to the land is the theme throughout. Everything else depends upon it. When you get to the land, you build the temple. The condition of the people dictates their right to the land, and in losing the land, the people are warned to keep the Torah and the conditions that it sets forth. What that means, of course, is that in recovering the land, Israel enjoys a redemption that is conditional, as noted above, not a given but a gift.

The Torah stresses the distinctive rules that govern Israel and the unique character of Israel among the nations. Translating those stressed points into secular and neutral language reveals a chronic concern for defining Israel—for discovering (to slip into contemporary political language) the answer to the question, who is a Jew? In one way or another, Israel, that is, the Jewish people, wherever they lived, sought means of declaring themselves a group distinct from its neighbors. One reason that the concern with difference persists is that the Jews, wherever located, are simply a very small group surrounded by others that are larger, more powerful, and more important. If a small group under diverse circumstances wishes to sustain itself, it does so by underlining the points of difference between itself and everyone else. It will furthermore place a high value on these points of difference, going against the more common impulse of a minority to denigrate points of difference and so identify with the majority. Throughout the Torah's narrative—in Genesis, where the patriarchs go "home" to Babylonia to obtain their wives; in Leviticus, with its exclusion of the Canaanites, whom "the land vomited out" because of their wickedness; in Deuteronomy, with its command to wipe out some groups and to proscribe marriage with others—the stress is the same: form high walls between Israel and its nearest neighbors. The stress on exclusion of the neighbors from the group, and of the group from the neighbors, in fact runs contrary to the situation of ancient Israel, which, with its unmarked frontiers of culture, participated in the constant giving and receiving among diverse groups characteristic of ancient times. The persistent stress on differentiation, yielding a preoccupation with self-definition, also contradicts the facts. In the time of the formation of the Pentateuch, Israel was deeply affected by the shifts and changes in social, cultural, and political life and institutions. When, a century and a half after the formation of the Pentateuch under Ezra and Nehemiah, the Hellenized Macedonians under Alexander the Great conquered the entire Middle East (c. 320 B.C.E.) and incorporated the Land of Israel into the international Hellenistic culture, the problem of self-definition came up again. And when the war of independence fought by the Jews under the leadership of the Maccabees (c. 160 B.C.E.) produced an independent state for a brief period, that state found itself under the government of a court that accommodated itself to the international style of politics and culture. What, then, was different? What made Israel separate and secure on its land and in its national identity? In that protracted moment of confusion and change, the heritage of the Five Books of Moses came to closure. And the same situation persisted that had marked the age in which the Pentateuch had delivered its message, answering with self-evident responses the urgent question of the nation's existence. Exile and return define the history of all Judaic systems or Judaisms.

Judaism in the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. The common core of traits that characterized all the Judaic systems in the biblical period, with special reference to the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E., are defined by James D. G. Dunn (*The Partings of the Ways,* p. 18) as follows: "We can still speak of a common and unifying core for Second Temple Judaism, a fourfold foundation on which all these more diverse forms of Judaism built, a common heritage which they all interpreted in their own ways. We cannot say that the four common elements were Judaism, since each group or 'sect' differed in emphasis and understanding and in the way it brought the common core to expression. Even when Ioudaismos ('Judaism') is used in texts of the time, it may well have included something at least of a sectarian understanding of the term. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the word could be used; there was something recognizable as 'Judaism,' something common to these various diverse expressions of Second Temple Judaism(s)." Dunn's four pillars are (1) monotheism; (2) election: the conviction that Israel was chosen by God, "that the one God had bound himself to Israel and Israel to himself by a special contract or covenant"; (3) Torah: the centrality of the Torah in Israel's self-consciousness of being God's chosen people; and (4) Temple: the role of the Temple at the center of Israel's national and religious life at that time. Corollaries of the basic axiom of covenantal nomism are Israel's distinctiveness as the people specifically chosen by the one God to be his people and the sense of privi-

lege in being the nation specially chosen by the one God and favored by gift of covenant and law. This was expressed in concrete terms in circumcision, the Sabbath, and the dietary laws. Dunn concludes: "These then can be fairly described as the four pillars on which the Judaism(s) of Jesus' time was built: the axiomatic convictions around which the more diverse interpretations and practices of the different groups within Judaism revolved." In these four points, we identify what we must call the lowest common denominator that characterizes all Judaic systems equally. What each Judaic system had in common with all the others proves systemically inert, hardly active, let alone definitive, in setting forth what to any given Judaism proved its critical point: its self-evidently valid answer to the question it identified as urgent and immediate.

The formation of the Judaism of the dual Torah. Defined by the Mishnah, the two Talmuds, and the Midrash compilations, the paramount Judaism known today, the one that focuses upon "the Torah" as its generative symbol and adopts the Talmud of Babylonia, in addition to scripture, as its authoritative document, took shape between the first and seventh centuries. The process of that Judaism's formation is detailed in the sequence of books that served to make its principal statements in succession. Stated in documentary terms, the formative history of the Judaism that appeals to the myth of the dual Torah, oral and written, revealed by God to Moses at Sinai, tells a story in three sentences, so to speak. First, the Judaic system emerged in the Mishnah (promulgated c. 200 C.E.) and its associated Midrash compilations (compiled c. 200–300 C.E.) as a philosophical structure comprising a politics, philosophy, and economics. These categories were defined as philosophers in general understood them: a theory of legitimate violence, an account of knowledge gained through the methods of natural history, and a theory of the rational disposition (and increase) of scarce resources. Second, this philosophical system was turned by the Talmud of the Land of Israel and related Midrash compilations (compiled c. 400–500 C.E.) into a religious system. The system was effected through the formation of counterpart categories: an antipolitics of weakness, an antieconomics of the rational utilization of an infinitely renewable resource, a philosophy of truth revealed rather than rules discovered. Third and finally, the religious system was restated by the Talmud of Babylonia and its companions of Midrash collection (compiled c. 500–600 C.E.). In those writings, the system was given theological re-presentation through the recovery of philosophical method for the formulation of religious conceptions. In the Hegelian tradition, one might say, the formation of Judaism took place through the second Talmud's final synthesis of the Mishnah's initial thesis and the first Talmud's consequent antithesis.

Theology is the science of the reasoned knowledge of God, in the case of a Judaism made possible by God's self-manifestation in the Torah. Seen in its whole re-presentation in the Talmud of Babylonia, the theology of Judaism sets forth two modes of knowledge of God. The first is to know God through God's self-revelation in the Torah. This requires that we know what the Torah is, or what torah is (in a generic sense, which can pertain to either message or media or modes of thought). Then knowing how to define and understand the Torah affords access to God's self-revelation. The second is to know through that same self-revelation what God wants of Israel and how God responds to Israel and humanity at large. That specific, propositional knowledge comes through reasoned reading of the Torah, oral and written, the Mishnah and scripture, represented by the Talmuds and Midrash compilations, respectively.

The schematic classifications of the successive, related Judaic systems as philosophical, religious, and theological, therefore derive from the character of the successive documents, the Mishnah, Yerushalmi, and Bavli. What makes all the difference in the second Talmud's re-presentation of the Judaic religious system, therefore, is the character of that Talmud itself. Through analysis of the hermeneutics that conveys the intellectual program of that medium, a religion rich in miscellaneous but generally congruent norms of behavior and endowed with a vast store of varied and episodic but occasionally contradictory ideas was turned into a proportioned and harmonious theology, religious in character and theological in re-presentation. Earlier Midrash compilations undertook the task of showing the relationship between the two media of the Torah, the oral and the written, by insisting that the Mishnah rested on scripture. The goal was to show linearity and, of course, harmony. They furthermore began the definition of the Torah—in our terms, the reading of scripture—by systematizing and generalizing the episodic cases of scripture. The goal was to demonstrate the comprehensiveness of the Torah: its cases were meant to yield governing rules. The later Midrash compilations continued that reading of scripture by formulating syllogistic propositions out of the occasional data of scripture. The religious writings that

formed the second stage in the unfolding of Judaism—the Talmud of the Land of Israel, Sifra and the two Sifrés somewhat earlier, Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah somewhat later—finally were succeeded and replaced by the Talmud of Babylonia and related Midrash compilations, particularly Song of Songs Rabbah, Lamentations Rabbah, and Ruth Rabbah. These were documents that restated in rigorous, theological ways the same religious convictions, thus providing that Judaism, or Judaic system, with its theological statement. This point bears repeating: in these writings, the religious system was restated in a rigorous and philosophical way. The associated Midrash compilations succeeded in making a single, encompassing statement out of the data of the several books of scripture they presented. The re-presentation of the religious system in the disciplined thought of theology took the form of setting forth rules of reading the Torah—oral and written—and through those rules exposing the character of the intellectual activity of thinking as God does, that is, thinking about the world in the way God thinks.

The theology of Judaism—reasoned knowledge of God and God's will, afforded by God's self-manifestation in the Torah—affords access in particular to the mind of God, revealed in God's words and wording of the Torah. Through the Torah, oral and written, the sages work back to the intellect of God, who gave the Torah. Thus, through learning in the Torah in accord with the lessons of the Talmuds and associated Midrash compilations, humanity knows what God personally has made manifest about mind, that intellect in particular in which "in our image, after our likeness" we, too, are made. That defines the theology of the Judaism of the dual Torah and, in particular, forms the upshot of the Talmud's re-presentation of that theology. Then the formation of Judaism, correctly described, may be stated in a single sentence: The Mishnah, then the first Talmud, and finally the second Talmud, together with their respective sets of associated Midrash compilations, yield the history of a three-stage formation. The first tells how the document that set forth the first Judaic system formed a philosophy, utilizing philosophical categories and philosophical modes of thought (philosophy, politics, economics, Aristotelian methods of hierarchical classification for categories). The second explains how the categorical formation was recast into religious classifications, from philosophy to Torah, from a politics of legitimate power to an antipolitics of weakness, from an economics of scarce resources to an antipolitics of the abundant resource of Torah-learning. The third then spells out how the received categorical system and structure was restated in its main points in such a way as to hold together the philosophical method and the religious message through a hermeneutical medium.

Judaism in Greek and Latin sources Early Greek reactions to Judaism were favorable. Aristotle's disciple Theophrastus (372–288 B.C.E.) noted Jewish sacrificial customs and commended the Jews' philosophical lifestyle (in Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Meat* 2.26). A similar assessment of Jews as philosophers appears in a fragment of another Aristotelian, Clearchus of Soli, around 300 B.C.E. (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.176–83). At about the same time the ethnographer Hecataeus of Abdera gave a moderately favorable account of Jewish origins. His work, preserved by the first-century historian Diodorus of Sicily (*Bibliotheca historica* 40.3), told of the Jews' expulsion from Egypt as undesirable aliens and of their migration to Judaea under Moses, who founded many cities, including Jerusalem! Hecataeus also spoke favorably of the Jews' imageless cult, sacrificial system, and legal traditions. Another positive account attributed to him survives in Josephus's *Against Apion* 1.183–204. It extols the Jews' steadfast adherence to their laws as well as the extent and character of their settlement. The fragment's authenticity is doubtful, and it may derive from a Jewish apologist writing after the Maccabean revolt.

National historians took note of Jews in various ways. Berossus of Babylon (early 3d c. B.C.E.) merely mentioned them as one of the peoples subjected by Nebuchadnezzar (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.130–41). Manetho, an Egyptian priest contemporary with Berossus, offered a polemical Egyptian reading of Exodus traditions (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.73–105 and 228–52). In his account, the original Jews were Egyptian lepers, condemned to banishment from Egypt. They revolted under the leadership of a priest from Heliopolis, named Osarseph, later called Moses. They designed misanthropic laws and customs in opposition to Egyptian ways. Elements of this tale are common in later anti-Jewish sources (e.g., the advice of the counselors of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.* 35.1.2).

Hellenistic authors interested in exotic peoples added new and sometimes hostile touches. Mnaseas of Patara, around 200 B.C.E., claimed that Jews worshiped the golden head of an ass (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.215–16; 2.112–14), a slander

repeated frequently (e.g., Apion in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.80). A possibly related report in Diodorus's *Bibliotheca historica* 35.1.3 holds that Antiochus IV Epiphanes entered the inner sanctuary of the Temple and found a statue of a bearded man on an ass.

Not all Hellenistic authors were as negative. The Alexandrian historian Agathachides of Cnidus (second century B.C.E.) noted the Jewish observance of the Sabbath and attributed to it the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I, king of Egypt (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.205–11). He deemed the Jewish practice foolish, but not reprehensible.

More virulent treatments appear in later Hellenistic authors. Apollonius Molon (early first century B.C.E.), an orator active on Rhodes, instructed many leading Romans in the last generation of the Republic. His monograph on the Jews, according to Josephus (*Against Apion* 2.79–80, 145, 148), attacked their vile worship (the ass's head), atheism, and misanthropy. Lysimachus (2d or 1st c. B.C.E.) added to Manetho's account of Jewish origins a tendentious etymology of Jerusalem as a derivative of "temple plundering," an activity attributed to the misanthropic Jews (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.304–11). Apion (early 1st c. C.E.), an Egyptian scholar and orator, represented the Alexandrian Greeks before the emperor Gaius. He repeated the Egyptian version of Jewish origins (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.1–25), argued that Jews did not enjoy citizens' rights in Alexandria (*Against Apion* 2.32–42), and castigated Jewish piety. To the tales of the worship of an ass Apion added a blood libel, recording the discovery by Antiochus IV Epiphanes of a non-Jewish prisoner in the Temple being fattened for sacrifice (*Against Apion* 2.91–96). Josephus (*Against Apion* 2.79) suggests that the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea (135–51 B.C.E.) was a source for such slanders, but direct evidence for Posidonius's views is scanty and his probable fragments, including those in Diodorus of Sicily (*Bibl. hist.* 35.1.1–5), are relatively positive to Jews.

A different anti-Jewish bias appears in the fragments of Pompeius Trogus (late 1st c. B.C.E. to early 1st c. C.E.), a historian from Damascus. An epitome of his *Historiae Philippicae* by the third- or fourth-century-C.E. author Justin repeats Egyptian views of the Jews as originally lepers but locates the ancestral home of Moses in Damascus. It also suggests that the Jews had always been ruled by priest-kings (Justin, *Hist. Phil.* 36, *Epitome* 1.9–3.9).

Not all attention to Jews in the late Hellenistic period was hostile. Alexander Polyhistor compiled a reference work for Romans after Pompey's conquest of the East in 63 B.C.E. His treatise, preserving fragments of many Greco-Jewish authors of the previous centuries, survives in Christian sources such as Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius. Diodorus of Sicily preserved various notices on Jewish history in the Hellenistic period, including the favorable view of Hecataeus (*Bibl. hist.* 40.3). The geographer Strabo (64 B.C.E.–20 C.E.) knows much about Palestine and has an extensive and favorable account of Jewish origins (*Geography* 16.2.34–46). Varro (116–27 B.C.E.), the learned Roman antiquarian, in a fragment from his *Antiquities Human and Divine,* praises the imageless worship of the early Romans and compares it favorably with the Jewish cult (in Augustine, *City of God* 4.31). Pseudo-Longinus in *On the Sublime* (early 1st c. C.E.) extols the literary quality of the opening of Genesis. Nicolaus of Damascus (64 B.C.E. to early 1st c. C.E.), a scholar and client of King Herod, treated Jewish history at various points in his 144-book universal *History.* Though it has not survived, the work provided material for Josephus's treatment of postbiblical Jewish history, particularly for Herod's reign.

Among the Romans, less favorable opinions were common. In 59 B.C.E. Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) defended the governor of Asia, Flaccus, against charges of embezzlement, particularly of the gold sent to the Temple by Jews of his province. In the defense Cicero indicated his dislike of Jewish practices (*Pro Flacco* 28.66–69). Roman poets and satirists were also negative. Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), the major Augustan lyric poet, evinces the traditional Roman disdain toward a foreign cult (*Sermones* 1.4, 5, 9). Martial (late 1st c. C.E.) portrays Jews as lewd and lascivious (*Epigrammata* 7.30; 7.82). His younger contemporary, Juvenal, caricatures Jewish beggars, fortune tellers, and proselytes (*Satires* 6.542–47; 14.96–106).

Learned Romans generally regarded Jewish practices as superstitious. Seneca (late 1st c. B.C.E.–65 C.E.), the Stoic philosopher and adviser to Nero, castigates Sabbath observance and food laws (*Moral Epistles* 95.47; *On Superstition,* in Augustine, *City of God* 6.11). Quintillian (*Institutio oratorica* 3.7.21) simply refers to Jewish superstitions. The most hostile Roman account appears in the historian Tacitus (56–120 C.E.). In a lengthy excursus on the Jewish revolt (*Histories* 5.1–13), he repeats many of the charges against the Jews developed in the Hellenistic period.

Plutarch (c. 45–c. 125 C.E.) treats Jews, like other eastern peoples, as an exotic curiosity. He and his

friends marvel at the abstention from pork (*Table Talk* 8.5) and debate whether the Jewish God was identical to Dionysus (*Table Talk* 8.6). He views Sabbath observance as simple superstition (*On Superstition* 3, 8). Some religious philosophers esteemed Jewish traditions more highly. Numenius (late 2d c. C.E.), whose system incorporated Pythagorean and Platonic elements, says that Plato was simply Moses speaking Greek (in Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.22.150.4).

Historians of the imperial period provide some information on Jews. Dio Cassius (160–230 C.E.) supplements Josephus and other sources for earlier Jewish history and offers the primary information on the Jewish revolts under Trajan and Hadrian (*Historia Romana* 68.32.1–3, 5; 69.12.1–14.3, 15.1).

Critics of Christianity use Jews and Judaism in their polemic. The philosopher Celsus (late 2d c. C.E.) found in Judaism the roots of the Christianity he despised. His *True Account,* preserved through its refutation by the third-century Christian theologian Origen, ridicules Jewish teachings on creation (*Against Celsus* 1.19) and claims that Moses and his followers were of the lowest classes, easily duped into monotheism (*Against Celsus* 1.23). While he disliked Jews, Celsus faulted Christians for abandoning a national tradition, and he put his own criticisms of Christianity in the mouth of a Jew. Polemic continues with Porphyry (232 to late 3d c. C.E.), a Neoplatonist disciple of the Roman philosopher Plotinus and the most astute ancient critic of Christianity. Even more positive about the Jews than Celsus, he prefers their worship of God to that of Christians (*On Philosophy from Oracles,* in Augustine, *City of God* 19.23). Yet Porphyry could be critical. A careful student of scripture, he argued for the dating of the book of Daniel in the second century (*Against the Christians,* in Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel,* Prologue). The emperor Julian (331–363 C.E.) culminates this polemical tradition. A defender of traditional Greco-Roman religion, he criticizes Jewish beliefs, including the account of origins in Genesis (*Against the Galilaeans* 89–94), and disdains the Jews' meager contributions to civilization (*Against the Galilaeans* 178). Yet he also praises Jewish sacrificial practice, since it conformed to his religious ideals (*Against the Galilaeans* 238). Julian even intended to support the rebuilding of the Temple (*Letter 204: To the Community of the Jews*).

Greco-Roman writers on Judaism are thus seldom neutral observers. Some are more favorable than others, but all felt the challenge of the Jews' vital but distinctive culture.

Judaizers term that implies acting like a Jew or practicing Judaism. It occurs in Greek texts (*ioudaisein*) and came to have two connotations. One was found in Jewish contexts and referred to those Jews who were faithful to their religion. The earliest usage seems to be in 1 Maccabees, where the "faithful" Jews at the time of the Maccabean revolt are called Judaizers, in contrast to the Hellenizers. A second usage is found in early Christian writings, where the word is used as a derogatory term for those who maintained—or were accused of maintaining—certain Jewish practices.

Judas, son of Ezekias Galilean messianic leader active after Herod the Great's death in 4 B.C.E. He was the son of Ezekias, the brigand chief whom Herod had killed in 47 B.C.E. He captured the royal arsenal at Sepphoris, armed his followers, and attacked other aspirants to power. He plundered the wealthy to accumulate wealth. In response, Varus, the Roman governor in Syria, suppressed a number of rebellions and destroyed Sepphoris.

Judas Maccabeus the third son of the priest Mattathias of Modein. He took over the leadership of the Jewish uprising begun by his father in 166/165 B.C.E. His surname, Maccabeus, is usually understood as deriving from the word for "hammer" (*makkaba*). His military and political exploits are described in 1 Maccabees 3–9 and 2 Maccabees 8–15, respectively. After early military successes against the generals of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Judas presided over the cleansing and rededication of the Jerusalem Temple (the first Hanukkah) in late 164 B.C.E. Then he launched military expeditions to other areas (see 1 Macc. 5; 2 Macc. 10–12), but failed to capture the enemy citadel in Jerusalem (the Akra) and suffered defeat at Beth Zechariah, a location between Jerusalem and Beth Zur (1 Macc. 6:32–47). Judas seems to have been reduced to guerrilla warfare, though his victory over Nicanor (1 Macc. 7; 2 Macc. 14) in 161 B.C.E. restored his fortunes to some degree. In an attempt to gain an ally against the Seleucids and other hostile neighbors, Judas sent an embassy to Rome and entered into a formal relationship with the Romans (1 Macc. 8:17–32). He was killed in battle with Bacchides at Elasa in 160 B.C.E. Judas kept alive the revolt against the Seleucids between 166 and 160 B.C.E., restored the traditional order of worship to the Jerusalem Temple, and became a symbol of religious and national resistance.

Judas the Essene person who predicted the murder of Antigonus by his brother, Aristobulus I. Judas, like other Essenes, was adept at prophecy and interpretation of dreams, according to Josephus.

Judas the Galilean also identified as Judas the Gaulanite from Gamala by the historian Josephus. If Gaulanitis is considered as part of Galilee in a wider sense, then Judas came from Gamala and received the nickname "the Galilean" when he was active as a teacher in Judea. Some claim that Ezekias, the brigand chief in Galilee (40s B.C.E.), was his father, but the Judas son of Ezekias who raided the armory in Sepphoris in 6 C.E. is not connected to Judas the Galilean. Josephus says that Judas and Zadok, a Pharisee, taught a philosophy that advocated resistance to Roman rule and taxation, promoted recognition of God alone as ruler, and recommended dependence on divine intervention. Josephus blames this teaching for all the unrest and resistance that led to the Revolt against Rome in 66. While Josephus does not clearly say that Judas personally led a revolt in 6 C.E. after the imposition of direct Roman rule and a census, Acts of the Apostles (5:37) does. Josephus at least connects Judas with popular tendencies toward revolt. Two of Judas's sons, James and Simon, were executed by the procurator Julius Tiberius Alexander (46–48) and another, Menahem, led the Sicarii in their capture of Masada in 66. Menahem was eventually killed by Eleazar ben Ananias's party in Jerusalem during the civil conflicts from 67 to 69.

Judas the Gaulanite *see* JUDAS THE GALILEAN

Judea, archaeology of archaeology and survey of the region extending south from Jerusalem and defined on the west by the coastal plain, on the east by the Judean wilderness, and on the south by the line of hills from Beer Sheba to Arad. In the Persian period, Judea was sparsely populated from Hebron to the south, perhaps with half the population as that from earlier periods. On the other hand, in the area from Jerusalem to about 30 kilometers south at Beth Zur, which marked the border with Idumea, the population density seems to have remained the same as before. Many sites of the Persian period appear to betray the purpose of the Persian province as mainly an immense granary, perhaps in service to the Persian army. A Persian period villa at Lachish may be a regional governor's palace. Also in this period, the Hebrew letters *yhd* or *yhdh* appear on coins, seals, and seal impressions. This is evidently the name of the province, Yehud or Yehudah. There are also fortified hilltop forts from the Persian period, again reflecting the military nature of the province. Nehemiah was active in Jerusalem at the beginning of this period. He is credited with building the "broad wall" (Neh. 3:8 and 12:38), which has been found in excavations in the modern Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. On the other hand, Persian period occupation in Jerusalem was confined to the ancient city of David on the Hill of Ophel.

Things changed in the Hellenistic period, when the population returned to its former size. The main cities of Judea in the Hellenistic period were the biblical cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Ziph (about 40 km south of Jerusalem), and Adoraim, known as Dura (about 11 km west and a little north of Ziph). The towns and villages of Judea steadily increased in size and number into the Roman period. Under King Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 B.C.E.), the total area of Judea returned to the same extent it had been under David, though Ashkelon remained a free city. Judea was in a world trade network in this period, which is characterized, for example, by the find of many imported amphorae from Rhodes from the fourth to the second centuries B.C.E. The diverse population of Judea is underscored by the find of several ostraca, or pottery sherds written with ink, at Khirbet el-Kom near Hebron. These were written in Greek or Aramaic (or both) and record the activities of Kos-Yada, a moneylender with an Idumean name. Hellenistic Jerusalem was remodeled in grand, Hellenistic fashion, particularly in the tomb monuments around the city. Antiochus IV built a new fortress in Jerusalem called the Akra. Excavators believe they have found this fortress just south of the Temple Mount. The Hasmonean city walls were impressive for their thickness and workmanship. The Upper City, the hill west of the Temple Mount, was resettled. Many Hasmonean baths, pools, and cisterns have been found but few houses, which were destroyed in renovations in the next period.

In the Roman period, the number of settlements and their sizes remained roughly stable, though with some setbacks after the first Jewish Revolt (66–70 C.E.) and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 C.E.). Jerusalem was the national capital, but Caesarea on the coast, founded by Herod the Great, became the economic and political capital of the province. It is Herod the Great's activities as a builder that are most easily detectable in the archaeological record. He built his palace in Jerusalem with an appended set of three towers, into which he could withdraw when threatened militarily. His most famous work was the rebuilding of the Temple, which necessitated the building of a second aqueduct from Bethlehem to Jerusalem. He also built the city walls anew. He built a huge palace in the wilderness near Bethlehem with a support village and named it after himself, the

Herodium. He also built up the sacred enclosure at Mamre near Hebron, and in Hebron itself, he built the structure over the Cave of the Patriarchs that is still used as a place of prayer to this day. He also built a palace on a natural butte at Masada on the western shore of the Dead Sea. He built splendid palaces at Jericho, remodeling and adding to the Hasmonean palaces there. It was after Herod's reign that Qumran on the northwest shores of the Dead Sea reached its heyday.

In the aftermath of the Jewish Revolt of 66 to 70 C.E., the Roman presence in Judea was materially strengthened. Herod's son Archaelaus had built little or nothing in Judea, even though he held the title of ethnarch of Judea (4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.). The Roman governors managed the status quo until the revolt, but under the Flavians the province did well. Major Roman constructions such as baths, theaters, amphitheaters, or aqueducts appeared at Beth Guvrin, Antipatris, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. Joppa on the coast was named a Flavian city. Hadrian built Roman roads in Judea between 120 and 130 C.E. Hadrian also refounded Jerusalem as a Roman city after the Bar Kokhba Revolt and named it for his tribe, Aelia Capitolina. Yet excavations within Jerusalem suggest that it was a much smaller city than before, with most of its occupation concentrated in the north. Archaeological traces of his works are found everywhere in Jerusalem. For example, today's Damascus Gate is apparently built over the earlier Roman gate, complete with an olive press in one gate chamber, and the inner finely paved plaza has been unearthed. The Arabic name for the gate, the Gate of the Column, preserves a memory of a Roman column erected in this plaza. Under Septimius Severus the status of Judea advanced again, for he designated Lydda (Diospolis) and Beth Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) as Roman cities.

During the Byzantine period, the number and size of settlements increased dramatically, a measure of the economic advances of the period. A veritable flurry of building activity, both by Jews and by Christians, distinguishes this period. Many synagogues have been excavated in Judea of this period, particularly in Daroma, or the southern area around Hebron, where Jewish occupation continued for several centuries after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Byzantine Jerusalem was grand indeed, especially with the royal patronage of the emperor Constantine. The Cardo Maximus or main colonnaded street of Jerusalem has been found, as well as the shops on either side. Byzantine mansions were built at the south end of the Temple Mount, virtually in its shadow, though no new constructions appeared on the site of the Second Temple. There was a brief interlude under Emperor Julian (r. 136–363 C.E.) when the Jews were granted permission to rebuild the Temple. This rebuilding was never carried out, but some think that a Hebrew quotation from Isaiah 66:14 scratched on a stone on the west side of the Temple Mount dates to this effort: "And when you see this, your heart shall rejoice, and their bones shall flourish like an herb."

Judean Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, JEWISH LITERARY

Judean Desert the arid region west of the Dead Sea extending to the middle of the Judean ridge. The bulk of modern research antedating the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has focused on the Judean Desert Caves that contained various finds including the scrolls themselves. Yet, this region contained settlements apart from these caves that continued to play an important role in Jewish life from the Persian period through the early Arab period. In particular, the settlements at En Boqeq, Jericho, En Gedi, and Masada provide clues for understanding the role of the Judean Desert region in Jewish history.

The settlement at En Boqeq is the only one of those mentioned above where a synagogue has yet to be discovered. The site, however, played a significant role in Jewish history during the Herodian period and during the Jewish Bar Kokhba Revolt. The site is an oasis about 13 kilometers south of Masada. During the Herodian and Bar Kokhba periods, it served as an irrigation source for the southern Judean Desert area, a fortress, a trading post, and a center for the manufacture of pharmaceuticals and cosmetics.

The importance of Jericho in terms of understanding Jewish religion in antiquity is immediately apparent from the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery. Other finds show the important political role this city played in both the Hasmonean and Herodian kingdoms. Jericho is at the northern tip of the Judean Desert area, so it was natural that this site served as a strategic center for the Judean monarchs until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. There are winter palaces at the mouth of the Wadi Qelt for both the Hasmonean and Herodian monarchs. Obviously, the warmer weather of the Judean Desert was preferable to the wet and cold of Jerusalem, so these kings established residential and political centers in the Jericho region for use during the winter months. It is unclear exactly when these palaces and economic centers ceased to be used, but it seems that by the destruction of

the Temple in 70 C.E., they had ceased to play an important role.

The settlement at En Gedi was also an important Judean center for trade. Located near the water source of today's Nahal Arugot, the site served as a trading post and economic center from the end of the Iron Age until the late Roman and Byzantine periods. A citadel is notable among the Herodian period finds, indicating the importance of this site in the Judean trade and defense systems. The citadel was destroyed by fire, probably during the beginning of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.

Masada is located toward the southern end of the Dead Sea on its west side and is one of the most famous sites of the area because of its role as the symbolic last stand against the imperial Roman army. The site was established by Herod as a resort, but is most famous for its use by Zealots as a final holdout against the Romans. All of its inhabitants committed suicide in 74 C.E. rather than be defeated by the Romans.

Judean Desert Caves a set of caves located along the western and northwestern edge of the Dead Sea in the Judean Desert. The caves were used as places of refuge from the fourth millennium B.C.E. until at least the end of the first millennium of the modern period. The arid climate of the Judean Desert has preserved many organic items normally lost at other sites. Most of these items are the manuscripts of ancient religious and sectarian documents, also known as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

One of the principle sets of caves are known as the Nahal Zeelim Caves. Nahal Zeelim is one of the largest canyons in the Judean Desert and flows into the Dead Sea about 3 miles north of Masada. During the Bar Kokhba period, there were several Roman forts near the En Anava. The Romans built these forts to control the desert region and the refuges found there. Two caves in particular were important during this period. Cave 31, also known as the Cave of Arrows, contained various finds from the Bar Kokhba period including coins, sherds, and food. The most interesting find was a large store of arrowheads belonging to the Bar Kokhba rebels. Some of the arrowheads were still attached to the their shafts.

Another important cave from Nahal Zeelim is Cave 34, also known as the Cave of the Scrolls. Fragments of papyri and two coins from the third century C.E. were found in this cave. Among the documents are fragments of the *tefillin* prayer from Exodus 13:1–16 that contain the exact variation from the Hebrew Masoretic found in the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible). In addition to various other documents containing undecipherable Aramaic and Greek writing, there is a fragment of papyrus with Greek writing containing numerous Jewish names. It is believed that this is a partial list of the Bar Kokhba fighters.

Another famous cave in the region is known as the Cave of Treasure. It is found among the Nahal Mishmar Caves, located just north of Nahal Zeelim. The Cave of Treasure is located about 50 meters from the top of the cliff and about 250 meters from the bottom of the cliff. Because it was very secluded, it preserved an amazing store of treasures from the Chalcolithic period. There are also some important finds from the Bar Kokhba period, including various types of pottery and glass, measuring cups, lamps, and cooking pots. The written documents include fragments of papyri and ostraca with Aramaic and Greek inscriptions and one fragment with Jewish names similar to those found at Nahal Zeelim. Associated with these names is the Greek word for "brother." This fact has led some scholars to conclude that the Greek word "brother" was a title among the Bar Kokhba fighters, similar to the modern use of "comrade."

The Nahal Hever Caves are another set of important caves in this region. Nahal Hever flows into the Dead Sea about 4 miles south of En Gedi and is distinguished as one of the deepest canyons in the region. In this valley there are remains of several Roman camps. Like the others, they were used to keep an eye on rebels who might be hiding in the caves. One of the caves, the Cave of Horror, which contains various ceramic and written remains and more than forty human skeletons, provides an explicit example of what the Romans did when they found a rebel hideout. After locating a cave hideout, the Romans would guard the entrance of the cave (which in this case was about 50 meters below the top of the cliff) to seal off any means of escape. The rebels then simply starved to death. The remains in this particular cave suggest that this siege lasted more than a year. The finds of this cave also provide concrete support for legends of Jews who preferred death to capture by the Romans.

Another famous cave with many written remains, known as the Cave of Letters, is found in the En Gedi region near Nahal Arugot. It too has extensive remains from the Bar Kokhba period, but despite the name, these remains are not limited to written documents. Numerous metal and ceramic objects were also discovered that provide insight into how the Bar Kokhba warriors lived. The written documents from this cave are especially rich in

variety. There are several biblical scrolls from Numbers and the Psalms dating to the first century C.E. There is also a set of documents known as the Archive of Babata, the daughter of Simeon. These papers were written in Nabatean, Aramaic, and Greek. They detail the various legal transactions of the family of Babata. There are also several Nabatean documents from the late first century C.E. Finally, there is a set of documents, known as the Bar Kokhba letters, that detail instructions concerning supplies and army shipments.

Other important caves in the region include the Nahal David caves, the Wadi Murabbaat Caves, and numerous other caves just to the northwest of the Dead Sea. The Wadi Murabbaat Caves are especially noteworthy for the numerous inscriptions from the Second Temple period found there. One inscription even dates back to the First Temple period. This cave is also famous for scrolls that contain substantial portions of the prophetic books of Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah.

Though most of these caves are in remote places that are difficult to reach, the area has been extensively surveyed and excavated due to the intense interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The exploration of these remote caves has revealed much data about the Bar Kokhba rebellion and Jewish resistance to the Romans that would have otherwise gone unnoticed.

Judges, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

judgment, divine the act by which God sets matters right. Fundamental to God's role as judge is the biblical notion of covenant: the righteous deeds or disobedient conduct of God's people inevitably receive their due reward or punishment. In the view of most biblical writers, but especially the Deuteronomist, this covenantal recompense occurs during the course of one's life. The blessings include a long life, health, fertility, and freedom from oppression, while the curses involve a premature death, sickness, sterility, invasion and exile by foreigners, and oppression or persecution by one's fellow Israelites. When the nation and individual Israelites experienced what they perceived as injustice, they sought adjudication, appealing for vindication of themselves and punishment for their enemies. Similarly, when sinners repented of the sins that had brought punishment, they prayed for the return of the blessings promised to those who were faithful to the covenant. In short, Israelites understood the whole range of their experience, for better or for worse, within the framework of a covenantally related justice that was administered by the divine judge.

Texts from the exile onward focus increasingly on the disparity between human experience and divine justice. The speeches at the heart of the Book of Job are a major example of this, as is the last Servant poem in Second Isaiah (52:13–53:12) and some of the postexilic psalms. The rise of eschatology reflects a tendency to seek God's justice in a future, major act, a final judgment to be followed by a new age of blessing for the righteous. Increasingly the centerpiece for such a construct was the notion of postmortem judgment: vindication for persons unjustly put to death and, sometimes, punishment for those who escaped the punishment they deserved in this life. Thus, notions of resurrection, immortality, and eternal life, at least at the beginning, do not reflect a concern simply to extend one's earthly existence to the beyond, but express the belief that the divine judge will set right things that are seriously wrong and unjust. In time, belief in a resurrection of some of the righteous and some of the wicked was broadened into a concept of a universal resurrection and judgment. Integral to this complex of ideas is a proliferation of transcendent agents of divine justice—archangels called by name, the son of man, Melchizedek, and the like. Moreover, the heavenly realm, or an invisible dimension of the earthly, becomes the place where justice is administered through clashes of angelic armies, heavenly assizes, and hidden places of reward and punishment.

These developments notwithstanding, Jews in the Graeco-Roman period could also perceive divine justice in the events of history, and the Deuteronomic historical scheme was employed to make this point. Weal and woe were indicators of good or evil conduct or disposition. Health and prosperity demonstrated that one was a God-fearing person, and victory in battle vindicated the rightness of one's cause. Conversely, the opposite experience served as proof of wrongdoing. This viewpoint was constitutive of claims that the nation was suffering because the majority were not heeding a particular revealed interpretation of the Torah and was central to appeals for repentance.

These alternative approaches to an understanding of God's judgment could create an impasse between persons of differing persuasion. One might see death as evidence that one's opponent had been punished by God, while belief in postmortem vindication proved to others the validity of the opponent's claim to be righteous and the agent of God. The story of the persecuted righteous one in the Wisdom of Solomon 2–5 is a classical example of this kind of dispute.

Not surprisingly, this story and its parallels are constitutive in early Christian explanations of the death of Jesus. For many, the crucifixion was adequate proof that Jesus was not God's eschatological agent. However, an appeal to revelatory appearances of the risen one reversed these proofs: the crucifixion was evidence that Jesus epitomized the figure of God's suffering spokesman, and the resurrection completed the paradigm by vindicating the suffering righteous one. Acceptance or rejection of Jesus turned on one's acceptance or rejection of the paradigm and the claim that Jesus was raised from the dead.

Rabbinic Judaism further developed the concept that people are responsible for their lot in life, with evil actions bringing about punishment from God and proper behavior being rewarded. B. Berakhot 5a accordingly states: "If a person sees that sufferings afflict him, let him examine his deeds." The failure of this approach to explain either the unearned punishment of the pious or the prosperity of the wicked is accounted for in the rabbis' conception of immortality and afterlife. In the rabbinic view, final punishment or reward in a coming world explain apparent inequities in present life. The wicked are rewarded in this world for any slight good they might do. In the coming world, they will be severely punished. The righteous, by contrast, suffer in the present world for slight infractions they commit. They can, however, look forward in the coming world to a perfect and complete reward. In describing divine judgment, the rabbis hold that, while carefully and accurately evaluating each person's actions, God, who abounds in mercy, ultimately leans towards a judgment of mercy (B. Rosh Hashanah 17a). Central in this notion of God as judge is the concept of repentance, which the rabbis understood to be powerful enough to obliterate even the most sinful person's final judgment (B. Rosh Hashanah 17b). *See also* AFTERLIFE; ESCHATOLOGY.

Judith, Book of Likely composed in the second century B.C.E. in the light of Maccabean successes, this Hellenistic apocryphon celebrates the defeat of Nebuchadnezzar's general Holofernes by the cunning Judith (Jewess). The first eight chapters describe the progress of the Assyrian army, the Ammonite Achior's complimentary detailing of Jewish history, the siege of Bethulia, and the response of the community elders. The final eight chapters introduce Judith through an extensive genealogy and describe the means by which she rescues her people.

Judith—a wealthy, beautiful widow—engages in ascetic worship while her maid manages her estate. Taking action upon hearing that Uzziah, the town leader, has counseled surrender if divine aid does not swiftly intervene, Judith summons the elders—thereby demonstrating her own power—and berates them for lack of faith: The Deity is not to be tested; indeed, God may be testing them. Judith prays for the power to deceive "by the hand of a female," and events suggest her prayer has been heard. Beguiling the besotted general Holofernes with her beauty and a series of double entendres, she finally beheads him with his own sword. Returning the head to Bethulia, which occasions Achior's conversion, Judith leads the thyrses-bearing Bethulian women, followed by the men, to Jerusalem. There, she dedicates the spoils of her victory to the Temple. Then Judith retires to her home, refuses offers of remarriage, and, before dying at age 105, frees her maid and makes arrangements to distribute her property.

The text recapitulates several motifs from the Hebrew scriptures: Judith is a new judge who rescues her people and is a new Jael who, like her predecessor (Judg. 4–5), uses seduction and misdirection against a foreign general. She redeems the female-identified Bethulia just as her ancestor Simeon recovered Dinah from Shechem (Gen. 34). Like Esther, she takes initiative and works without the manifest help of the Deity; like Daniel, she insists on retaining Jewish dietary practices in the foreign camp, and she defeats the representative of a king who demands to be worshiped as a god (Dan. 3).

The book's earliest manucripts are in Greek; no fragment has been found at Qumran. Debate continues over the text's original language, provenance, and relationship to historical events.

Julian Roman emperor (r. 361–363 C.E.), known as Julian the Apostate. Born at Constantinople in 332, Flavius Claudius Julianus was the younger son of Constantine I's half-brother, Julius Constantius, and Basilina. When Constantine died without a clear successor in 337, the army killed most of Constantine's relatives to secure succession for his three sons, but the youthful Julian and his brother Gallus were spared and were reared together in Nicomedia and Cappadocia. Meanwhile, Constantine's three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius II, fell on hard times. Constantine II was defeated and killed by Constans in 340, but the latter in turn was defeated and assassinated by one of his own generals, Magnentius, in 350. In 353, Constantius II, who until then had been preoccupied with the east, defeated Magnentius and united the

empire. Constantius II then gave Gallus the title Caesar and sent him to protect the east, where the latter's failure to do so resulted in his murder in 354. Constantius II then turned to his cousin Julian. In 355 he gave Julian the title of Caesar, gave him his sister Helena in marriage, and sent him to Gaul. Julian had considerable military success against the Franks and Alamanni, but in 360 when Constantius II demanded some of Julian's best troops for a Persian campaign, the soldiers rebelled and proclaimed Julian emperor. Constantius II mobilized for civil war but died in 361 before hostilities had begun. In 363, Julian turned from his efforts to reinvigorate paganism to his plan to recreate Alexander the Great's eastern conquests by invading Persia. With an Armenian alliance, he routed the Persians at Ctesiphon, but was later wounded during a skirmish and died soon after. The army then declared its commander, Jovian, emperor.

Despite his considerable military successes, Julian is known for his revival of paganism, for which he was called "the Apostate." Although he was baptized and brought up a Christian, his years of seclusion included an education in Greek literature, particularly philosophy. Julian did not so much suppress Christianity as try to prevent the union of the Roman state with Christianity. To this end, he proclaimed religious toleration, recalled Christians exiled by the Arian Constantius I, and admitted Christianity into the religious pantheon. Julian believed that Graeco-Roman religions were more firmly tied to the traditions of the empire than Christianity; for that reason he took away Christian privileges in education, denied Christians public funds for charity, made Christians restore pagan lands and temples, and gave preference to pagans when filling offices. He was even prepared to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, less as a favor to the Jews than because they too opposed the Christians. Julian's particular brand of Neoplatonism was formed by Libanius and Maximus, and with their assistance, he attempted to create a pagan alternative to the Christian Church, with himself as pontifex maximus and with the sun-god as the popular focal point of the new faith. However, his Hellenism, colored by magic and superstition, was hardly less novel than the Christian practices he deplored and no easier to understand.

His prolific writings include *Orations, Satires, Letters,* and other works. Among the extant pieces are a panegyric to Constantius II, satirical depictions of the caesars, and a denunciation of the people of Antioch, who had mocked his philosopher's beard. Some of these are less important than his lost works on the Gallic campaign or his attacks on the Christian Church. Julian's was the last concentrated attempt to stem the rising tide of Christianity, but the current was too strong for such a tentative effort.

Julianus, Marcus Antonius procurator of Palestine. Minucius Felix cites the works of Josephus and Julianus as the source of his view that the Jews caused their own misfortunes under Vespasian. Josephus refers to Julianus as a procurator of Judea during the war with Vespasian and most think this is the same person to whom Felix refers.

Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.E.) Roman general and dictator. A Roman aristocrat of the Julian gens (clan), Gaius Julius Caesar accumulated great power in the 50s B.C.E. in league with Pompey and Crassus. From 58 to 49 B.C.E., he prosecuted a successful war in Gaul (present-day France). In 49 B.C.E., he overran Italy; in subsequent years, he had himself made dictator, finally for life. He was assassinated in 44 B.C.E. by a group of nobles that included Brutus and Cassius. His rule led to the end of the Roman republic and the rise of the principate, or empire, under his successor, Octavian (Augustus).

Julius Quadratus Bassus *see* BASSUS, GAIUS JULIUS QUADRATUS

Julius Severus *see* SEVERUS, GAIUS JULIUS

justification the act of making or declaring a person in right relationship with God; it is a translation of the Hebrew root *tzdk* and the Greek stem *dikaio-*, stems which are also rendered as "righteousness." The term reflects the language of the law court (cf. Deut. 25:1). In the Tanakh (Old Testament), it designates fulfillment of the obligations of the covenant on the part of Israel and of God. For example, Genesis 15:6 describes Abraham's response to God's promises: "And he believed in God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." Daniel 12:3 promises eschatological reward to the wise who "make many righteous" (the *hiphil* [causative form] of the verb *tzadak,* NRSV "lead many to righteousness"; cf. Isa. 53:11). The same verb is used to describe God's vindication (salvation) of his servant in Isaiah 50:8.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, which exhibit both a scrupulous concern for obedience to God's law and a keen awareness of human sin, a person cannot be justified apart from the grace of God: "If I stagger because of the sin of the flesh, my judgment (Heb.: *mishpat*) shall be by the righteousness (*tzdk*) of God which endures forever" (1QS 11:12).

In the New Testament, the idea that justification cannot be earned by human merit is a particular

emphasis of Paul: "All have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God and are justified (made righteous) as a free gift by his grace through the redemption which takes place in Jesus, the Messiah" (Rom. 3:23–24). Paul interprets the death and resurrection of Jesus as the fulfillment of Jewish hopes that God would "demonstrate his righteousness," namely, that he would act decisively to restore his creation to himself. He argues that justification of the individual sinner, which is part of this general restoration of creation to God, is a divine gift, which one receives by having faith that God has acted in Christ. The example of Abraham (Gen. 15:6) shows that God justifies a person on the basis of faith, not "works of the law" (Rom. 4, cf. 3:28). James 2:14–26 gives a different interpretation of the Abraham story: "A person is justified by works and not from faith alone" (2:24). Paul's teaching on justification did not have wide influence in the early church but was reemphasized and reinterpreted by Augustine and Luther (cf. the principle of *sola fide,* justification by "faith alone," which summarizes Luther's disagreement with the medieval church). Protestant teaching on justification focuses mainly on the salvation of the individual, not on the broader sense of justification as part of God's eschatological demonstration of his righteousness. *See also* DEEDS, WORKS; RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Justin I Byzantine emperor (r. 518–527 C.E.). An Illyrian, he was commander of the imperial bodyguard before becoming emperor. During his last years, when Justinian I was the true power, an edict was published that expanded the definition of a Christian heretic to "anyone who is not orthodox," thus including the Jews. The Jews could not serve as city advocates or as members of the city councils. They could be lower-grade officials, for these posts involved many duties but little honor. They were also excluded from the more important military positions and were prevented from teaching in public institutions.

Justin II Byzantine emperor (r. 565–578 C.E.). He seized the throne from his uncle Justinian I with the aid of Tiberius, commander of the guard. After Justin became insane, Tiberius and the Empress Sophia ruled the empire. In 578 C.E., he sent Theophilus to suppress the Jewish-Samaritan revolt in Palestine. During his reign, some Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity. In 572, he refused to continue paying tribute under the treaty executed by Justinian and the Persians in 562, thereby provoking Khusro I to invade Armenia and Cappadocia. The Persians were forced to withdraw in 575.

Justinian (482–565 C.E.) Roman emperor (r. 527–565). He was born in a village near Naissus in present-day Serbia, taking the name Justinianus when he was adopted by his uncle Justin. Justinian became emperor in 527 upon Justin's death. He resolved to restore the glory of the Roman Empire by retaking the lost western provinces, ridding the governmental administration of its corruption, and rationalizing and codifying the Roman legal system. He improved the provincial administration by abolishing the sale of offices and increasing the status and salaries of the provincial governors. He reformed the provincial judicial system and revamped the municipal and military accounting procedures. He also believed that he could win God's support for his revived Roman Empire by adhering to orthodox Christianity, suppressing the heresies of Arianism and Monophysitism, and oppressing the ancient Roman cults. To this end, Justinian governed the Church, considering its hierarchy his employees. Although Justinian's interests lay in the West, he was forced to engage in a protracted war against the Persians in the East. Although he achieved an "Eternal Peace" with Persia in 532, he was forced to fight them again from 540 to 562.

In 528 he appointed a commission to codify all imperial legislation from the time of Hadrian, and the first *Codex Justinianus* was issued in 529. He further published the *Novellae* of his own laws. A *Digest* of the original code was published in 533, with a second edition of the *Codex* appearing in 534. These legal codes served to strengthen the state's and the emperor's power. In general, Justinian's laws dealt harshly with the Jews. In an early edict, the Jews were included among Christian heretics. Jews could not be appointed to civil or military posts, and they could not teach in public universities. He did allow Jews to hold offices as low-level officials, because these involved duties without bestowing honor. He increased the monetary penalty for a Jew found holding a Christian slave, and he ordered all Jews to release all their Christian slaves or any slave wishing to be baptized. Jews were declared unfit to offer testimony in court against Christians. Jews were forbidden from holding title in any way on land upon which a church had been erected. Justinian's *Codex* omitted the law that declared Judaism a legal religion, while at the same time stating that the Church's canons would have the force of law. The execution of laws against the Jews were entrusted to the bishops as well as to the provincial governors. The bishops could appeal directly to the emperor if they perceived that the civil authorities were lax in

administering the laws affecting the Jews. Furthermore, the Jews could not observe Passover on its proper date if that date came before Easter. Justinian ordered that Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible be allowed in synagogues in an attempt to bring the Jews closer to Christianity. He also ordered the Jews to excommunicate anyone who doubted resurrection, the last judgment, or the existence of angels.

Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165 C.E.) Christian apologist. Justin composed, among other writings, the earliest extant apology against Judaism, entitled *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew,* c. 160. Although claiming to record an actual debate between Justin and Trypho at Ephesus just after the Bar Kosiba Revolt (132–135), the dialogue cannot be seen as a transcription. Specialists debate whether Justin even addressed it to the Jews. It is more likely that he was responding to arguments that gentile polemicists had drawn from Jewish sources, and that he was attempting to stabilize wavering converts. By his day, Roman churches would not have had many members of Jewish background.

A native of Flavia Neapolis, Justin manifested a considerable knowledge of Jewish thought and customs, such as rabbinic rules of interpretation. He relied heavily, however, on proof-texting from the Greek Old Testament (citing brief passages to prove his point) and typology to answer the chief Jewish objections to Christianity and to establish Christian claims. Trypho, a layperson (not to be identified with Rabbi Tarphon of the Mishnah since he knew no Hebrew), voiced three standard sets of objections: (1) Christian failure to observe the ritual law, especially circumcision, (2) the doctrine of a crucified Messiah and the claim that Jesus was the Messiah, and (3) belief in Jesus' resurrection and divinity. In response to the first, Justin sought to establish from the Old Testament a pre-Abrahamic covenant that did not require adherence to the ritual law, citing prophetic passages criticizing Jewish observance of the Mosaic covenant and laws. Whereas the apostle Paul had viewed Abraham as the father of both Jews and Gentiles, Justin followed the Gospel of John in making Christian believers the true children of Abraham, thus taking a further step toward the disenfranchisement of the Jews. To establish Christian beliefs about Jesus as the fulfillment of Jewish messianic hopes, he argued strongly for two advents—one involving a suffering Messiah (according to the servant poems of Isaiah) and the other involving a triumphant Son of Man (according to Daniel and Ezekiel). To undergird Christian convictions about Jesus' Resurrection and divinity, Justin marshaled texts and types that he thought proved that the divinity of "Logos," the preexistence of Christ, the virgin birth, and the Resurrection, in general and of Christ. He added to these points a clincher from history: the dispersion of the Jews, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the success of Christianity proved that God had shifted the divine favor from Judaism to Christianity. Christians, he argued, are the true Israel because they are spiritual, and the Jews have forfeited their status because of hardheartedness.

Justus of Tiberias Jewish historian of the first century C.E. He came from a prominent family in Tiberias, where he had a good education in Greek. During the early part of the Revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.), Justus and his father were part of the Galilean resistance against the Romans; however, at some point he evidently fled and joined with King Agrippa II. Justus was presumably pardoned for his rebellion, as he became secretary to Agrippa after the war with Rome. Apparently in the early 90s he wrote an account of the revolt and possibly also a separate work on the Israelite kings. Unfortunately, details of his life and work are known mainly from Josephus, who was his rival. Evidently, Justus's account of the revolt differed from that of Josephus and even made certain accusations against the latter. Josephus responded with his *Vita,* in which he not only gave his version of events in Galilee, but also attacked Justus and his family. Although they are ignored in Josephus's *The Jewish War,* the parallel account in the *Vita* puts much of the blame for the war on Justus's family.

Juvenal (c. 60–130 C.E.) Roman satirist. His main literary works are his sixteen satires. In these are a number of references to Jews, some of them derogatory. He mentions the statue of the "Arabarch" (Alabarch), apparently a statue of Tiberius Julius Alexander. Jews are frequently represented as beggars who will tell fortunes for a small fee. They are caricatured as all having a wisp of hay in a basket, perhaps a means of keeping food warm during the Sabbath. The progress of adopting Judaism is described as a generational affair in which the father keeps the Sabbath and abstains from pork, while the son proceeds further and undergoes circumcision. Juvenal refers to Agrippa II and his sister Berenice, with whom he was rumored to have had an incestuous affair, commenting that even as royalty they went barefoot on the Sabbath, while in their country pigs were allowed to live to old age.

kab a dry measure, four times the volume of a log; *see also* LOG

kabbalah (Heb., reception) the major technical term for Jewish mysticism. Hebrew, in fact, has no special word for "mysticism," but this does not mean that there is no mysticism in Judaism. On the contrary, many forms and phases of mysticism have developed in Judaism from ancient times to the present day. In most cases that mysticism developed in the form of doctrines and theological positions that eventually crystallized into enduring traditions. Only in rare cases do we find, as in Christianity and Islam, individuals who became mystical saints in their own right.

Jewish mysticism began in postbiblical times. Mysticism requires a stance of spiritual distancing from its alleged scriptural sources. Jewish mysticism crystallized in interpretative attempts at revitalizing the spirit of scripture, but there are mystical traits in scripture itself. Jewish mysticism did not singularly develop in interpretative frameworks. Historically and phenomenologically speaking, Jewish mysticism can also be viewed in terms that link it with inner Jewish developments, even in such cases where the presence of mythical and magical materials is likely to suggest non-Jewish forms of influence.

Jewish mysticism is present wherever people attempt to experience God in an immediate way. This can happen during a prophetic experience on earth, in the course of visions in which certain persons see themselves going up to heaven (mainly in apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism), and in an intensive way of studying the Jewish scriptures, which are believed to embody the word of God. Quantitatively speaking, Jewish mysticism unfolds in interpretative modes. In this respect the Book of the Zohar occupies a central position. In fact, kabbalah is that kind of mysticism that reads scripture as a coded form of expression in which almost every word allegedly belongs to or represents one of the ten sephirot.

These sephirot (not necessarily spherical in nature and form) represent special configurations of the divine essence. Their official names are only labels that designate their contents, the words of scripture. The narrative unfolded in scripture is the exposure of the inner dynamics that prevail in the sephirot. That dynamics, when properly working or activated, is supposed to transmit the essence of the divine powers to the mundane world.

At stake for the kabbalists was the question: "How can one experience God outside of the country of Israel?" Although some rabbinic authorities are often quoted as postulating the presence of God everywhere, including for that matter in the various places of exiled Israel, the question was often raised as to how God could be experienced outside his cultic center. In the days after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.), rabbis often spoke of the preference that should be given to the spiritual, as opposed to cultic, ways of experiencing and worshiping God. The kabbalists believed that God is virtually incorporated in the

words of the Torah. In this sense, his actual presence could be conceived and experienced wherever there was an active Torah center.

The Kabbalists believed they were in possession of the special secrets that made the realization of God in the words of scripture a lively and authentic experience. Accordingly, they developed a special technique of discovering and actually realizing the divine essence in the written words of scripture. This is a particularly interesting process, since not everything told in scripture necessarily bears the characteristics of a divinely inspired event. In short, the Kabbalists discover God in scripture, and the narrative of scripture is the unfolding of various ways of God in the sephirot. For instance, the historical events told about the patriarchs and the wanderings of the people of Israel in the desert are dry and apparently uninspired materials. As the Kabbalists conceived of them, they carried a divine stamp like everything else in scripture. In fact, all mundane events are reflections of celestial realities. In this respect, the ephemeral history of mankind is an evanescent appearance or projection of the eternal divine realities. In essence this is a Platonic concept, but it is variously represented in the religious thinking of the Jews long before the kabbalah gave it its particular phrasing.

History unfolds in patterns that are typical of the various configurations that the sephirot may take on. The sephirot emanated from God and in an interesting dialectical process were made to reflect both God and the mundane realities. The absolute unity of the world in which nothing, neither celestial nor earthly, is left out of the picture is thus achieved. Evil is also part of that picture. In fact, the Kabbalists think of evil in strong mythical terms. The existence of evil is not a philosophical or theological problem but a mythical reality. As such it encounters human beings on every step in their lives. Since the people of Israel lived in exile, they found the doctrine of evil postulated in kabbalistic writings a most powerful way of accounting for their historical misery. The nations were just one of the historical configurations of what others were used to viewing as metaphysical evil. The Kabbalists treated those nations in mythical terms.

In this respect, the doctrine of redemption developed by the Kabbalists aims at counterbalancing various components. On the one hand, redemption has to be effected in divine realms. Since the unifying dynamics of the sephirot were believed to be affected, actually damaged, by what came to be known as the original sin of Adam and Eve, redemption was interpreted to mean an act of restoring the perfect equilibrium in the divine world. What needed counterbalancing were the conflicting horizontal factors (grace vs. severe judgment) and the vertically conceived masculine and feminine elements in the sephirot. When that is achieved, mainly through the acts of the people of Israel who expectedly perform the laws of God in their kabbalistic orientation, final redemption will come. The divine and the human realms will be repaired, so to speak, at one and the same time.

Kabritha location referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel. The reference is probably to Kabri, northwest of Nahariyyah, but it may be to Qabrath-al-kabri, several kilometers north of Acre.

kaddish (Heb., doxology) prayer in praise of God recited at the end of principal sections of Jewish service. The rabbi recites, "May his great name be magnified and sanctified in this world that He has created by his will, and may his kingdom come, in your lives and in the lives of all Israel," to which the congregation responds, "May his great name be praised eternally." The prayer is characterized by eschatological emphasis and hope for the speedy advent of the messiah. It is also recited by mourners.

Kafri town in Babylonia; location of the court of the exilarch Ukba I (B. Kiddushin 44b); birthplace of Rab and home of Ḥisda. The court at Kafri apparently was deemed by Samuel to be of a higher status than Samuel's own (B. Sanhedrin 55a; B. Kiddushin 44b).

Kahana **1.** Babylonian amora often associated with Assi; active in the period prior to Rab's return to Babylonia from the Land of Israel in the early third century C.E.; later, a member of Rab's academy. This Kahana ultimately emigrated to Palestine.

2. a student of Rab in the mid-third century C.E., who fled Babylonia after putting to death a Jew who threatened to denounce a fellow Jew to the Persian government (B. Baba Kamma 117a)

3. a student of Ḥuna at the end of the third century C.E.

4. a student of Rabbah b. Naḥmani at Pumbedita in the early fourth century C.E. He lived for some time in the Land of Israel, where he worked on the intercalation of the calendar.

5. a student of Raba; teacher of Ashi

6. at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries C.E., the successor to Rafram b. Pappa as head of the academy at Pumbedita

Kaige a recension, or revision, of the Septuagint. The standard Hebrew text around the turn of the

era differed in some cases from that on which the Septuagint was based, so the revision was intended to represent the current Hebrew text. The name comes from the Greek particle *kaige,* which was used to render the Hebrew *gam* (even, also).

Kallah **1.** the gathering of Talmudic rabbis held in the Babylonian academies during the months of Adar and Elul. These annual assemblies provided an opportunity for study of scripture, a detailed discussion of legal issues, and perhaps an analysis of a particular mishnaic tractate, chosen as the topic of the convocation (see B. Taanit 10b). Talmudic sources speak of crowding at the Kallah, and apparently a large attendance enhanced an academy's status (see B. Berakhot 5b). Medieval sources describe a sophisticated ranking of each academy's authorities and a fixed procedure for discussing the assigned material and examining scholars on their knowledge. According to these sources, at the end of the month, the head of the academy produced a written statement of decisions on the legal topics covered. Describing the period of the geonim, it is unclear to what extent this picture reflects the situation in the Amoraic period itself.

In Hebrew, *kallah* literally means "bride." The reason for the association of this term with these rabbinical assemblies is unknown. There appears to have been no parallel institution in the Land of Israel.

2. a minor tractate on the *kallah* (bride), published at the end of the fourth division in editions of the Babylonian Talmud. The first known, shorter version of Kallah consists of a single chapter and originally was published in the Talmud and in Maḥzor Vitry. The longer version, referred to as Kallah Rabbati (the great Kallah), contains ten chapters. It was published in 1864 and, later, in the Romm edition of the Talmud. The only possible Talmudic reference to the tractate Kallah is at B. Taanit 10b and parallels, which speak of a Kallah tractate. The reference more likely is to the section of the Mishnah chosen for study during the annual rabbinical Kallah and is unrelated to tractate Kallah.

The shorter Kallah discusses betrothal, marriage, chastity, and moral purity. Its materials derive from Tannaitic citations in the Babylonian Talmud, and it is believed to have been compiled in the eighth century C.E. by Yehudai Gaon. Kallah Rabbati follows the format of the Talmud, including Tannaitic citations and discussion. Opinions concerning its origin range from the claim that it derived from Maḥoza in the third century C.E. to the more likely position that its author was a student of Yehudai Gaon. Its first two chapters are a commentary on the shorter version of Kallah. The rest, except for chapter 8, develops the themes of Derek Eretz Rabbah and Zutta. Chapter 8 is related to "the Baraita of R. Meir," at the end of Pirkei Abot.

Kallah Rabbati *see* KALLAH

kal vaḥomer (Heb., from the light to the heavy) a logical argument *a fortiori,* or from a minor to a major premise; one of the thirteen rabbinic rules of inference attributed to Ishmael b. Elisha

karet (Heb.) extirpation; dying before one's time, which is defined as prior to age sixty

karmelit (Heb.) in Rabbinic literature, sides of the public way, classified as neither wholly public domain nor entirely private domain

Kartir a founder of Sassanid Zoroastrianism in the Sassanid Empire in the third century C.E., at the time of Shapur I. After Shapur's death, he dominated the Mazdean church, becoming, under the Bahrams, a major political and religious figure. Under Shapur I, Kartir was called simply Herpat, Greek for "magus." Under successive kings, his powers and titles multiplied, to the point that he later was referred to as "Kartir, the soul-savior of Bahram and Ahuramazda's Mobad."

As chaplain to the king-of-kings, under Bahram I and Bahram II, Kartir undertook a program of elimination of foreign minorities: Jews, Christians, Brahmans, Masoreans, Manichaeans, and others. With his fellow magi, he gained sufficient power to arrange the execution by Bahram I of the Manichaean Mani, who had converted members of the royal family, including Shapur's brothers, and to destroy Christian churches. While the matter is subject to dispute, talmudic sources do not suggest a serious persecution of Jews at this time. B. Gittin 16b–17a refers to a magus's removal of a lamp from a study hall, apparently on a Zoroastrian festival; B. Taanit 8b alludes to a prohibition against fasting. The evidence for other measures, such as the destruction of Jewish scrolls or the removal of Jews from government positions, is tentative and, apart from extant statements of Kartir describing his persecution of Jews, would not be understood to refer to a serious persecution.

Little is known of Kartir's own religion. He encouraged traditional Zoroastrian practices—the cults of fire, water, and cattle, and incestuous marriage—and sought to establish a national cult that excluded aliens. By contrast, little is known regarding his formulation of religious doctrine. Some historians deem his period to be characterized by an eclectic official religion.

Kartir is the author of an inscription describing the ascent of Zoroastrianism, detailing Kartir's own establishing of new fire-temples in Sassanid and non-Sassanid lands, and claiming that, in the interests of Zoroastrianism, he persecuted Jews, Christians, and other religious groups in the empire.

Kashisha *see* ABAYYE KASHISHA

kashrut *see* DIETARY LAWS; FOOD TABOOS

Kavad I king of Sassanid Babylonia (488–531 C.E.) during a period of weakened economy and government, the result of unsuccessful wars, revolts of vassal states, and a century of the nobility's interference in the line of succession. In the first period of his reign, Kavad embraced Mazdak, a religious figure who rejected marriage and ownership of property, holding instead that God required an equal division and sharing of everything. Mazdakites accordingly held that adultery, incest, and theft were necessary to reestablish the true laws of nature. In resistance to the disruptive power of this religious movement, the Mobads succeeded in deposing Kavad. In 498 he was forced to flee to Hephthalite territory, where he remained until 501.

Kavad's return to power was supported by the Hephthalite Khagan and was marked by a growing rejection of Mazdakite views. Ultimately, when Mazdakite leaders objected to the nomination of Kavad's son Khusro to the throne, Kavad sought to destroy the movement; in 528 C.E. he sponsored a massacre of Mazdakites and the burning of their books. A side effect of this was significantly to weaken the feudal nobility and to weld the country into a centralized state.

In 502 C.E., when Rome declined to continue to pay for the defense of the Caspian, Kavad, supported by Hephthalites and Arabs, invaded Roman Armenia. The battle ended in 505 C.E., with Rome's payment of one thousand pounds of gold. Over the following twenty years, however, tensions with Rome grew. Rome attempted to win the loyalty of Sassanid dependencies, and some tribes did convert to Christianity. After 528 C.E., this led to increasing hostilities, including a Sassanid defeat in an attack on a new Roman fortress near Nisibis and a continuing military engagement in Antioch. Kavad died in September of 531 C.E., in the beginning stages of this campaign.

The Jews in this period apparently favored and fought for the Sassanid cause. The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite states that Jews in Constantina unsuccessfully conspired to surrender the city to Kavad by informing the Sassanids of how to enter the city. The result was a Greek massacre of the city's Jews. A second passage found in the Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene and elsewhere reports that, out of respect for a Jewish feast, Kavad asked his Roman opponent to postpone a battle. Apparently, despite previous Jewish opposition to the policies of Kavad the Mazdakite, during the second period of his rule, Jews supported Kavad and served in his army.

Kavad II Sassanid emperor (r. 628–629) who ascended the throne after his father, Khusro II, was murdered. He made peace with Heraclius and returned Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Western Mesopotamia to Rome. The holy relics seized from Jerusalem decades earlier were returned. Rome granted safe passage to the retreating Persians and abandoned Eastern Mesopotamia. Kavad II executed all of the Sassanid princes he could, allowing only his sisters to live. He granted religious freedom to Christians. The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel pictures him as the antimessiah, who had assassinated his father and made peace with the Romans.

kavvanah *see* KEBA

Kazinta the present-day Qabrath Zawinta, 1 kilometer north of Kabritha, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

keba (Heb., fixity) the opposite of *kavvanah* (Heb., intentionality). Ideal rabbinic worship is composed of a fixed liturgical structure and the spontaneous and spiritual intention with which a worshiper invests its recitation at any given time.

Kedushah sanctification of God, added to the third blessing in the Amidah: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory"

Kefar Aziz during the Tannaitic period, the location of a rabbinic academy, where Ishmael was active; located south of Hebron, near Idumea (M. Kilaim 6:4; M. Ketubot 5:8)

Kefar Baram village of Upper Galilee located approximately seven miles northwest of Safed and near the village of Gush Halab. Although ancient sources mention it only in passing, it is noteworthy because of the remains of two monumental synagogues found there, both of which probably date to the third century C.E. Two doorways of the smaller synagogue were visible in the sixteenth century, but by the nineteenth only one remained. By 1905, H. Kohl and C. Watzinger found no remains of this building and excavated only the large synagogue. The Israel Department of Landscaping and Preservation of Historical Sites completed work on the synagogue in the 1960s.

The large synagogue (15.2 by 20 m) was found

inside the village. The entire first story of the southern facade is nearly completely preserved. It has the three entrances typical of Galilean synagogues: one large central entrance flanked by two smaller ones. The now-mutilated figures of two winged victories bearing a wreath decorate the lintel of the center entrance. Above the lintel is a convex frieze depicting a vine growing from an amphora. Above the frieze is a cornice beneath an arched window. Consoles in the form of double spirals once framed the lintel.

The side entrances bear their own friezes: a rope pattern in the east and a laurel leaf pattern in the west. Each lintel supports a rectangular window decorated with vine branches. The sill of the western window has a Hebrew inscription: "Built by Elazar son of Yudan." The eastern corner of a high cornice is still preserved. Although the synagogue probably had a second story, no remains were found.

Unique to this ancient synagogue is the porch—5.35 meters deep—in front of the facade. Six columns stood at the front and two at the sides. One column and the pedestal of a corner column are preserved on the east side. The columns stood upon attic bases and were topped by capitals molded with ovolo, cavetto, and abacus. The two corner columns were heart-shaped. An arched pediment led to the porch between the two central columns.

In the interior, fourteen columns on low walls surrounded three sides of the 6.2 meter-wide nave (two rows of five on the east and west sides and one row of four in the north). As on the porch, the two corner columns were heart-shaped. Low benches lined the east and west walls. The east bench was interrupted by an entrance in that wall. A lion's head and a fragment of a frieze carved with a meander pattern were found in the rubble.

Photographs and an unpublished plan drawn by C. Wilson describe the smaller synagogue, which was outside the city. The jams of the main entrance were decorated with molding and, like the larger synagogue, the lintel was decorated with the blurred image of winged victories holding a wreath. Beneath was a Hebrew inscription: "May there be peace in this place and in all the places of Israel. Jose the Levite, the son of Levi, made this lintel. May blessing come upon his deeds. Shalom."

Kefar Bilu Synagogue (Khirbet al-Asasfimra) ancient synagogue located about 1 kilometer south of the modern town of Rehovot in Israel. In antiquity, the synagogue was located on the ancient road between Jamnia and Lydda (Diospolis). From a paleographic dating of an inscription, the synagogue seems to have been used during the Byzantine period. This paleographic dating is uncertain, however, and the synagogue may have been used as late as the early Arab period.

A fragmentary Samaritan inscription on a marble tablet with eleven extant lines was found in the synagogue. The inscription contains the opening words from the Samaritan Decalogue (Ten Commandments) as well as the first two words from Genesis.

Kefar Hananiya small ancient Jewish village on the slope of a hill at the eastern end of the Beth Kerem Valley on the border between Upper and Lower Galilee. The name is mentioned in the Mishnah and Talmud as a border point between two districts of Galilee and as a center for clay vessel production.

At the upper part of the village, the foundations of a public building, which was probably a synagogue and was partly hewn to the natural rock, were observed. The remains of rock-cut stylobates are visible, some holes in the walls indicate marble plating, and remains of a door are in the west. There are some architectural elements scattered at the site that could be associated with the building, but the suggestion to identify another synagogue at the site where these elements were found should be rejected.

As limited excavations took place at the lower part of the site, the remains of a large potter's kiln dating to the third century C.E. were uncovered. Piles of broken shards and wasters were found, one of which covered the unused kiln and showed that manufacturing in another kiln went on into the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Neutron activation analysis was used to check the ingredients of the clay in comparison with soil samples from the small valley of Hananiya; the results indicate that the potters of Kefar Hananiya used the local clay to produce their well-known pottery and traded it all over Galilee.

The excavations were limited to a small area at the industrial zone, dating the existence of the village from the first century B.C.E., or earlier to the second, and up to the medieval period. Although shards from late Hellenistic and early Roman periods were found, it seems that in this period the most important site was the neighboring one of Beer Sheba (Galilee), while at Kefar Hananiya only an industrial zone existed. Only at the end of the first century C.E. or the beginning of the second, during the decline of Beer Sheba of Galilee, did the site become more important and well known.

Kefar Kanna Synagogue synagogue site situated in a modern village of this name approximately 6 kilometers northeast of Nazareth. The synagogue seems to have been used during the second and third centuries C.E., as evidenced by the dating of an inscription. The site is probably most famous for the traditional identification with New Testament Cana, the location of Jesus' first miracle of turning water into wine (John 2:1–11). It is generally agreed today that Khirbet Qana, which is located in the Beth ha-Kerem valley farther to the north, is preferred as the site identified as "Cana of Galilee" in John 4:46.

The remains of a synagogue are evidenced by a mosaic pavement with a fragmentary Aramaic inscription found underneath a modern Franciscan church. The inscription can even be viewed by modern visitors to the church. It is evident that the inscription originally contained two columns of text of four lines each, separated by a dividing line. Today only the right column is complete. It reads: "Honored by the memory of Yosi, son of Tanhum, son of Bitah, and his sons who made this mosaic. May it be a blessing for them. Amen."

Kefar Ludim a location near Lydda, on the border of Palestine, treated as though it were outside of the Land of Israel. Accordingly, one who brings a writ of divorce from there to Lydda must declare that the writ was written and signed in his presence (M. Gittin 1:1). This is the same rule that applies to all writs brought from foreign territory.

Kefar Nahum *see* CAPERNAUM

Kefar Othani village defining the border of Galilee and Judah (M. Gittin 7:7); the home of Shemayah, a student of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. M. Gittin 1:5 refers to Gamaliel's presence there, as well as to Samaritans in the area.

Kefar Signah an undisclosed location referred to at M. Kelim 5:4, M. Menaḥot 8:6, M. Eduyyot 7:8, and T. Terumot 3:18. On the basis of the reference at M. Menaḥot 8:6, it appears that Kefar Signah may have been in Lower Galilee, not far from Sepphoris.

Kefar Yatmah at M. Orlah 2:5, the home of the Tannaitic authority Dostai. The location is otherwise unidentified.

kehillah (Heb.) Jewish community

kelal ufrat (Heb.) a principle of reading scripture that holds that a general principle given in one verse followed by a particularization of the same governing principle in another verse is limited to the items particularized in the second verse. A particular rule may be generalized in the same manner. *See also* MIDRASH.

Kelim Mishnah tractate devoted to loci of uncleanness, in particular, the susceptibility to uncleanness of various pots and pans, made of diverse materials. The tractate discusses earthenware utensils (chaps. 2–10); metal utensils (chaps. 11–14); other materials, such as wood and leather (chaps. 15–18); susceptibility of utensils to diverse types of uncleanness, the end of susceptibility, and connection (chaps. 19–24); the components of an object as inside or outside (chap. 25); and leather objects, woven materials, fabrics, and glass utensils (chaps. 26–30).

kenas *see* FINE

Kenath a location on the east bank of the Jordan, southeast of Trachona, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as a border area of the Land of Israel. Kenath is mentioned at Numbers 32:42, 1 Chronicles 2:23, and elsewhere in the Bible.

Kenaz **1.** grandson of Esau (Gen. 36:11)
2. father of the first judge, Othniel (Josh. 15:17)
3. grandson of Caleb (1 Chron. 4:15)
4. in the Book of Biblical Antiquities 25–28, the first judge and an ideal leader of Israel. Kenaz embodies submission to God's will, enjoys military success, and receives a vision spanning Creation and the eschaton.

Kenesset Israel assembly of Israel; Jewish people as a whole

kere, ketib a series of notations in the margins of the biblical texts that indicate a tradition of reading the biblical text differently from what is written. These notes often derive from the Masorah. "What is read" (*kere*) appears in the margins and replaces "what is written" (*ketib*) in the text itself. These replace difficult consonantal readings in the Masoretic text, many of which stem from scribal errors. The corrections frequently comprise a grammatical change, a euphemism, or occasionally even an added word or two.

Keriat Shema recital of Shema; *see also* HEAR O ISRAEL

Keritot Mishnah tractate on sins that are punishable by extirpation (death before age 60) if the deed is deliberate, by a sin-offering if it is inadvertent, and by a suspensive guilt offering in the case of doubt. The tractate discusses occasions on which one is obligated to present a sin-offering (chaps. 1–2), a single sin-offering and multiple sins (chaps. 2–3); and a suspensive guilt offering (chaps. 4–6).

keriyah (Heb., cutting) the act of ripping one's clothes upon hearing the news of a death. In modern times, it often entails just cutting a black ribbon, which is affixed to one's lapel during the mourning period.

ketib *see* KERE AND KETIB

Kettina Babylonian scholar, active at Sura in the late third century C.E.; a student of Rab, mentioned frequently in the Babylonian Talmud

ketubah *see* MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Ketubim (Heb., writings) biblical books of Psalms, Proverbs, the Five Scrolls, Job, and so on. The term should not be confused with "written Torah" (Heb.: *Torah shebikhtab*), which refers to the entirety of the Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament).

Ketubot Mishnah tractate on marriage settlements, dealing with the formation of a marriage, with attention to the material rights of the parties to the marital union. The tractate first addresses the formation of a marriage, discussing the wife (chaps. 1–2); the virgin and her marriage contract, and conflicting claims in that regard (chaps. 1–2); the material rights of the husband and the father (chaps. 3–5); the fine paid to the father (Deut. 21:22) for rape or seduction (chap. 3); the rights of the father (chap. 4) and the husband (chaps. 4–5). It then sets forth the reciprocal responsibilities and rights of the husband and wife for the duration of the marriage (chaps. 5–9), discussing the wife's duties to the husband, the husband's duties to the wife, and the dowry (chap. 7) and specifying the property rights of the wife (chap. 8). Finally, it discusses the cessation of a marriage and collection of the marriage settlement covered by the contract (chaps. 9–13), describing imposition of an oath, multiple claims on an estate and the wife's claim, support of a widow, rights to and collection of a marriage contract, and special cases. A collection of case reports is appended.

keYotze bo beMakom aher (Heb.) a principle of scriptural exegesis that holds that a difficulty in understanding a given verse may be solved by appeal to the comparison with another verse that exhibits points of similarity; *see also* MIDRASH

kezayit *see* OLIVE'S BULK

Khazars a Turkic group that functioned as an independent nation in Eastern Europe between the seventh and tenth centuries C.E. Their origins are unknown, as is the date that they reached the Volga-Caucasus region. Some have speculated that they may have belonged to the empire of the Huns. They probably belonged to the West Turkish Empire from 552 C.E. Kavad I was the first Persian emperor seriously to respond to the Khazars' raids by fortifying several border towns. After his treaty with Rome in 562, Khusro I was free to turn toward the Khazars, as well as toward the Hephthalites and the Ethiopians, on his northwestern and western borders, overrunning their territory. He thus extended Persian influence to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The situation changed under Hormizd IV. With the victory of Heraclius before Nisibis, the Khazars and the Arabs invaded Persia. After 650, the Khazars took over the Bulgars' region from the Danube to the Black Sea. There were Khazar officials in Bosporus and Phanagoria by 700 C.E. From this time onward, the Khazars became associated with the Crimea, the Volga, and the Caucasus. After the exile of Justinian II in 695, the Khazars played an important part in Byzantine politics. The Khazars were ruled by two rulers, the king and a chief (*khaqan*); however, it is uncertain when this double rulership was instituted. Sometime in the eighth century, the Khazars converted to Judaism. While they were known as Jews by their neighbors, they had little contact with the central Jewish organizations in Iraq; consequently they are infrequently mentioned by Jewish sources. Even after their conversion, there is evidence that they practiced a number of pre-Jewish and pre-Islamic customs. Their empire was crippled by a Russian attack in 961.

Khirbet Amudim *see* HORVAT AMUDIM

Khirbet Marus ancient Meroth, a village founded in Upper Galilee during the second century B.C.E. and destroyed at the end of the twelfth century C.E. It is mentioned twice by Josephus: once as marking the northern border of Upper Galilee, and once as one of the towns fortified in 66 C.E. during the Great Revolt.

Excavations uncovered remnants of a defense system, including parts of a wall, moat, and refuge tunnels, perhaps from the period of the Second Temple. The town's economic base was cattle and crops of olives, grapes, grains, and vegetables. Archaeologists estimate the population to have been between one thousand to twelve hundred.

The synagogue of Khirbet Marus was built in the late fourth or early fifth century C.E. The worship space of the building was divided by two rows of six columns each. The south-facing facade was pierced by three doors. Low benches lined both the eastern and western walls and the east and west ends of the northern wall. The floor was at first plastered, but later was renewed as a mosaic. One section of the mosaic floor depicts a young warrior surrounded by weapons, possibly a rendition of David with booty from his defeat of Goliath. The mosaic also bears an Aramaic name, Yudan bar Shimon Mani. The walls were finished with red and yellow painted plaster.

The synagogue underwent two major renovations. In the sixth century C.E., the mosaic was cov-

ered with a stone pavement and raised platforms, or *bimahs*, were added: two in the south, one in the east for a wooden Torah shrine, and one in the west as a platform for the Torah reading, serving as a lectern. Five stones for an arch above the central entrance were carved with signs of a zodiac. The second renovation in the seventh century was more drastic. The south facade was sealed and three doors were placed in the north, allowing those entering the building to face toward Jerusalem (as at Qatsrin, Beth Alpha, Naaran, and Jericho). The northernmost column of each row was removed. A staircase to an upper gallery and a vaulted storeroom to the west both date to this phase. Also, the courtyard was converted into a children's classroom in the northeast and a school in the southwest, both with low benches lining their walls. The lintel of the school is carved with two eagles flanking a garland with a Hebrew inscription: "Blessed shall you be when you come in, and blessed shall you be when you go out" (Deut. 28:6). The mosaic floor also depicts a lamb and a wolf on either side of an amphora and a Hebrew inscription: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together" (Isa. 65:25). Another part of the floor shows two shofars, a structure (perhaps a Torah shrine), pomegranates, leaves, and grapes.

Under the eastern threshold in the northern facade a bronze amulet was found in which twenty-six lines of Hebrew and Aramaic ask God to give control of the village to Yose, son of Zenobia, perhaps a local leader. The synagogue treasury of 485 coins dating from the first century B.C.E. to the twelfth century C.E. was found in an alcove carved into the bedrock beneath the storeroom floor.

Khirbet Shura small ancient Jewish village on a low hill at Rosh Pina Plateau at the southern edge of the Hulla Valley. Decorated architectural elements were found at the site in the twentieth century; an Aramaic inscription, found in 1942, later disappeared. In 1980, a stone capital decorated with four menorahs on all sides was found at the site. Following this important find, a brief excavation, which uncovered the remains of an ancient Jewish synagogue, took place at the site in 1983.

The medium sized building has a north-south axis and measures 17 by 14.5 meters. It is built of large basalt ashlars and the floor is paved with cut basalt pavers. The remains of two rows of pillars were found; along the walls were found the remains of seating benches. There are a few well-cut and well-decorated arch stones, one of which is carved with the star of David and a rosette. The roofing system reclines on an arcade. The main entrance to the building was to the south, like many other Galilean sites. The architectural elements, such as pillars, pillar bases, attached half-pillars, decorated moldings, and fragments of windows, show the elegance of the building.

The design of the building is similar to that of Chorazin and also to some synagogues in Golan and Galilee. It was difficult to date the building because of later intrusions, but the coins that were found on the floor were dated to the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.

Khirbet Susiya Synagogue ancient synagogue site about eight kilometers south of Hebron in an area called Daroma (south) in ancient sources. Current research identifies the ancient name of the town as Carmel. The synagogue is located at the intersection of two main streets of the town or village. The synagogue building is called a broad-house because it is entered on its long or broad side. The long axis of the synagogue is oriented east to west, and it is entered from the colonnaded courtyard that stood at its east end. In the mosaic floor of the porch, at the southeast of the courtyard, is a long Hebrew inscription that honors Isai the priest who donated the mosaic and the plastering on the walls: "which he donated at a feast of Rabbi Yohanan the priest, the venerable scribe, his son. . . ." Other fragmentary Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions in the narthex honor Yoshua Yudan, the Comforter Yoshua, Yudan bar Simeon the Levite, "all the people of the town . . ." and "the holy congregation." From the courtyard five steps led up to the narthex of the synagogue, which is a kind of porch before the facade. The prayer hall was then entered from the narthex through one of three doors in the facade, the central one being much larger than the other two. The interior of the prayer hall was decorated with beautiful mosaic pavements, and the north wall was built quite thick to hold three niches, the central one for the Torah. The two on either side may have displayed marble menorahs, as fragments of one such menorah were found. The fragments were inscribed in Hebrew: "Be remembered for good Lazar and Isai sons of Simeon ben Lazar." A tier of multiple benches were built on the south, west, and the west half of the north walls.

The worshipers used two raised platforms (*bimahs*) against the north wall. The central *bimah* was quite elaborate and may have been faced with marble. Its east side featured three round steps, and at its center were steps up to the central niche and the Torah shrine. To the east of the central

bimah stood a secondary *bimah* from which scripture was read. No benches were built beside the *bimah*s.

The mosaic consists of three panels. The eastern panel shows birds in a geometric pattern based on two interlocking octagons. The central panel was originally a zodiac, though later in the history of the building it was replaced with geometric designs. The western panel was badly damaged, but apparently depicted Daniel in the lion's den. Simple geometric mosaics filled in the spaces east and west of the *bimah*s, but the mosaic directly in front of the secondary *bimah* depicts a Torah shrine with gabled roof and a shell at its center. On either side of the ark are two menorahs with lulabs, etrogs, and incense shovels. On either side of this depiction stand two rams looking toward the center. No curtain is rendered in the mosaic. A Hebrew inscription opposite the middle entrance into the prayer hall contains a fragmentary date from the creation of the world: ". . . the second of the week . . . four thousand . . . when the world was created."

The excavators believe that the synagogue was first built in the late third or early fourth century C.E. and continued to be used until the ninth century C.E. with at least three major renovations. It ceased to be a synagogue by 814 C.E., according to an Arabic inscription in ink on plaster indicating its transformation into a mosque.

Khirbet Tieba Synagogue a probable ancient synagogue site near the Jordan River and about 10 kilometers north of the Sea of Galilee. Only a few carved stones have been found at this site, whose alternate Hebrew name is Horvat Tuba. Two carved basalt lintels have been found. One is actually a pediment stone with a niche carved in it, as if for a Torah shrine. The second is decorated with plants flanked by eagles. These two stones have been deemed unambiguous enough to posit that the building, if it is found, will have an elaborate exterior like the synagogues at Chorazin in the Galilee and En Nashut in the Golan Heights. The moldings may be dated to the third or fourth century C.E.

Khusro I son of Kavad I through his marriage to a daughter of the Hephthalite royal household; Sassanid ruler (r. 531–579 C.E.) following the reign of his father. His reign was marked by political, social, and economic success, including the return of property seized during Mazdakite times, care for the women and children of the nobility seized by the Mazdakites, rebuilding of villages, repair of public utilities, and fiscal reform. While enjoying a long period of peace following years of disorder, Khusro secured his authority through the fortification of strategic passes, by reviving the practice of transplanting subject peoples for state purposes, and by executing all male sons and grandsons of Kavad. Additionally, he persecuted and martyred the remaining followers of Mazdak.

Of mixed Iranian and Hephthalite blood, Khusro victoriously concluded the bitter struggle with the Hephthalites that had engaged his father. In order to be able to turn his attention to this problem, he reached a peace agreement with Rome and, through an alliance sealed with a royal marriage, joined forces with the Turks. In 566 C.E. Sassanid and Turkish armies surrounded and devastated the Hephthalite forces. Khusro took control of Tokharistan, Kabul, and part of Transoxiana.

Following the previous chaotic reigns and periods of persecution of Christians and Jews, Khusro I was known for his liberal attitude toward minorities. His measures against heresy appear not to have been directed against Jews or Christians. The latter were employed in his administration and, following the Samaritan uprising in the land of Israel in 529 C.E., Jews and Samaritans sent an embassy to Khusro asking him not to make peace with Rome and assuring him of their continued support. Although this embassy had no impact on his actions, it indicates Jewish attitude toward Khusro.

Khusro died in 579 C.E., during a campaign in which Rome had taken the offensive and reached almost as far as Ctesiphon. Khusro's son and successor, Hormizd IV, is referred to as "son of the Turk," a reflection on his father's marriage to a member of the Turkish royal family.

Khusro II Sassanid emperor (r. 590–628 C.E.) following the removal of his father, Hormizd, from office. While palace rebels accepted him, Khusro initially struggled for control with Bahram VI, who defeated the loyalists and forced Khusro to flee to Circesium. There, in exchange for Khusro's ceding of all of Sassanid Armenia and Eastern Mesopotamia, Rome joined forces with him. In the spring of 591, the combined Sassanid, Roman, and Mesopotamian armies accepted the surrender of Ctesiphon, which Bahram had taken. Bahram fled to the Turks, and Khusro regained the throne, with the Byzantine frontier now extended to Lake Wan.

In this conflict, Jews had sided with Bahram. Khusro, for his part, had favored Christians and enjoyed the support of the Jews' Roman enemy. Bahram, by contrast, had overthrown Hormizd IV, known for closing Jewish schools and other acts of persecution. The Jews' choice was unfortunate. In

the aftermath of Khusro's victory, many Jews who had supported Bahram were massacred. Additionally, for the remainder of Sassanid times, no Jewish government recognized by the state seems to have functioned in Sassanid Babylonia.

Following the murder of the Roman emperor Maurice and coronation of his murderer Phocas, Khusro initiated a campaign against his former allies. The result was that from 603 to 618 he built an empire extending from the Tigris to the Nile and controlled the entire Middle East. His campaign in Palestine in 614 and 615 had garnered substantial Jewish support, with Jews joining in the struggle against the hated Rome.

Khusro's conquests, however, were far from permanent. His armies brought destruction and anarchy, but no new governmental structure. The result was an additional ten-year struggle, in which Heraclius, a prefect of Egypt who had replaced the deposed Phocas, regained Rome's lost territory. On February 28, 628, Khusro was murdered by rebellious nobles and troops, securing Heraclius's military victory. Christians remember Khusro II favorably, as he offered prayers to the saints and martyrs, married a Christian, and supported construction of churches and monasteries in Ctesiphon.

kibbutz galuyot *see* GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE EXILES

kiddush (Heb.) sanctification recited over bread or wine on the eve of a Sabbath or festival

Kiddush haShem (Heb.) sanctification of the name of God. It applies to the conduct of Jews among non-Jews that brings esteem on Jews or Judaism; in medieval times, it denoted martyrdom.

kiddushin (Heb., consecration of betrothal) in rabbinic Judaism, the act that designates a woman as the future wife of a specific man, accomplished when an adult woman or the father of a minor accepts a token of betrothal worth a minimum sum of money. From that point, the woman is "consecrated" to that man and may not enter into betrothal, far less marriage, with any other; if she does, the offspring are *mamzerim*. *See also* MAMZER.

Kiddushin Mishnah tractate on betrothals. The tractate gives a general account of rules of acquisition of persons and property (chap. 1) and discusses procedures of betrothal (chap. 2); stipulations in a betrothal and doubts (chap. 3); and castes (priest, Levite, Israelite, and other) and who may marry whom (chaps. 3–4).

kidnapping abduction of a human being by force or fraud. Two passages in the Pentateuch describe abduction of a human being as a capital offense. One seems to prohibit the kidnapping of anyone, while the other refers only to Israelites; the former seems to prohibit kidnapping for any motive, while the latter specifies enslavement or sale as the kidnapper's motive. The Pentateuch also recounts Joseph's abduction by his brothers, who sold him into slavery. According to talmudic law, three separate acts—detention, enslavement, and sale—are required before kidnapping constitutes a capital offense. A separate warning had to be administered to the kidnapper before the commission of each of the three acts. The Talmud records no instances of prosecution of a kidnapper. According to a rabbinic interpretation, the Eighth Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," refers to kidnapping.

Kidron, Brook of a valley separating Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, on Jerusalem's eastern side, demarcating the border of the biblical city; referred to first at 2 Samuel 15:23. The Brook of Kidron is mentioned elsewhere in the Bible and with some frequency in the rabbinic literature.

Kilayim Mishnah tractate on the prohibition against hybridization. The tractate discusses plants (chaps. 1–7); animals (chap. 8); and mixed fibers, wool, and linen (chap. 9). Special attention is given to the following topics: growing different kinds of plants together; plants that are or are not regarded as diverse kinds with one another; grafting; sowing different kinds of crops in the same space or adjacent spaces; and vines and other crops.

king (Heb.: *melekh;* Gr.: *basileus*) ruler of a city or nation; the title is applied to actual kings (David, Manasseh, Herod, Agrippa I and II), future redeemers, and the Deity (Ps. 47:6–8, 95:3; see also Exod. 15:18). The Davidic monarchy effectively ended at the exile, although the Davidide Zerubabbel ruled briefly following the edict of Cyrus. With the Hasmonean and then Herodian dynasties, kingship returned to Israel. Speculations on royal redeemers occupy Sibylline Oracles 3 (a Ptolemaic king) and Apocalypse of Elijah 2. On the eschatological judgment of earthly kings, see 1 Enoch 46, 53–54, and 62; 3 Enoch 45; and 2 Baruch 40. Testament of Solomon 8:10 mentions demons who depose kings. The Letter of Aristeas comments in detail on the duties of kings (187–294; see also Ahikar). The Testament of Job elevates the three "friends" to kings. *See also* ANOINTED; DAVID; DAVID, SON OF; KING OF ISRAEL; KING OF THE JEWS.

kingdom of God an idea clearly present in the Hebrew Bible, although the phrase "kingdom of God" does not appear regularly. Developing probably from ancient Near Eastern mythical portrayal of the divine warrior as the king who orders the

universe, YHWH was acclaimed as king over the cosmos in the enthronement psalms and eventually as king over all history in Isaiah 40–55. Implications of the Mosaic covenantal conception of YHWH as the true king of Israel and the portrayal of YHWH as defeating human kings in delivering Israel (e.g., Exod. 15) were drawn for God's rule over the nations and for possibilities of future deliverance of the people by God as king. The convergence of these two ideas of God as king and the kingdom he would bring to his people can perhaps be discerned in Daniel (mid-second century B.C.E.), where the world empires are ultimately to be overthrown by God, who bestows the sovereignty or his kingdom upon people symbolized by "the one like a son of man" (Dan. 7; cf. Dan. 2:44).

God's kingdom appears to be more or less imminent in various apocalyptic literature, such as the sections of 1 Enoch (25:3; 84:2) and the Testament of Moses (10:1). In both the Psalms of Solomon 17 (mid-first century B.C.E.) and the Dead Sea Scrolls (first century B.C.E.; e.g., 1QSb 5:20–21; 1QM 12:7–15), the kingdom of God has implications of liberation of the people (Judah/Israel) from oppressive foreign rule and the restoration of the people in their land. Both of the latter texts also connect the coming of God's kingdom with God's anointed agent(s): Psalms of Solomon 17:21–43 with "the anointed, the son of David" and the Dead Sea Scrolls (4QPB 1:4; cf. 4QFlor 10–13) with what appear to be two anointed figures, an anointed one of Aaron and an anointed one of Israel. The idea that God is the sole king of the people of Judah/Israel can be clearly discerned behind the passionate concern not to yield to the rule of Caesar. This is manifested in the movement Josephus labels "the Fourth Philosophy," which refused payment of the tribute to Rome in 6 C.E. (*Ant.* 28.4–5, 23).

"The kingdom of God" is the dominant theme of the proclamation of Jesus of Nazareth in the synoptic Gospels, connected both with suggestions of the renewal of Israel and with the identification of Jesus himself as the anointed one, in varying degrees. In Jewish kaddish prayer, which may be early, although preserved only in later rabbinic literature, the hope is expressed that God "may establish his kingdom in your lifetime and in all the house of Israel." The idea of God's kingdom in Jewish literature of the diaspora, such as the Wisdom of Solomon (6:17–20; 10:9–10) or the writings of Philo of Alexandria (*Abr.* 261; *Spec. Leg.* 4.164), has been heavily influenced by Hellenistic philosophy such that "kingdom" is individualized and spiritualized in virtual identification with the wisdom and immortality of soul attained by the wise. The rabbis (Y. Kidd. 59b; B. Ber. 2:2) also depoliticized the ideas somewhat, although the covenantal notion is retained, as in the phrase "take the yoke of the kingdom of heaven upon oneself." *See also* ESCHATOLOGY; KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

kingdom of heaven the concept of the universal sovereignty of God, expressed by Exodus 15:18—"The Lord will reign for ever and ever"—and understood by rabbinic texts either to reflect God's reign over the Jews alone or to suggest the need for all people to accept the yoke of God's authority. The former meaning is implicit in M. Berakhot 2:2, which refers to the Jew's recitation of the Shema ("Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one") as an acceptance of the yoke of the kingdom of heaven. It is found as well in texts that associate the kingdom of heaven with Israelite political autonomy and argue that this kingdom will be re-created only when the Jews regain their political sovereignty. Elsewhere, however, the kingdom of heaven appears as a universal concept, referring to a period in which all idolatry ceases and God is recognized throughout the world as the only deity (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael, Amalek, chap. 2). The rabbinic concept of the kingdom of heaven in some ways parallels the early Christian notion of a kingdom of God. The terminology, however, is distinctive. The phrase kingdom of God is not used in rabbinic texts, while, in the Gospel of Matthew, the use of the phrase kingdom of heaven is probably an artificial attempt to duplicate rabbinic parlance. *See also* KINGDOM OF GOD.

king of Israel the monarchical leader of the Israelite people, enthroned in the capital city of Jerusalem. The talmudic literature understands the restoration of the Israelite monarchy to pertain to the Davidic dynasty in the messianic age. At the same time, rabbis deemed legitimate a non-Davidic king as long as he was an Israelite appointed by a prophet. Accordingly, they accepted as valid the Hasmonean kings, who were of pure Jewish descent. Such non-Davidic kings demanded the greatest respect and legitimately could confiscate property of rebellious subjects, impose taxes, force labor on men and women (although a wage had to be paid), conscript subjects into the army, and declare a required war (e.g., one in which Israel defended itself) without prior sanction by the Sanhedrin. *See also* ANOINTED; DAVID; DAVID, SON OF; KING OF THE JEWS.

king of the Jews title used to support a charge of sedition against Jesus of Nazareth when he was

brought to trial before Pilate (Matt. 27:4; Mark 15:2, 9; Luke 23:3; John 18:23, 39). This title was written on the notice attached to the cross, which gave the cause of execution (Matt. 27:37; Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38; John 19:19). The title "king," unused since the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem, had been assumed by Aristobulus I (r. 104–103 B.C.E.) and Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.). Earlier, Simon, son of Mattathias, had been recognized as leader, governor, and ethnarch but not king (1 Macc. 14:35–47). Herod the Great (r. 40–4 B.C.E.) had been appointed king by the Romans. However, all these rulers had been opposed by some of the people, and the Romans only reluctantly appointed kings in some circumstances. The "Fourth Philosophy" described by Josephus adhered to the pre-Davidic biblical view that only God is king. The Dead Sea Scrolls speak of a prince or an anointed of Israel, without using the word "king." *See also* ANOINTED; KING OF ISRAEL.

Kings, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

kings and mighty common designation in the Parables of Enoch (1 En. 37–71) for the enemies of the author's community. These otherwise unnamed rulers "possess the land" that belongs to "the righteous and chosen" and are doomed to judgment when the latter's heavenly champion (variously called son of man, chosen one, anointed one, and righteous one) appears on God's glorious throne. Although unnamed, the kings and the mighty are described as archetypical enemies of God (cf. Isa. 14 with 1 Enoch 46:4–8, and Ps. 2:10 with 1 Enoch 48:8–10). The reference to their idols (1 Enoch 46:7) suggests that they are gentile rulers, probably Romans of the 1st century B.C.E. The term recurs in Revelation 6:15.

Kinneret *see* GALILEE, SEA OF

Kinnim Mishnah tractate made up of conundrums on how bird offerings of various classifications are confused, and the way in which the confusions are to be resolved

kinyan *see* ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY

kippurim *see* ATONEMENT

Kislev third month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to November/December

Kittim Hebrew designation for Cypriots (Gen. 10:4), a subgroup of the Greeks (Yavan). This term is used in Daniel 11:30 and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Pesher Habakkuk 2:12 and often) for the Romans.

knowledge technical terminology employed in a religious system that centers on revelation as a means to divine blessing or salvation. Relevant Semitic and Greek vocabulary includes the following: "to know, make known" (Heb. and Aram. root: *yd'*; Gr.: *[epi]ginōskō, gnōsis*); "to disclose, show" (Aram.: *khavvei;* Gr.: *deiknymi*); "to reveal" (Heb. root *glh;* Aram. root *gl';* Gr., *apokalyptō*); "to give knowledge/wisdom" (Heb. and Aram.: *ḥokmah/mada natan/yehaḇ;* Gr.: *sophian didōmi*).

The specific content, transmission, and function of saving knowledge varies in different (groups of) texts. In a wisdom text such as Ecclesiasticus, the sage expounds the wisdom resident in the Torah (chap. 24), which facilitates the obedience that grants life, and he searches out the mysteries of the prophets and the riddles of other sages (39:1–8). The authors of apocalypses also worked out of the wisdom and prophetic traditions; however, they claimed special knowledge about the secrets of the cosmos and the hidden future obtained from dreams and their interpretation, journeys through the cosmos, and trips to the divine throne room. The transmission of these revelations, written in the name of ancient worthies, such as Enoch and Daniel, exhorted the faithful to stand fast in persecution or affliction and to await vindication in the imminent judgment. The writings found at Qumran are difficult to place in the intellectual trajectories of wisdom and apocalyptic literature. Nonetheless, such texts as the Community Rule 10–11 place great emphasis on the esoteric knowledge of the religious group and its leaders and on the need to conceal this knowledge from outsiders (cf. 1QS 5:15–20). This knowledge included a revealed interpretation of the Torah (1QS 5:7–11) and revealed insight into the fulfillment of prophecy (1QpHab 7:1–5). Other texts like the Damascus Document 6:2–11 and Jubilees 23:26 highlight the importance of "searching" out the right interpretation of the Torah, which would make possible salvation from present disasters that have befallen the nation.

Although New Testament texts focus on Jesus' death and resurrection as events of divine salvation, the Gospel of John depicts Jesus as the divinely sent revealer, and the sayings source behind Matthew and Luke (so-called Q) portrayed Jesus as a teacher of life-giving wisdom (Matt. 11:25–30; cf. Ecclus. 51:23–30).

Gnostic religion bears many similarities to Jewish apocalypticism and was influenced by it. It claims esoteric, revealed knowledge that has the power to deliver the human soul from the evil world in which it is enmeshed. While the content of that knowledge differs significantly from apocalyptic revelation, its function is the same.

Although present evidence and the state of the discipline do not allow us to explain all the details

of their relationships, Jewish wisdom texts and apocalypses, some of the Qumran scrolls, certain New Testament texts, and many of the Gnostic writings all attest variations of a religious system that enshrines revealed knowledge as the power that gives life to the faithful and delivers them in times and circumstances of evil and danger. *See also* SALVATION.

Kodashim the fifth division of the Mishnah, devoted to Holy Things, Temple offerings on ordinary days, and the maintenance of the Temple building and the priesthood

Kohelet, Targum to (Targum, to Ecclesiastes) Written after the composition of the Babylonian Talmud in the fifth century C.E. and probably before the ninth century, the Targum to Kohelet contains linguistic elements of the eastern and western forms of Aramaic. This targum programmatically recasts Kohelet's cynical world view—his pessimistic brand of wisdom—into an endorsement and explication of the rabbinic Torah-based Judaism. Borrowing heavily from rabbinic documents such as Leviticus Rabbah and the Babylonian Talmud as well as Kohelet Rabbah, the Targum to Kohelet transforms the wisdom sage into the Torah sage.

kohen *see* PRIEST

Koine (Gr., common) term used to describe the type of Greek that became the lingua franca (common language) of the Hellenistic world. Koine or Hellenistic Greek represented a development from classical Greek, though many writers in Koine did attempt to imitate the classical writers. Both the Septuagint and the New Testament were written in a type of Koine (though the books of the New Testament tend to be written in the less literary form of the language).

Kokhav ha-Yarden (Arab.: Kaukab el-Hawa) site of a crusader fortress (Belvoir) and possible site of ancient Agrippina, a toparchy (head city) during the days of Herod the Great, though current scholarship identifies the site as ancient Kokhav or Kokhba. The site lies about 22 kilometers south of Tiberias and is also noted for the remains of an ancient synagogue at a site near a spring about 700 meters southeast of Belvoir. The remains of the synagogue occupy a low terrace near a spring and consist of basalt columns and a platform oriented north to south. On the other hand, several stones have been found in secondary use in the crusader fortress, some bearing grapeleaves and a double meander in fine relief. The most striking find is a basalt lintel with a relief of a seven-branched menorah in the center with an incense shovel to the left. To the right and left stand representations of Torah shrines with four columns each and a shell with an arch above the columns. To the right, in a recessed rectangular area (a tabula ansata), are the last four lines of what was originally a six-line Aramaic inscription: "[Be remembered for good X and Y] who have donated this lintel from their own and from public funds. Amen. Amen. Selah."

Kol Nidrei (Heb., all vows) prayer opening the Yom Kippur Eve service, declaring that all vows made rashly during the year and not carried out are null and void

kōmarches (Gr., ruler of a village, from *kömos* [village] and *archon* [ruler, or official]) in the Graeco-Roman world, the village headman or mayor. This may have been the office held by Jeddous when he threw out the debt collectors from Zenon, as mentioned in one of the Zenon papyri.

konam euphemistic way of saying *korban,* the language of an oath; *see also* KORBAN

Korah **1.** son or grandson of Esau (Gen. 36:5, 16)

2. son of Hebron (1 Chron. 2:43)

3. Levite leader who instigates a revolt against Moses in the desert (Num. 16). Korah, Dathan, and Abiram protest the consolidation of priestly privileges by Moses and Aaron. Fire comes forth from the Lord and destroys the rebels, and the earth swallows up everyone and everything belonging to them. Josephus sees Korah as a rich Levite motivated by jealousy (*Ant.* 4.2.1–3.4, secs. 11–58). The Book of Biblical Antiquities (LAB 16:1) and rabbinic literature interpret Numbers 16 in terms of the law of tassels (a law to put fringes on the corners of garments) immediately preceding it (Num. 15:37–41). They see Korah as rebelling against Torah itself. In the Book of Biblical Antiquities, Korah is a foil to righteous Israelites who would die rather than disobey God's will; Korah dies rather than obey. In rabbinic literature, Korah illustrates wrongful controversy over Torah in contrast to legitimate scholarly debate. The Book of Biblical Antiquities (LAB 16:3) and some rabbis deny that Korah will participate in the Resurrection. This Korah is the eponymous ancestor of a group of Levitical singers (2 Chron. 20:19), gatekeepers (1 Chron. 9:19), and bakers (1 Chron. 9:31). The Book of Biblical Antiquities explains that Korah's sons opposed his rebellion, and rabbinic sources say that three of Korah's sons repented in time to escape disaster.

korban (Heb., as an offering) the language of an oath, which assigns to the object subject to the oath the status of a Temple offering, hence rendering the object forbidden for secular use

kosher (Heb., fit, proper) suitable for use according to Jewish law; *see also* DIETARY LAWS

koshering preparation of meat by removing blood, usually by salting the meat or roasting it over an open flame to drain out the blood

kotebet *see* DATE'S BULK

Kotel Maarabi *see* WESTERN WALL

koy a kind of deer or antelope exhibiting some characteristics of a domesticated beast and some of an undomesticated beast. Accordingly, the koy is in an anomalous legal status, discussed in detail at M. Bikkurim 2:8–11. As in the case of an undomesticated animal, the koy's blood must be covered when it is slaughtered (Lev. 17:13), it may not be slaughtered on a festival, and its fat conveys carrion uncleanness (Lev. 7:24). As in the case of a domesticated animal, by contrast, its fat is forbidden for consumption (Lev. 7:25), and it may not be bought with second-tithe funds and consumed in Jerusalem (M. Maaser Sheni 1:3). The koy differs from both domesticated and wild animals since under the laws of diverse kinds it may not be yoked with either, and, for purposes of inheritance, it is deemed neither a domesticated nor an undomesticated animal. Like all other animals, however, the koy requires ritual slaughter before it may be eaten and conveys uncleanness on account of the laws of the carrion and of a limb cut off from a living animal (Lev. 11:8).

Kutim rabbinic name for Samaritans, treated under the law as Jews in cases in which their practice accords with rabbinic norms. Samaritans may be part of the group of three males who publicly recite the grace after meals (M. Berakhot 7:1), and they are understood to observe rabbinic rules for ritual slaughter (B. Ḥullin 4a) and menstrual impurity (B. Niddah 56b), among other laws. At the same time, because of divergences in marriage practices, Israelites were forbidden to marry Samaritans. *See also* SAMARITANS.

kyrios (Gr., lord) a generic term, though it is also used to refer to God in Jewish literature in Greek. It is the common translation for the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint, with *theos* the normal translation of the Hebrew *elohim*. Some exegetes see significance in this difference.

L

L.A. *see* LEGUM ALLEGORIARUM

Laberius Maximus, Lucius procurator of Judea, 71 C.E. He served with Sextus Lucilius Bassus, who was the governor. The Acts of the Arval priesthood and a diploma of 83 refer to him. He was the prefect of Egypt in 83, and the prefect of the *annona* in 80.

Lag baOmer The thirty-third day of the period called Omer (the time of the barley harvest), running from Passover to Shabuot. The Omer became associated with mourning, on account of a talmudic tale about a plague that devastated rabbis in Roman times, but Lag baOmer was reserved for festivity, on the grounds that the plague ended then. *See also* SEFIRAH.

Lake Tiberias *see* GALILEE, SEA OF

lamb animal that figures literally in the story of the Passover (Exod. 12) and figuratively in the Tanakh (Old Testament) and New Testament. In the story of the Exodus from Egypt, in preparation for the tenth and final plague on the Egyptians, God instructs the Israelites to slay a lamb and splash its blood on the doorposts of their homes. When the Lord slays the firstborn of the Egyptians, he will "pass over" all the houses marked by this sign. The narrative of the event in Exodus 12 served as the foundation story for the yearly festival of the Passover, at which each family was to slay and consume a lamb, in commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt.

The figurative use of the lamb in Isaiah 53:7 was to have considerable influence on Christian theology: here the enigmatic "servant of God" is compared to "a lamb led to the slaughter," whose suffering provides vicarious expiation for the sins of the exiled Israelites. In the "Animal Apocalypse" (1 Enoch 85–90; 2d c. B.C.E.), which uses animals to symbolize figures in the history of Israel, "lambs" (90:6–9) stand for the pious ones of the Maccabean times.

Several texts in the New Testament portray the crucified Jesus as the lamb who was slain. The words of John the Baptist in John 1:29 have had particular influence on the formation of christology and liturgy: "Behold the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (cf. 1 Pet. 1:18–19, 1 Cor. 5:7). The title "Lamb of God" is used repeatedly in the Revelation to John. Jesus appears in the heavenly court of God as the "lamb who was slain," who is paradoxically also the victorious "lion of Judah" (Rev. 5). Jesus' death, interpreted as a sacrifice and as victory over the powers of evil, qualifies him to open the seven seals of the scroll and unleash the events of the end-time. These events will be completed when the Lamb, who is "Lord of lords and King of kings," will finish his victory over Satan and his earthly representatives (Rev. 17:14). The church looks forward to the "marriage supper of the Lamb" (19:9) as a celebration of this victory and part of the consummation of all things in the Kingdom of God.

Lamech son of Methuselah and father of Noah (Gen. 5:25–31). The story of Noah's birth in 1 Enoch 106–107 plays on Lamech's name (Heb./Aram.: Lamekh), stating that until his time "right-

eousness was brought low" (Aram.: *muk;* 106:1 in the Chester Beatty papyrus). The Qumran Genesis Apocryphon, which contains a version of this story, was first called the "Lamech Scroll" and was identified as "the Apocryphal Book of Lamech" because the patriarch's name occurred on one of its fragments.

Lamentations, Targum to There are two related versions of the Targum to Lamentations, both composed sometime between the mid-fourth and early seventh centuries. Whatever the origins of this targum, its current text is heavily influenced by the Aramaic of Targum Onkelos. Lamentations was read on the Ninth of Ab, and the targum reflects the concerns of that mournful day. Over its first four chapters, the targum attributes specific sins and misdeeds to the Israelites, which brought on different calamities as punishment. Chapter 4 concludes with a look to the messianic future in which Israel will be saved from its oppressed circumstances. *See also* AB, NINTH OF.

Lamentations Rabbah (also: Lamentations Rabbati; Heb.: Ekhah Rabbati) compilation (c. 6th c. C.E.) of exegeses on the Book of Lamentations, focused on the themes of (1) Israel and God, with special reference to the covenant, the Torah, and the land; (2) Israel and the nations, with interest in Israel's history, past, present, and future, and how that cycle is to be known; (3) Israel on its own terms, with focus upon Israel's distinctive leadership; and (4) the Book of Lamentations in particular. The Rabbah repeats one point: the stipulative covenant still and always governs the relationship between Israel and God. Therefore everything that happens to Israel makes sense and bears meaning; and Israel is not helpless before its fate, but controls its own destiny. Israel's relationship with God is treated with special reference to the covenant, the Torah, and the land. By reason of the sins of the Israelites, they have gone into exile, with the destruction of the Temple. The founders of the family, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, also went into exile. Now they cannot be accused of deficiency in religious duties, attention to the teachings of the Torah and of prophecy, carrying out the requirements of righteousness (philanthropy) and good deeds, and the like. The people are at fault for their own condition. The dominant theme of Lamentations Rabbah is Israel's relationship with God. This is the one and whole message; everything else proves secondary and derivative of the fundamental proposition that the destruction proves the enduring validity of the covenant, its rules, and its promise of redemption.

Torah study defines the condition of Israel as follows: "If you have seen [the inhabitants of] towns uprooted from their places in the land of Israel, know that it is because they did not pay the salary of scribes and teachers" (II.i). As long as Judah and Benjamin were at home, God could take comfort for the loss of the ten tribes; once they went into exile, God began to mourn (II:ii). Israel survived Pharaoh and Sennacherib, but not God's punishment (III:i). After the disaster in Jeremiah's time, Israel emerged from Eden, but could come back (IV:i). God did not play favorites among the tribes; when any of them sinned, he punished them through exile (VI:i). Israel was punished because of the ravaging of words of Torah and prophecy, righteous men, religious duties, and good deeds (VII:i). The Land of Israel, the Torah, and the Temple were ravaged, to the shame of Israel (Jer. 9:19–21) (VIII:i). The Israelites practiced idolatry even more than did the pagans; God was neglected by the people and was left solitary, so God responded to the people's actions (X:i). If Israel had achieved the merit (using the theological language at hand), then it would have enjoyed everything, but since it did not have the merit, it enjoyed nothing (XI:i). The Israelites did not trust God, so they suffered disaster (XIII:i). The Israelites scorned God and brought dishonor upon God among the nations (XV:i). While God was generous with the Israelites in the wilderness, under severe conditions, he was harsh with them in civilization, under pleasant conditions, because they sinned and angered him (XVI:i). With merit, one drinks good water in Jerusalem; without, bad water in the exile of Babylonia; with merit, one sings songs and psalms in Jerusalem; without, dirges and lamentations in Babylonia. At stake is the people's merit, not God's grace (XIX:i). The contrast is drawn between redemption and disaster, the giving of the Torah and the destruction of the Temple (XX:i). When the Israelites went into exile among the nations of the world, not one of them could produce a word of Torah from his mouth; God punished Israel for its sins (XXI:i). Idolatry was the cause (XXII:i). The destruction of the Temple was possible only because God had already abandoned it (XXIV:ii). When the Temple was destroyed, God was answerable to the patriarchs for what He had done (XXIV:ii). The Presence of God departed from the Temple by stages (XXV:i).

laments cries to God in times of need and suffering. Throughout the Hebrew Bible people address God in times of need, both personal and communal. The story of the deliverance from Egypt serves

as a paradigm: the act of groaning, of crying out to God, is an essential element in the process of deliverance (Exod. 2:23–25). Over one-third of the psalms in the biblical Psalter fall into the category of lament.

In the postexilic period, we find a distinctive category of prayers that contain lamentation over the destruction of the city and the temple ("We have no ruler or prophet or leader, no burnt offering or sacrifice"), confession of sins, acknowledgment of God's justice in punishing ("for you are just in all you have done"), and plea for deliverance (Ezra 9; Neh. 9; Dan. 9:4–19; Bar. 1:15–3:8; Prayer of Azariah 1:3–22). These prayers, though now reused in other contexts, may have originated in liturgical lamentations at the time of exile. Other laments over the destruction of the city and the temple appear in 1 Maccabees in conjunction with the crisis at the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (e.g., 2:7–13; 3:45, 50–53). In 2 Baruch (10:5–19, 21:1–26, 35:1–4) and 4 Ezra (the first four visions, chaps. 3–10), lament over the destruction of Jerusalem and the human condition raises questions of theodicy, as the seer enters into extended dialogue with God about the reason for suffering.

Laments of the individual in times of personal need are illustrated by the parallel prayers of Tobit and Sarah (Tob. 3:2–6, 11–15). Other types of lament include the addition that the Book of Biblical Antiquities 40:5–7 makes to the text of Judges 11:38, which fills in the actual text of the lament sung by Seila, the daughter of Jephthah, before she is killed by her father. In the Testament of Job 40:9–14, the lamentation at the death of Sitis, the wife of Job, is described, but the actual text of the lament for her is said to be preserved only in another book.

lamp, hanging minor motif in Jewish art, particularly synagogue art, in which a glass lamp is shown to be suspended from the Torah shrine, usually in the center of the pediment. For example, in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Beth Alpha found near Beth Shean, a lamp is shown suspended from a chain attached to the top center of the pediment. A red dot in the center of the open mouth of the lamp may represent the flame. In the synagogue at nearby Beth Shean, the Torah shrine in the mosaic floor features a lamp suspended in the same central place as in the outer Torah shrine. In the Naaran Synagogue, near Jericho, the two menorahs depicted in the mosaic pavement show a glass lamp with a footed base suspended from either side of each menorah. The actual stone pediment of a Torah shrine recovered at Naburaya (Nabratein) in Upper Galilee has a hole cut into the top of the projecting molding around the shell in the center of the pediment, presumably for a hanging lamp. A hanging lamp is an actual item of synagogue furniture in terms of lighting, as many fragments of hanging glass lamps have been recovered inside the ruins of Byzantine period synagogues. On the other hand, an example of a lamp that hung from the Torah shrine has yet to be recovered or recognized.

Land of Israel *see* ISRAEL, LAND OF

languages in Palestine Between the return of Babylonian refugees to Palestine in the sixth century B.C.E. and the invasion of Islam in the seventh century C.E., four languages were used in Palestine: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin. Although the linguistic situation was quite complex over these thirteen centuries, a few general observations can be made. Hebrew formed the native language of the Israelites before the exile and was used after the return as well. The returnees apparently brought with them Aramaic, which was the main language of the eastern empires. Over the centuries, Aramaic gradually became the most commonly used language in Palestine; by the first century it had pushed Hebrew largely into the role of a religious language. Greek was introduced into Palestine with the conquest by Alexander the Great in the late fourth century B.C.E., and it became the administrative language of the whole eastern Mediterranean region. It was later used by the Roman and the Byzantine empires in their administration of Palestine. Among the residents of Palestine, Greek became the language of the upper class—which dealt with the colonial administration—and the language of international trade. Those who participated little in those activities were more likely to use Aramaic. Latin was used almost exclusively among the Roman occupation and security forces. There is no evidence that it became widespread among Palestinian Jewry. *See also under* ARAMAIC; GREEK LANGUAGE; HEBREW LANGUAGE; KOINE; LATIN.

Laodicea, Council of fourth-century-C.E. church council. The exact dates are uncertain. Canons forbid Christians from receiving gifts from Jews on their feast days, from holding feasts jointly with Jews, from fasting together with Jews, from taking oil from synagogues, from accepting Jewish unleavened bread, or from lighting candles on Jewish feasts. Other canons order the Gospels read in churches on Saturday, require Christians to work on Saturday, and forbid Christian priests from entering or praying in a synagogue.

laographia a type of poll tax in Egypt, introduced by Augustus at the beginning of Roman rule, from which citizens of the Greek cities and Roman citizens were exempt; everyone else paid. (Noncitizen inhabitants of the Greek cities paid at a reduced rate.) The Jews were humiliated by this new requirement. Much more important than the financial loss was the loss of status, since they were now classified with the native Egyptians at the bottom of society. This probably led to the Jewish agitation for citizenship in Alexandria.

laos (Gr., people) The term could be used generically, like the English word "laity," but it was used particularly to designate the people of the countryside who were not slaves but were often dependent laborers. These people often had a status much like that of serfs, being tied to the land.

lashon haRa (Heb., evil speech) slander or defamation, prohibited by rabbinic law even in a case in which the statement is true. According to rabbis, scripture provides numerous examples in which slander led to severe punishment, for example, Miriam's becoming leprous after slandering Moses (Num. 12:1–15) and the death of the spies who brought back a negative report about the promised land (Num. 14:36–37). Rabbis also interpreted debacles in Israelite history as resulting from *lashon haRa,* for example, the claim that David's kingdom became divided because he took account of slander (B. Shabbat 56a–b). The rabbis imagined stinging divine punishments for slanderers and their community, and held that *lashon haRa* hurts three people: the one who is slandered, the slanderer, and the listener (B. Arakhin 15b).

Late Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, LATE

Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, LATE JEWISH LITERARY

latifundia (Lat., wide estates) estates engaged in high-profit agricultural production using extensive tracts of land farmed by large numbers of slaves. Although such estates were known in the Hellenistic world, production there was more often carried out by peasants tied to the land. In the Roman republic, the large number of slaves derived from conquest encouraged the use of *latifundia*. Even when they declined in Italy, they are attested there and elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

Latin an Indo-European language that was first spoken around Rome and was then spread throughout Europe and northern Africa by the Roman Empire. Latin is important for biblical Judaism because (1) early versions of the Bible survive in Latin, (2) several early Jewish pseudepigrapha have important versions in Latin, and (3) numerous ancient Latin inscriptions provide evidence for Jews and Judaism.

Latin Bible *see* VETUS LATINA; VULGATE

Latter Prophets books containing anthologies of the sayings of different prophets. These are the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. While these books contain some narrative material, they largely consist of prophetic statements in poetic form. They are called the Latter Prophets because they come after the Former Prophets in the arrangement of the Hebrew Bible. Together the two collections make up the division of the Hebrew Bible called the Prophets.

law, Graeco-Roman The law of the Graeco-Roman world that relates to the Jews has two main aspects: (1) the absorption of Graeco-Roman legal concepts or terms into Jewish law, and (2) the legal position of the Jews and the Jewish religion in Graeco-Roman law.

We know that from an early time, Jewish legal practice was already influenced by surrounding cultures. For example, the papyri of Elephantine contain many legal documents that show the influence of Egyptian and Aramaic law on Jewish law. Similarly, the many legal papyri of the first and second centuries C.E. from the Judean desert (Murabbaat, Nahal Heber) in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek show common or comparable phraseology, despite their language differences. In rabbinic literature many of the legal terms are borrowings from Greek (and occasionally Latin). In some cases, this borrowing involves Greek vocabulary. For example, the well-known Hebrew *prosbul* is from the Greek *pros boulē* (to the council). In other cases, however, the rabbinic term seems to be a loan translation; that is, the Greek has been translated literally into Hebrew or Aramaic. In both cases, the influence of Graeco-Roman law is clear, despite the cultural gap. It seems almost symbolic of this influence that even the Greek word for law (*nomos*) is found in the phrase "according to the law" in a Jewish marriage certificate of the first century C.E.

The treatment of Jews in Graeco-Roman law was a complex and often vexed question. It must be said that, for the most part, room was made to accommodate Jewish customs, laws, and even sensibilities. The Jews themselves sometimes found their position restrictive, but the Greeks and Romans seemed to have felt that they gave greater privileges to the Jews than they did to other ethnic groups. It would, in fact, be difficult to find another ethnic group scattered throughout the Mediterranean world that had equivalent rights to those generally accorded to the Jews. There are

many examples of the Jews' superior privileges and, indeed, there is only one example in which the practice of Judaism was officially prohibited—the brief period of the "Abomination of Desolation" under Antiochus IV.

When Antiochus III took the Syro-Palestinian area away from Ptolemaic control about 200 B.C.E., he confirmed the right of the Jews to live by their traditional laws. For the Roman period, Josephus lists a long series of decrees that granted or confirmed Jewish rights or privileges. Although the authenticity of these decrees has been doubted, most of them conform with general practice in the Hellenistic period. Thus, even if the individual decrees cannot be confirmed, the broad picture gleaned from them seems to reflect the general situation of the time; that is, Jews were able to assemble and to eat together—rights necessary for their festival observances. When the *collegia,* or clubs, were prevented from meeting, Jewish religious assemblies were exempted. Jews were also able to obtain exemptions from conducting legal or other business on the Sabbath or during festivals. On the other hand, certain rights or privileges that Jews held in theory could not always be exercised without hindrance in practice. For example, on one occasion Herod the Great had to intervene with a member of Augustus's family when the Jews of Ionia complained of the local government's restrictions on their religious rights.

One of the privileges important to Jewish communities in the diaspora was the right to collect the yearly offering of a half-shekel (two drachmas) from every male Jew and transport it to Jerusalem. Civil authorities in the Graeco-Roman world were not always happy that so much precious metal was being taken out of their area of jurisdiction, and they sometimes interfered with the money's transfer. Josephus lists a decree, allegedly from Augustus, that affirms this right.

Military service was a problem for Jews because of such religious requirements as diet, Sabbath and festivals, and the like. We have evidence that Jews served in the Hellenistic and Roman armies, though the details of how their religious requirements were handled are not usually given. However, we have statements in Josephus to the effect that Jews were exempted (at least in some cases) from military service in the Roman period because of their need for kosher food and their inability to march or fight on the Sabbath.

The general Roman tolerance toward Jewish religious practice was not unusual. Religions were usually tolerated in the Graeco-Roman world as long as they posed no threat to the state. Concomitant with this tolerance was the expectation that adherents of local and ethnic religions also respected the rights of others. In a few instances where Jews attacked pagan cults, for example, Roman retaliation was swift and decisive. A particular example occurred under Caligula: when a pagan altar in a non-Jewish area was torn down by Jews, a plan was made to put a statue of the emperor into the Jerusalem Temple.

Strictly speaking, Jews were not exempt from the emperor cult. But since the cult's primary purpose was to express allegiance rather than to worship, it was possible to substitute an oath of allegiance for the cult. Thus, it was common for synagogues to have plaques dedicated to the emperor, and special sacrifices for the emperor and his family were offered each day at the Temple in Jerusalem. Indeed, it was the cessation of these sacrifices in 66 C.E. that marked the first event in the war with Rome.

When the Roman Empire became Christianized under Constantine, Jewish relations with it became even more complicated. There was considerable hostility toward the Jews by Christians. Certain Jewish rights, especially those that seemed to infringe on Christianity, were restricted: Jews were not permitted to own Christian slaves or to circumcise any of their slaves. Officially, however, Jewish worship was allowed.

law and prophets term used in the Second Temple period to designate the Jewish scriptures. "Law" denotes the Torah, or Pentateuch, the first five books of the present Jewish canon, while "prophets" refers to both the group known as the Former Prophets—Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings—and the group called the Latter Prophets—comprising the three Major and twelve Minor Prophets. Of the three literary groupings that constitute the present Jewish canon, the "law" and "prophets" were the first two to become fixed and regarded as authoritative; the "writings" gained a standardized form only later.

The first datable use of the term "law and prophets" occurs in the translator's preface to Ben Sira, from around 132 B.C.E. Each of the three references to the term here is followed by another, more amorphous designation such as "and the other books." 2 Maccabees, written at about the same time, uses "law and prophets" alone (15:9), as does 4 Maccabees (18:10; first century C.E.). The term appears with greatest frequency in early Christian writings, occurring nine times in the New Testament, which also attests the phrases "Moses

and the prophets" (three times) and "the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms" (Luke 24:44). For the latter expression, see also Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* 25.

lawlessness (Gr.: *anomia*) actions that violate the Torah. In the Septuagint the term translates a whole range of Hebrew words denoting wickedness, transgression, and wrongdoing. The Greek negating prefix *alpha* before the root *nom-* (law) may give the word an explicit connotation of Torah violation not necessarily present in the Hebrew. In 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Psalms of Solomon, it is sometimes used in synonymous parallelism with "injustice" (Gr.: *adikia*), and in 1 Enoch it may translate the Aramaic noun *ḥamsa* (violence). It can be combined with verbs meaning "to do" to create an idiom for doing evil or committing sin (cf. 1 Enoch 99:15; Ps. Sol. 15:8; Matt. 7:23, 13:41). The latter two passages have been cited as proof that Matthew was polemicizing against antinomians in the early church, but more likely he is using an idiom meaning "evildoers." *See also* INJUSTICE.

Lazarus shortened form of El[e]azar (Heb., God has helped). The name of several Jews whose deaths are recorded in Jewish and Christian texts: a principal scribe martyred under Antiochus IV (2 Macc. 6:18–31); the fourth son of Mattathias the Hasmonean, who dies in battle (1 Macc. 6:43–46); a beggar whose death and ascent to paradise are the subject of a parable of Jesus (Luke 16:19–31); the brother of Mary and Martha of Bethany whom Jesus raises (John 11). The latter two are joined by the common theme of resurrection from the dead (cf. Luke 16:27–31), and the Hebrew name may be implied in their deliverance from death.

lease, rabbinic law of In the rental of land, rabbinic sources recognize as legitimate both fixed payments in produce and share-rental for a percentage of the crop. Houses and shops were rented for cash. A rental was considered a sale for a limited term, either specified or implied. Local rules governed the details of leases.

leaven (Heb.: *ḥametz*) grain that is leavened, which is forbidden for use on Passover

leaves major motif in Jewish art, especially grape leaves, ivy leaves, acanthus leaves, oak leaves, and olive leaves. The wreath or crown in a circlet is depicted realistically, that is, woven of olive leaves or ivy. Repeated leaf symbols appear on many flat surfaces in tomb art, on ossuaries and sarcophagi, in synagogue art, and on lamps and coins. Rosettes are formed of petals or leaves. Olive and ivy leaves appear on ossuaries of the first and second centuries C.E. Ivy leaves are known from sarcophagi and are painted on walls of tombs, particularly in Jewish funerary art from the catacombs of ancient Rome. These representations are usually heart-shaped. Leaves appear rarely on lamps of Palestine, except for the grape leaf or grapevine. Some kind of repeated leaf design appears in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Jericho. Of course coins that depict the leaf of the grapevine are to be associated with Herod Antipas, the First Jewish Revolt, and also the Bar Kokhba Revolt. A simple, upright acanthus leaf is occasionally present in funerary art. The acanthus leaf forms the curls of the Corinthian capital, though this is not distinctive Jewish art. Other such leaves are a normal and ordinary part of popular decoration, but share this function with the rest of the Graeco-Roman world.

Leg. *see* DE LEGATIONE AD GAIUM

legalism overattention to details of the law. The term has flourished in Christian theological literature as a pithy description of postbiblical Judaism that has been colored by anti–Roman Catholic tendencies of Protestant New Testament exegetes. Evidence for legalism is found in New Testament texts like Matthew 23 and is supported by a reading of the Mishnah and Talmud that ignores their "archival" character as compilations of rabbinic opinions. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha contain long stretches of text where appeals to righteous conduct are implicit or explicit in narratives and wisdom genres without reference to the details of the Torah's ordinances and the circumstances of their fulfillment.

Leg. All. *see* LEGUM ALLEGORIARUM

legate Roman provincial governor of the senatorial rank. Larger provinces, such as Syria, were ruled by a former consul and others by a former praetor. *See also* GOVERNOR.

Legum Allegoriarum the treatise *Allegorical Interpretation,* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *L.A.* or *Leg. All.* The work consists of three books, each giving an allegorical explanation of a section of Genesis (2:1–3:19). Book 1 covers Genesis 2:1–17; Book 2 analyzes Genesis 2:18–3:1; and Book 3 explains Genesis 3:8–19.

Leo emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (r. 457–474 C.E.). In 474 he recognized the occupation of the Island of Jotaba by Amorcessus, a Persian, and Amorcessus's expulsion of the Byzantine customs collectors, his levying of tolls on the ships passing along the Gulf of Elat, and his policy of leaving the community of Jewish merchants on the island unmolested.

Leontius convert to Judaism. According to Jacob, Leontius was a deacon and an ascetic in Acre, Palestine. After the Jews captured Acre in 614 C.E., they arrested and tortured Leontius, and he converted. Eventually, he met an old man sitting by the synagogue. During their conversation, Jacob reports, the sage quoted Matthew 10:33. Becoming distraught because he had denied Jesus, Leontius climbed the city walls and threw himself to his death in the sea. Jacob notes that the Jews were very upset because they had lost one of their own.

Leontopolis, Temple at Jewish temple built in the Heliopolitan nome of Egypt at what is now Tell el-Yehudiyeh. Josephus attributes this temple to Onias III (*War* 7.420–25) and to Onias IV (*Ant.* 13.62–73); the latter is probably correct. This temple, built c. 160 B.C.E., apparently served only the Jewish military garrison at Leontopolis, Egyptian Jewry in general remaining loyal to the Jerusalem Temple. The Leontopolis temple was destroyed by the Romans about 73 C.E.

leprosy (Heb.: *tzaraat*) the skin ailment described in Leviticus, chapters 13–14. Since the condition is described as affecting fabrics and wood and stone in the walls of houses as much as the skin of human beings, it is certainly not Hansen's disease (also referred to as leprosy).

lēstēs (Gr., robber, bandit) The term could designate an actual robber; however, it is often used in Josephus and elsewhere in reference to "social bandits" (those forced into brigandage by oppressive taxation and land seizure) and revolutionaries. Thus, one person's "bandit" might be another's "freedom fighter." *See also* BANDIT.

Levi Jacob's third son by Leah (Gen. 29:34). In the biblical narrative, Moses and Aaron were descendants of Levi, and through Aaron the dignity of the Israelite priesthood was accorded to the tribe of Levi, the Levites. As ancestor of the priesthood, Levi is assigned a special role in later Jewish literature. He is described as a visionary to whom the rituals of priesthood are revealed (Aramaic Test. Levi, 4QTLevi) and to whom one should listen because he knows the laws of God (Test. Reuben 6:7–8); he is depicted as a prophet who knows the unspeakable mysteries of God (Joseph and Asenath 22:11–13) and who hands on the book of mysteries given to Noah by angels (Sefer haRazim 12). Most known in the Bible for his and Simeon's attack and extermination of the men of Shechem for the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen. 34), Levi is frequently justified for his action, which is seen not as an act of vengeance, but as an act of punishment willed by God (Jdt. 9:2; Jub. 30:6–7; Test. Levi 5:1–5, 6:8–11; Theodotus, frg. 6). The unrighteousness of the Shechemites is stressed since they had attacked Sarah and Rebecca earlier and had persecuted Abraham (Test. Levi 6:8–10; Theodotus, frg. 7). Only 4 Maccabees 2:19 blames Simeon and Levi for acting out of a rage not controlled by reason. On the other hand, Levi's action at Shechem becomes the reason why he is chosen for the priesthood, as he will uphold the law against intermarriage (Jub. 30:18–20). Elsewhere he is portrayed as a great warrior (Test. Judah 5; Joseph and Asenath 23:14–15, 27:6) and as self-controlled: Joseph and Asenath portrays him as restraining Simeon's anger (23:7–9) and as interceding for the life of Pharaoh's son and those of Jacob's sons by concubines (29–29). A messiah will come forth from Levi as from Judah (Test. Simeon 7), parallel to the messiahs of Aaron and of Israel found in the Qumran literature.

Levi, Testament of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Its narrative section emphasizes Levi's divine call to the priesthood (chaps. 1–9). Chapters 14–18 are a historical summary that highlights the sins of the Jerusalem priesthood, which will be overcome with the appearance of an eschatological priest, described in part in language traditionally applied to the Davidic king (18:2–7; cf. Isa. 11:2–9).

In its present form, the Testament is an explicitly Christian component of a Christian collection. Chapter 10 refers to Jesus' crucifixion, and 18:6–12 reads like a description of Jesus' baptism and temptation (cf. Mark 1:9–11).

Different from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as a collection, there is clear evidence that the Testament of Levi has drawn heavily on Jewish traditions. The Cairo Geniza contained a medieval Aramaic manuscript of a Levi Testament. The Qumran caves have yielded fragments of several Aramaic manuscripts of a Levi apocryphon, one of which contains a passage that was interpolated, in Greek translation, into a manuscript of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs at Testament of Levi 1:3. The account of Levi's ascent to heaven at Abel-Main (near Mount Hermon) draws on the tradition about Enoch's ascent in 1 Enoch 12–16. Aspects of the narratives about Levi's call and instruction for the priesthood are paralleled in Jubilees 30–32. The emphasis on an eschatological priest has important parallels at Qumran. All of this points to a Jewish prototype for the Testament, quite possibly from the third century B.C.E. This text may have underscored and justified the divine institution of the priesthood, perhaps a Levitic

priesthood, and formed a member of a triad of testaments ascribed to Levi, Qahat, and Amram. Quite possibly it criticized aspects of the Jerusalem priesthood and featured the hope of an eschatological priest. Its composition can be placed in circles of pious Jews ancestral to the Qumran community. *See also* AMRAM, TESTAMENT OF; QAHAT, TESTAMENT OF; TWELVE PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE.

Leviathan mythological sea serpent, often associated with the land monster Behemoth. In Canaanite mythology, Leviathan (Lothan) is a twisting serpent with seven heads. Psalms 74:14 describes God's crushing of Leviathan's heads, an allusion to ancient Near Eastern creation myths centered on conquest of the chaos monsters (cf. Ps. 89:9–10, 104:26; Job 3:8, 7:12, 26:12–13; Jub. 2:11). In Job 41, a description of Leviathan's might counters Job's bold questioning of God, Leviathan's creator. In 2 Baruch 29:4 and 4 Ezra 6:49–51, Leviathan and Behemoth are created on the fifth day with the rest of the sea creatures, and they will be eaten at an eschatological banquet. 1 Enoch 60:7–10 claims that Leviathan is female and Behemoth is male. Revelation uses imagery associated with Leviathan and Behemoth to depict cosmic evil forces supporting the Roman Empire. The dragon representing Satan has seven heads (Rev. 12:3), as does the beast from the sea representing the Roman Empire (Rev. 13:1; cf. 17:3).

Levi b. Sisi Palestinian authority active in the late second and early third centuries C.E., at the nexus of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods; a student of Judah the Patriarch. In the Babylonian Talmud, he generally is cited without the patronymic; in both Talmuds, his name appears without the title of "rabbi." This distinguishes him from the amora Levi II.

levir the surviving brother of a childless, deceased man. The levir is required either to marry his sister-in-law, that is, enter into levirate marriage, or to undertake the rite of removing the shoe (Heb.: *ḥalitzah*). *See also* RITE OF REMOVING THE SHOE.

Levitas of Yabneh Tannaitic authority, apparently of the early second century C.E. He is cited in the Mishnah only at M. Abot 4:4, where he states: "Be exceedingly humble, for the hope of humanity is the worm."

Levites caste of Temple acolytes and singers; *see also* LEVI

Leviticus, Targum to *see* ONKELOS, TARGUM, PALESTINIAN TARGUMS

Leviticus Rabbah compilation of comments on episodic verses of the Book of Leviticus, formed into thirty-seven propositional composites. In contrast to Genesis Rabbah, a verse-by-verse commentary, the paramount and dominant exegetical construction in Leviticus Rabbah is the base-verse/intersecting verse exegesis. A verse of Leviticus is cited (the base-verse), and then a verse from one of the other books, such as Job, Proverbs, Kohelet, or Psalms, is cited. The latter, not the former, is subjected to detailed and systematic exegesis. But the exegetical exercise ends up by leading the intersecting verse back to the base-verse and reading the latter in terms of the former.

The principal propositions are as follows. God loves Israel, so He gave it the Torah, which defines its life and also governs its welfare. Israel is alone in its category, so that which is a virtue to Israel is a vice to the nations, and that which is life-giving to Israel is poison to the Gentiles. True, Israel sins, but God forgives that sin, having punished the nation on account of it. Such a process has yet to come to an end, but it will culminate in Israel's complete regeneration. Meanwhile, Israel's assurance of God's love lies in the numerous expressions of special concern for even the humblest and most ordinary aspects of the national life: the food the nation eats and the sexual practices by which it procreates. These life-sustaining, life-transmitting activities draw God's special interest, as a mark of his general love for Israel. Israel then is supposed to achieve its life in conformity with the marks of God's love. These indications also signify the character of Israel's difficulty, namely, subordination to the nations in general, and to the fourth kingdom, Rome, in particular. Both food laws and skin diseases stand for the nations. There is yet another category of sin, also collective and generative of collective punishment, and that is social. The moral character of Israel's life, the treatment of people by one another, and the practice of gossip and small-scale thuggery draw down divine penalties.

The nation's fate therefore corresponds to its moral condition. The moral condition, however, emerges not only from the current generation. Israel's richest hope lies in the merit of the ancestors, and thus in the scriptural record of the merits attained by the founders of the nation, those who originally brought it into being and gave it life. The world to come upon the nation is so portrayed as to restate these same propositions. Merit overcomes sin, and performing religious duties or supererogatory acts of kindness will win merit for the nation that does them. Israel will be saved at the end of time, and the age, or world, to follow will be exactly the opposite of this one.

Lex Talionis (Lat., the law of retaliation) a principle of retribution graphically stated in Deuteronomy 19:21: "It shall be life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." The principle reappears in apocalyptic literature in the woes in 1 Enoch 92–105, which envision God as the one who enacts punishment whose form is appropriate to the nature of the sin (94:6, 7, 8; 96:6). Thus, one is requited according to one's deeds (95:5). This latter shorthand appears in Psalms of Solomon 2:16, 34 and such New Testament judgment contexts as Romans 2:6, 2 Corinthians 5:10, and Revelation 20:13. A more positive form of the notion of appropriate recompense occurs in Matthew 5:7: "Blessed are the merciful, for they will obtain mercy" (cf. Luke 6:36). The Lex Talionis is explicitly rejected in Matthew 5:38–42, where Jesus counsels nonretaliation. The context may suggest that such action increases the culpability of the sinner, who will face God's wrath at the final judgment (5:43–45, cf. Rom. 12:19–21 and 1QS 10:17–20). Christian apocalypses from the Byzantine and medieval periods recount tours of hell, where sinners suffer in ways appropriate to their sins. *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

Libanius (314–393 C.E.) Greek rhetorician, born in Antioch. His surviving speeches, letters, autobiography, and numerous other works evidence many of the ideals of the non-Christian Greek urban upper class of late antiquity. His wealthy father sent him to study in Athens for four years. He taught rhetoric in Constantinople and Nicomedia. In 354, he returned to Antioch to take the official chair of rhetoric. It is likely that John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzus were among his pupils. A friend of the emperor Julian, Libanius is a major source of information about the Palestinian patriarchate at the end of the fourth century. His letters from 388 to 393 reflect the cordial relationships between Jews and non-Jews after Julian's death. They indicate that the patriarch was educated in Greek culture and that his sons studied at Berytus under Libanius and one of his pupils. They claim that the patriarch was the leader of the Jews in the whole empire and that he appointed the archons of the Jewish communities. He writes that the decisions of the Jewish courts were accepted only if approved by the patriarch.

libation an offering of liquid poured out as a sacrifice. Libations served in the Israelite cult as an additional "pleasing odor" (Num. 15:7) alongside the offering burned on the altar. They were included with the daily offering (Exod. 29:40–41), with the Sabbath offering (Num. 28:9), with the offering for the New Moon (Num. 28:14), at other points in the festival calendar, and in some specified rites, for example, those of the Nazirite (Num. 6:17). In the rabbinic literature, libations made to pagan gods receive special attention, since rabbis assumed that, given any opportunity, a Gentile would pour out an offering of wine and thereby render the rest of the jug or vat forbidden for Israelite consumption.

Libertines Acts 6:9 mentions a synagogue of the Libertines (Gr.: *synagogos tōn libertinōn*). The meaning is most likely "synagogue of the freedmen"; that is, it was (allegedly) made up of a group of Jews freed from slavery. Whether such a synagogue existed before 70 C.E. is debatable.

Lies, Man of an opponent of the Teacher of Righteousness (the inspired leader of the group of Jewish sectaries who lived at Qumran). The Man of Lies (also known as Spouter of Lies, Liar, or Scoffer) appears in the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk Commentary, where he appears along with the Teacher as a leader in an already existing group in the early second century B.C.E. His quarrel with the Teacher concerned halakhic matters of purity, justice, and ritual (including the proper calendar). The Man of Lies led a breakaway congregation from the Teacher; in the Dead Sea Scrolls, this congregation was called the Seekers after Smooth Things, usually identified with the Pharisees. The Man of Lies' quarrel with the Teacher may have precipitated the Teacher's move to Qumran.

life, eternal (Heb.: *ḥay olam*; Gr.: *zōē aiōnios*) life of fabulous length or without end, appropriate to the new age (*olam, aiōn*). The first occurrences of this term in Jewish literature refer to the immortal, spiritual state of the heavenly watchers (1 Enoch 15:4, 6), who do not need progeny to perpetuate themselves. Although the expression is not used, 1 Enoch 5:6–9, 10:17, and 25:4–6, drawing on the imagery of Isaiah 65:17–25, promise that the righteous in the new age will live fabulously long lives on a renewed earth, as the patriarchs did in primordial times. Daniel 12:2 also alludes to Isaiah 65, and it is not clear that the "eternal life" promised to the resurrected righteous is an endless rather than a very long life. The heavenly exaltation of the wise teachers in Daniel 12:3, however, may posit a kind of astral immortality for these leaders of Israel. As "eternal life" is combined with terms like immortality and incorruption (4 Maccabees, Joseph and Asenath), and heaven rather than earth is seen as the locus of blessing, an everlasting overcoming

of death appears to be indicated. Especially noteworthy in the New Testament is John's use of the term. In a world characterized by sin and dominated by the devil, those who believe in Jesus have already passed from death and possess the eternal life that is appropriate to the existence that awaits them in heaven (John 3:16, 5:24, 11:25–26, 14:1–3). The idea parallels texts like Joseph and Asenath and the Qumran Hymns. *See also* IMMORTALITY, INCORRUPTION.

life after death *see* AFTERLIFE; LIFE, ETERNAL

light and darkness This pair of opposites and each of its two elements occur frequently in biblical Jewish thought, where they have both literal and figurative meanings. In their figurative sense, the pair normally depicts a valuative dualism, in which "light" represents positive entities, and "darkness" represents those entities' negative opposites.

The Hebrew Bible furnishes many paradigms for light and darkness that become normative in later Judaism. In the Bible, light is generally a symbol of knowledge, life, hope, goodness, joy, and the presence of God. God is the bestower of light, and its qualities and benefits express God's constant presence in and concern for the world. The first explicit creation of God (Gen. 1:3), light established a contraposition to the primordial darkness. Darkness, on the other hand, represents evil, sin, foolishness, desolation, gloom, ignorance, the underworld, and, generally, God's absence.

Intertestamental Jewish literature maintains these biblical images of light and darkness and introduces three new elements into their use that begin to reflect some of the broader transformations in ideology, cosmology, and eschatology that characterize Second Temple Judaism. First, there is an increasing evocation of a dualism that is not only temporal and valuative but also spatial and ontological. For example, 1 Enoch states that some human spirits are "born of light" while others are "born in darkness" (108:11). According to 2 Baruch 17–18, Adam spread darkness on the earth, whereas Moses and the law gave light. This dualistic characterization is especially evident in the sectarian literature from Qumran, where the "two spirits" of truth and falsehood govern the "children of light" and "children of darkness," respectively (see especially 1QS 3–4).

Second, each of the elements in the dualism becomes more absolute. In Wisdom of Solomon 7:26, wisdom is a "reflection of eternal light." 1 Enoch 58:3 locates the elect "in the light of eternal life." In Tobit 14:10, Nadab goes into "eternal darkness." Philo, especially, tends to idealize the quality of light, emphasizing the contrast between perfect, divine light and everyday, earthly light.

Third, images of light and darkness are used increasingly in eschatological contexts. One theme is that the coming of the eschaton will result in darkness in the natural world (e.g., Test. Mos. 10:5). Another is that, after the eschatological judgment, the elect will enter a realm of light, while the damned will go into darkness (e.g., 1 Enoch 108:12–14). A third motif is that the final eschatological situation will be one of eternal light (e.g., 4 Ezra 7:42).

Images of light and darkness are also common in early Christian literature, especially in their juxtaposition as a contrastive rhetorical device, indicating either two states of being in the world or two cosmological realms (e.g., Matt. 6:22–23; 2 Cor. 6:14). In the Gospel of John, Jesus is the paradigmatic light, God's force of illumination in the world (e.g., 1:4–9). Other important motifs are the characterization of Christians as "children of light" (e.g., 1 Thess. 5:5) and the notion that the present world order is dominated by darkness (e.g., Eph. 6:12). *See also* DUALISM.

Lilith female demon who, according to legend, endangers women in childbirth and kills newborn children. The sole reference to Lilith in scripture includes her among the wild animals and harmful spirits that will inhabit the ruins of the land on "the Lord's day of retribution."

lion **1.** a major literary motif in Jewish and Christian writings. Lions were common in Palestine in antiquity. The Bible and early Jewish and Christian literature refer frequently to lions, both in literal and metaphorical senses. In the Bible, the image of the lion is generally that of a strong, bold, and cruel predator. The lion is sometimes characterized as the most powerful of the animals (Prov. 30:30), thus having royal qualities. In the ideal future age as described in the Book of Isaiah, lions will be either absent (35:9) or tame (65:25).

Metaphorically, in a positive sense, kings (1 Macc. 3:4; Apoc. Elijah 2:7) and even God (Job 10:16; Hos. 13:7) are compared to lions. Leonine characteristics are also ascribed to the Messiah (Rev. 5:5; 4 Ezra 11:36–12:35; cf. Gen. 49:9). The awesome, semidivine qualities of the lion are evident in symbolic treatments in Ezekiel 1:10, 10:14, and Revelation 4:7.

In a negative metaphorical sense, the apocalyptic beasts in Daniel 7:4, Revelation 9:8, and 13:2 have lionlike features. Joseph and Asenath 12:9 and 1 Peter 5:8 describe the devil as a lion.

2. a major motif in Jewish visual art for many centuries. Lions figure in the decoration of the Second Temple, according to written tradition. A late story tells that eighty-two virgins sewed the veils of the Temple twice a year, and upon these veils they embroidered lions and eagles (M. Shekalim 7.5; T. Shekalim 51b). In any case, lions figure strongly in synagogue art, where they occur both in relief and modeled in the round. Most commonly in synagogue art, a pair of lions appears flanking the Torah shrine and the menorah. This is so in the Beth Alpha mosaic floor and at Maon in its floor. The actual pediment of a Torah shrine found at Nabratein featured two lions in high relief on top, and they were not simply symmetrical. In gold glass depictions of Torah shrines from the Jewish catacombs of Rome, lions appear on either side of the shrine. On the other hand, the lion may be paired with another animal to flank an item of interest. For example, at Beth Alpha a lion and a bull flank the dedicatory inscription. Two lions flank the inscription at Hammat-Gader. Also, notably on sarcophagi, lions or lionesses flank objects of interest, for example, a bull's head and a vase at Beth Shearim. Lions modeled in the round are known from Chorazin, Baram, and Capernaum, all in the Galilee, and at Baram two were found. The lions or lionesses are typically depicted in body profile, either gazing straight ahead at the object of interest or with heads turned looking at the observer. It is notable that the lion never appears on Jewish coins, on ossuaries, or in early funerary art. The motif seems to be part of late Roman and Byzantine Jewish art.

listes *see* LĒSTĒS

literalists a group of Bible interpreters mentioned by Philo of Alexandria. They evidently interpreted according to the letter of the text, as opposed to using allegory, as many did; however, their "literal" interpretation is often not literal in the modern sense, but extends the plain meaning of the text.

literary genres, in Second Temple literature Contemporary biblical studies have emphasized the importance of literary form as a means of interpreting a text and gaining some insight into its function in the society for which it was created. The various literary forms and genres in which Jewish religious texts of the Graeco-Roman period were cast reflect the rich complexity of the culture that generated them. Especially in their differences from their biblical prototypes, they attest new religious and intellectual developments in the Second Temple period.

Narratives may be divided into two types. Some stories are loosely tied to biblical times, places, and characters (Tobit, Judith, Daniel 1–6, Bel and the Dragon, and Susanna). Others are aggadic elaborations of biblical texts, which reflect a developing tendency to interpret sacred tradition in light of contemporary events and concerns. Taken together, these narratives embody the belief that God's activity touches individual human lives and that one's fellow Israelites provide examples to be emulated or eschewed. Although *biblical* narratives celebrate the virtues of Israel's heroes and heroines and criticize their flaws, the narrative emphasis in later texts on example that is explicit reflects parallel trends in gentile literature of the period.

The genre of *testament* epitomizes the tendency to emphasize virtues and vices, and its postbiblical exemplars differ from their biblical prototypes (Gen. 49 and Deut. 33) in the emphasis on ethical instruction, which is sometimes presented through a combination of narrative, exhortation, and eschatological prophecy. The attribution of testaments to venerable figures of the past adds weight to the authority of their exhortation.

Works of *history* like 1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* and *The Jewish War* supply important information that provides a context for other literary material stemming from the Graeco-Roman period, although the data must be sifted in order to filter out an individual author's bias. 1 Maccabees is a piece of political propaganda that legitimizes the Hasmonean priesthood by claiming that Mattathias and his sons were God's chosen deliverers of Israel and by telling the story in the idiom of biblical history. Taking a totally different tack, the author of 2 Maccabees minimizes the Hasmoneans' accomplishments and uses the Deuteronomic historical scheme to explain Israel's sufferings, recounting the story in the idiom of contemporary Hellenistic historiography. Both texts emphasize God's ongoing activity, as judge and redeemer, in the events of Israel's recent past.

Wisdom instruction abounds in the literature of this period. Its most obvious example is Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Joshua ben Sira (Sirach). Analogous to the canonical Book of Proverbs, this text attests the ongoing creation and collection of proverbs. However, the book differs from its canonical prototype in at least two major respects. It explicitly identifies heavenly Wisdom and the Torah (chap. 24), and it demonstrates an interest in the events of Israel's history (chaps. 44–49; see also the prayer in chap. 36). Proverbial wisdom appears in other literary genres as well: the narrative Book

of Tobit (4:5–21); the ethical sections of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; the exhortations in the apocalyptic collection of 1 Enoch (chaps. 91, 94). The Wisdom of Solomon and 4 Maccabees, on the other hand, expound wisdom in the form of a *philosophy* that is beholden to contemporary eclectic Greek traditions.

The most innovative literary genre in the Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman period is the *apocalypse*. This class of texts synthesizes features of the wisdom and prophetic traditions, presenting them as revelations mediated by heavenly beings through human agents identified as heroes from Israel's past (e.g., Abraham, Moses, Baruch, Ezra, Daniel, and Zephaniah), or more radically, the primordial patriarch Enoch. Perhaps the major concern of the pseudonymous apocalypticists is the assurance of God's justice and power in a world that the faithful experience as devoid of divine justice and power. Myths about the origins of evil and its eschatological defeat, visions of the future and revealed summaries of Israel's history down to the present time, and revelations of the structures of the universe all serve to comfort and encourage readers during times of persecution, oppression, and other political, social, and religious upheaval.

Eschatological awareness, rooted in the prophetic tradition, is expressed in the *pesharim,* commentaries on biblical books composed by the community at Qumran. Written at a time when the prophetic writings had achieved canonical status, these texts explicate, verse by verse, how the ancient oracles are being fulfilled in the contemporary events of the community.

Psalms, hymns, and *prayers* were composed as expressions of Jewish piety in the Graeco-Roman period. Prayers of confession could serve as acts of repentance intended to return God's blessing to a nation thought to be suffering the curses of the covenant (Daniel 9, Prayer of Azariah, 1 Baruch 1–3). Hymns of praise might also express such contrition as they envisioned the restoration of Zion's glory (Tobit 13). The Psalms of Solomon are heavily didactic and emphasize the righteousness of God's judgment. The Qumran hymns recount the suffering of the righteous leaders of the community and praise God for the blessings that accrue to community's members, who have been rescued from damnation and brought into the realm of divine blessing.

These general observations notwithstanding, it is often difficult to classify Jewish literature by genre, because many texts are of mixed genres. The Book of Tobit is an extended narrative presented as a kind of testament. The Testament of Moses is an extended piece of biblical paraphrase with an apocalyptic oracle. Jubilees retells the events in Genesis 1–Exodus 12 with halakic interpolations and presents the narrative as an angelic revelation. The Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of Abraham combine narrative and revelation mediated by angels. 1 Enoch contains an introductory oracle, mythic narrative, a prophetic call story, cosmic journeys interpreted by angels, prayers, dream visions, historical summaries, and proverbial sentences, as well as woes, exhortations, and predictions of the future that parallel prophetic texts. Torah can be taught through biblical paraphrase, proverbial instruction, accounts of journeys to the heavens, halakic expansions of biblical laws, and manuals of community rules.

A study of literary form is instructive in many ways for an understanding of the multiple facets of Jewish life in the Graeco-Roman period, but such analysis of form and genre must avoid oversimplifications, be sensitive to the unique contours of individual texts, and avoid rash conclusions about the settings and functions of the texts. *See also* AGGADAH; APOCALYPSES; PROPHECY, FULFILLMENT OF; TESTAMENT; WISDOM LITERATURE.

literature, rabbinic writings produced by sages who bore the title of honor "rabbi," meaning "my lord" or "sir," in the first seven centuries C.E. These writings include the Mishnah, a philosophical law code, promulgated c. 200 C.E., which was the first document of the oral Torah; the Tosefta, completed c. 250 C.E., a set of supplements to the Mishnah; the tractate Abot (The Fathers; The Founders), a collection of wise sayings; and two Talmuds, which amplified and explained the rules of the Mishnah: the Talmud of the Land of Israel (Heb.: Talmud Yerushalmi), completed c. 400 C.E., and the Talmud of Babylonia (Heb.: Talmud Babli), completed c. 600 C.E. In addition to the rabbinic documents that commented on the Mishnah, compilations of exegeses of scripture, the written Torah, were made. These were in three main groups. The first was made up of verse-by-verse comments on scripture, specifically, Mekhilta Attributed to R. Ishmael, which deals with the book of Exodus; Sifra, which concerns Leviticus; Sifrei to Numbers; and Sifrei to Deuteronomy, all compiled c. 250–350 C.E. The second group, compiled c. 400–500 C.E., involved the presentation, through citations of verses of scripture, of propositions and principles proved by the facts of scripture; this group includes Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah and Pesikta deRab Kahana, which is organized around

the special Sabbaths of the year. The third group, compiled c. 500–600 C.E., systematically set forth broad principles of theology through reading from a single perspective the verses of scripture; it comprises Song of Songs Rabbah, Ruth Rabbah, Lamentations Rabbati, and Esther Rabbah I, which covers Esther 1–2.

liturgy the public, fixed activity of worship. The term is sometimes limited specifically to words (hymns, prayers, readings) that form part of such worship, but it is often used much more broadly to include all elements of action, dress, movement, and setting. Liturgy is distinguished from individual private and spontaneous acts of devotion and prayer.

In Judaism prior to 70 B.C.E., the central liturgical activity was the offering of sacrifices at the Temple in Jerusalem. Sacrifices were offered by the priests and Levites twice a day (morning and afternoon), with additional sacrifices offered for feasts and other needs (purification and atonement) as set forth in the laws of Moses. In addition to the actual slaughter of animals and pouring of blood, liturgy involved the singing of psalms by the temple singers, the burning of incense, the blowing of trumpets, the priestly blessing, and the prostration of the people.

However, our knowledge of precisely how the Temple liturgy was carried out is very limited. The most detailed description is in the Mishnah (especially Tamid), but this was compiled circa 200 C.E. and presents a somewhat idealized and stylized picture. Of actual descriptions written before the destruction of the Temple, the most extensive is Sirach 50, which describes the actions and dress of the high priest Simon "the Just" (c. 200 B.C.E.); this poetic passage still conveys a sense of the awe and splendor of the Temple liturgy.

Scholarly opinion at present is divided about how much of a formal statutory liturgy of prayers and blessings had developed in institutions such as the synagogue prior to 70 C.E. While some scholars are hesitant to assume that there were any formal structures and texts (apart perhaps from gatherings for the reading of the Torah) while the Temple was still standing, others would date the beginning of set patterns of prayers and blessings as far back as the third century B.C.E. Some actual texts may have survived in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where we find collections of prayers and blessings for each day of the month, each day of the week, and for feasts; the language and theology of these texts suggest that they were not composed by a sectarian group but reflect more widespread developments within Judaism. Thus, they may give us a glimpse into a very early stage of what eventually became the standard synagogue liturgy.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, a few examples of texts for specific liturgies of this community are preserved. For example, in the Community Rule we find a description of the ceremony for entering the covenant, with the actual texts of the words to be said as the confession of sin, the blessings of the priests on "those of the lot of God," and the curses of the Levites on "those of the lot of Belial"; the participants share in the liturgical action with the response of "Amen, amen." Other liturgies are described for the days of the final eschatological battle (War Scroll).

Livias *see* BETH HARAM

loans *see* BORROWING

Lod ancient city in Judea known in Greek first as Lydda, later as Diospolis; mentioned in Ezra 2:23, though it is probably far older than that. In 145 B.C.E., it was placed under Hasmonean hegemony when Demetrius I gave it to Jonathan the Hasmonean. In the first half of the first century, the apostle Peter visited Lydda to call on believers there (Acts 9:32). By 68 C.E. Vespasian's proconsul in Syria, Cestius Gallus, burned Lydda in the First Jewish Revolt. Vespasian resettled Lod with Jews loyal to Rome. By the second century C.E., it was a capital of its toparchy and was given its name Diospolis (city of Zeus) by the emperor Septimius Severus. Severus went as far as to give it the honor of being designated a colony under the full name of Colonia Lucia Septimia Severia Diospolis. Diospolis minted its own coins from about 200 C.E. to about 218 C.E. Pagan themes appear on these coins: the city goddess Tyche (Fortuna), Zeus, and Demeter. Many sages are associated with this city after the destruction of the Second Temple (M. Shebiit 9:2; Y. Megillah 70a). By the fourth century C.E., George, patron saint of England, was martyred at Lod (Lydda), and his shrine was venerated there. Many tombs are known to exist in the modern town, but archaeological excavation is precluded by the density of settlement.

log (Heb., no English equivalent) dry and liquid measure. One *log* = 2 *toman* = 4 quarter-*logs* (Heb.: *rebiit*) = 6 *betzab*. A wilderness *log* (Heb.: *log midbarit*) is equivalent to 503.5 cubic centimeters (30.7 cu. in.); a Jerusalem *log* is equivalent to 699.4 cubic centimeters (39.6 cu. in.); a Sephorean *log* is equivalent to 777.4 cubic centimeters (47.4 cu. in.).

Logos literally, the Word; notion of knowable divine first principle derived from ancient Greek

philosophy that became a key theological concept in Hellenistic Judaism (especially in the thought of Philo of Alexandria), from which it was adopted by early Christianity. The Greek word *logos,* usually translated as "word," comes from the root *leg-,* meaning (1) to gather or count and (2) to speak. From the former, the noun comes to mean ratio, proportion, order; from the latter, a wider spectrum of meaning results, including (from concrete to abstract): word, saying, account, oracle, speech, conversation, dialogue, definition, argument, theory, reason, or rationality. The term is very common in Greek philosophy, signifying the cosmic order (Heraclitus), the divine principle that causes and maintains that order (the Stoics), or more generally the principle of reason or rationality in man (Plato, Aristotle).

In Jewish tradition, the term first appears in the Septuagint, where it most often translates *dabar* in the Hebrew Bible. This results in a more dynamic element not present in the ordinary Greek usage, for example, when "the word of the Lord comes" to one of his prophets. Significantly, *logos* was used to indicate God's act of creation and his maintenance of cosmic order (e.g., at Ps. 33:6 [LXX 32:6]: "By the *logos* of the Lord the heavens were established," where *logos* clearly refers to the "and God said" of Gen. 1). In Hellenistic Judaism, the cosmological and theological use of *logos* is further developed, especially through the identification of the Logos with the figure of Sophia from the Wisdom literature (e.g., at Wisd. of Sol. 9:1–2). The term thus becomes to some degree personified (hence "Logos," with a capital letter).

The concept is most prominent, however, in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, who further exploits its Greek philosophical connotations. The Logos is a theological principle: it can be described as that aspect of God that stands in relation to his creation. It is also a cosmological principle: God uses his Logos as instrument in the act of creation or as the location for its ideal blueprint or model. Finally, it is also an anthropological principle: humankind is created "according to the image" (Gen. 1:26), which is the Logos. Through their reason (*logos*), humans are related to the Logos, and thus can attain to the knowledge and vision of God (though not of his essence). Philo's conception of the Logos is not easy to interpret. Sometimes it seems primarily aspectual, virtually a metaphor for God's power and presence in the world. Sometimes it is presented as a hypostasis (self-subsistent entity), separate from God Himself. There are even a few texts (later favored by Christian readers) in which Philo calls the Logos "God's first-begotten Son" or "Man of God." In other texts, angels are described as *logoi* (plural). These divergencies are probably to be explained through the diversity of traditions in earlier Jewish tradition upon which Philo is drawing.

Because the term *logos* is tied to the use of the Greek language, its presence in Judaism is curtailed by the reduction in preserved Jewish writings in Greek after the first century C.E. An important continuation occurs in early Christian thought. In the Prologue to the Gospel of John (1:1–18), the Logos is identified with Jesus Christ as the incarnated Son of God. Such a degree of personification goes beyond anything found in Hellenistic Judaism (although Philo regards the high priest as representing the Logos). This line of theological reflection is continued in the Christian Apologists (especially Justin Martyr) and Alexandrian theologians (Clement, Origen, Arius, Athanasius).

logos protrepticus (Gr., exhortatory discourse) Probably originating with the Sophists, this type of discourse formed a well-known genre of Greek literature, whose function was both to teach and to persuade. In Jewish literature, the Wisdom of Solomon seems to fit this form.

Longinus, Gnaeus Pompeius legate of Judea, 86 C.E. Many scholars identify him with Gnaeus Aemilius Pinarius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, who was governor of Moesia Superior in 93 C.E. and of Pannonia in 98 C.E. This is the only information we have about his career.

Longinus, Pseudo- author of an anonymous work with the title *On the Sublime.* Although the writing has been identified with the Neoplatonist Longinus, this attribution is generally rejected; the work is thought to be by a writer of the first century C.E. He is of interest because he shows knowledge of the actual biblical text, one of the few non-Jews to do so (it is generally agreed that he was Greek and not Jewish). He speaks well of Moses and gives a composite quotation made up of Genesis 1:3, 9–10, in the Septuagint version. Whether he got the quotation from the Septuagint or indirectly from Jews is unknown.

Loos name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Tammuz (June/July) and sometimes to the month of Ab (July/August).

lord a designation that can be applied to any male who exercises primary authority over an individual,

a household or any other social or political unity, and that is used in an ultimate sense as a title for the biblical God who is regarded as "Lord of all the earth" (Josh. 3:11; Ps. 97:5; Mic. 4:13; Zech. 4:14, 6:5; cf. Deut. 10:14), or more comprehensively as "Lord of heaven and earth" (Gen. 24:3; Deut. 4:39; Matt. 11:25; Luke 10:21; Acts 17:24). God is Lord of heaven and earth because he both created them and owns them (Exod. 9:29; 1 Chron. 9:29). Similar titles were attributed to other ancient deities; the Babylonian god Enlil, for example, was also called "Lord of the earth." The English word "lord," however, is used to translate three Hebrew terms in the Old Testament: *adon, adonai,* and YHWH (Yahweh). *Adon* means lord, master when applied to persons in authority (Gen. 45:8–9; Deut. 10:17; Judg. 19:26–27; 1 Sam. 29:8), and is occasionally used for God (Exod. 23:17, 34:23; Josh 3:11, 13). *Adonai,* on the other hand, is a plural form based on *adon,* but is used exclusively for God and is often used as a parallel to YHWH (Gen. 15:2, 8; Josh. 7:7; Isa. 25:8) or as a substitute for it (Isa. 13:17; Amos 7:7–8, 9:1; Ezek. 18:25). The most important divine title in the Hebrew Bible is YHWH (referred to as the Tetragrammaton because it consists of four consonants), regularly translated Lord, but transliterated as either Jehovah or more accurately as Yahweh. Yahweh is the personal name for the God of Israel and is never used of any other human or divine being. Sometime during the Second Temple period (i.e., after 516 C.E.), the practice arose during the public reading of the Torah of avoiding the audible pronunciation of YHWH because of its great sanctity (see Lev. 24:16), by substituting *adonai* (Lord) or *elohim* (God). Sometime during the Middle Ages the correct pronunciation of the name was lost. The sanctity of YHWH is reflected in the fact that it is frequently referred to as the Name or the Holy Name (Gen. 4:26; Exod. 6:3; Isa. 12:4; Jer. 10:16; Ezek. 20:39, 36:20; Mal. 1:11). This practice persists in Judaism to the present day. Attempts to explain the etymology of YHWH go back to Exodus 3:14. It is likely that YHWH is a causative formation from the verb *hyh,* to be, which may have originated as a shortened form, or hypocoristicon, of the phrase "YHWH El" (El [God] creates). In early Hebrew poetry YHWH is frequently depicted as a divine warrior.

In the New Testament, the term "Lord" is used as a translation of the Greek words *kyrios* and *despotês. Despotês* (lord, master) is used for people in authority (2 Tim. 2:21; 1 Pet. 2:18), for Christ (2 Pet. 2:1; Jude 4), and God (frequently in the Septuagint; Luke 2:29; Acts 4:24; Rev. 6:10). The most important word translated as "Lord" in the New Testament is *kyrios,* which occurs over seven hundred times. It is used as a term of respect meaning sir (Matt. 8:6, 21; John 4:11), as well as for people in authority (Matt. 20:8; Luke 13:8), for God (Matt. 5:33; Luke 1:6; Acts 7:33; James 1:7), and most frequently for Christ (1 Cor. 12:3, 16:22; Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11; Rev. 11:18), often in the compound forms of Lord Jesus or Lord Jesus Christ (Jude 17; 2 Pet. 1:8). When citing or alluding to Old Testament passages originally referring to YHWH or Adonai, early Christians regularly used the term *kyrios,* by which they mean Jesus (Mark 1:3; Acts 2:34; Rom. 10:13; Heb. 1:10), though it is sometimes unclear whether Jesus or God is meant (Acts 9:312; 1 Cor. 4:19; 2 Cor. 8:21; 1 Thess. 4:6). Surviving Jewish manuscripts of the Septuagint indicate that Jews themselves did not translate YHWH with *kyrios,* but either transliterated the Tetragrammaton or left it untranslated. *See also* GOD, NAMES OF.

Lot Haran's son; Abraham's nephew. He migrated to Canaan with Abraham. Their herdsmen quarreled over land, and they parted company; Lot later settled in Sodom (Gen. 13). When Lot was captured by Mesopotamian kings, Abraham rescued him (Gen. 14). Lot showed hospitality to two angels who visited him, and then tried to protect them from the Sodomites. When God destroyed Sodom, Lot was rescued. Lot's daughters got him drunk and committed incest with him (Gen. 19). They gave birth to Moab, ancestor of the Moabites, and Ben-Ammi, ancestor of the Ammonites. Jubilees 16:8–9 blames the incest on father and daughters both, and says that God will remove Lot's seed from the earth.

Later tradition is divided in its attitude to Lot. Rabbinic material often judges him negatively, and sees anything positive about him as due to his association with Abraham. In the Genesis Apocryphon, Abraham weeps when he hears that Lot has been captured (see Test. Abr. 5:13, 6:5). Jubilees 16:7 claims that Lot was saved because God remembered Abraham. In 2 Peter 2:7–9, Lot is righteous and is tormented by the Sodomites' iniquity. He is an example of how God saves the righteous. The story of Lot is also used to show the sureness of God's punishment, apart from any judgment on Lot himself (Sir. 16:8; Luke 17:28–32).

love translates several Hebrew words, including *ahaḇah* and *ḥesed* (the latter of which is also translated "grace"). The Tanakh (or Old Testament) speaks of "love" in erotic relationships (see especially the Song of Songs), and family life (Ruth 4:15). The words for love have a further sense not

carried by the English word but common in the ancient Near East, namely loyalty in political relationships (e.g., treaties). When it describes the relationship between God and Israel, "love" reflects both the political and the familial usages. The classic summary of biblical faith in Deut 6:4–5, the Shema, includes the commandment, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your soul, and with all your heart, and with all your might." Here "love" designates Israel's loyal fulfillment of her obligations to God, as set forth in the Sinai covenant. "Love" refers more to action than to emotion, and the language of political treaties forms the background. Images from the realm of familial love are especially prominent in Hosea. The prophet describes God's love for his covenant people as that of a husband for his wife (3:1) and a father for his child: "When Israel was a child I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son" (11:1). God's election of Israel and his deliverance of his people from its enemies are viewed as special signs of his love. Hosea uses his own love for his adulterous wife Gomer to exemplify God's love for his people, which endures despite Israel's constant seeking after other "lovers" (meaning worshiping other gods; 2:7). While many texts describe the gracious, forgiving nature of God's love (Exod. 34:6–7), it is not unconditional (Exod. 20:5–6), nor is it to be taken for granted. God's freedom is maintained.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls the language of love and hate is used to contrast the sectarians, the Essenes, with those outside. Humanity is divided into two camps, those who follow the spirit of darkness and those who follow the spirit of light: God "loves everlastingly" the spirit of light but "hates forever" the "ways" of the spirit of darkness (1QS 3:26–4:1). Members of the community are commanded to love what God chooses and to hate what God rejects (1QS 1:3, 1QH 14:12).

Love figures prominently in the New Testament; some form of the Greek term *agapē* occurs in every book (the verb *phileo* also is used). Of Jesus' teachings on love, two have been especially influential: his command to love one's enemies (Matt. 5:44) and his summary of the law (Matt. 22:37–40) by citing the commandments to love God (Deut. 6:5) and "to love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19:18). A similar summary, a negative paraphrase of Leviticus 19:18, was made by Jesus' near contemporary Rabbi Hillel (died c. 10 C.E.): "Whatever is hateful to you, do it not unto your fellow. This is the essence of the Torah, the rest being just its corollary" (B. Shab. 31a; cf. Jub. 36:4–7, which combines Lev. 19:18 with the command to fear God in Deut. 6:13). Paul declares that love is the "fulfillment of the law" (Rom. 13:8–10) and gives an extended tribute to *agapē* in 1 Corinthians 13:1–13. Love is a central theme in the Gospel of John and 1 John. The Gospel interprets the death of Jesus as a demonstration of the superabundant, self-sacrificing nature of God's love for humanity: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only son" (John 3:16, cf. 13:1, 1 John 4:9–10, Rom. 5:8). Jesus gives a "new commandment": to "love one another" (John 13:34), that is, one's fellow Christians, a command that figures prominently in the exhortation of 1 John. (Note the narrower focus in comparison with the commands to love one's neighbor or enemy). In 1 John, love is closely linked with knowledge of God (4:7), and the author even defines God as love (4:16).

Iuah *see* CALENDAR

Lucian satirical writer of the second century C.E. from Samosata (born c. 120 C.E.). He indicated that his own background was Syrian rather than Greek. He wrote mainly satirical works, with devastating mockery of those he regarded as religious impostors, but his works provide valuable information on contemporary Syrian culture and religion. He also made some references to Jews, though these are all brief and relate to magic. He refers to Jews who peddle magical spells and notes that a particular impostor would say some Hebrew or Phoenician words to fool the customers. He also mentions a "Syrian from Palestine" who exorcized evil spirits.

Lucianic recension a revision of the Septuagint, originally made around the turn of the era. Its purpose was apparently to bring the Septuagint text closer to the current Hebrew text. The earlier anonymous revision was revised around 300 C.E. by the church father Lucian of Antioch.

Lucuas leader of Jewish revolt in Cyrene in 115–117 C.E. Eusebius states that in 115 the Jews in Alexandria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica revolted against the Greeks. The Greeks fled to Alexandria where they were able to defeat the Jews. At this point the Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica joined forces and plundered the rest of Egypt. In 116 the situation developed into a war with Rome, and at this point Eusebius describes Lucuas as "a king." Whether or not this is meant to imply that the uprising had taken on a messianic tone is unclear.

Luke, Jews in the Gospel of The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles constitute a two-volume narrative that argues that God sought to bring the Gentiles to belief in God through Jesus Christ within a renewed Israel. The author is a Gentile

who does not know Palestinian geography but is acquainted with diaspora Judaism. He constantly quotes and alludes to the Bible and consciously parallels the experiences of Jesus and his early followers to biblical figures and events. He understands Jesus' call to repentance to be addressed to both Jews and Gentiles. In Acts of the Apostles, Peter and Paul both appeal first to their fellow Jews and then to Gentiles. They experience both success and failure with each group.

Luke and Acts stress the connections of Christians with Jews. Various leaders, such as Gamaliel and Pharisees, are presented as sympathetic with Jesus' followers. Some Pharisees believe in Jesus (Acts 15:5) and Paul is depicted as engaging in learned discussion with Jewish leaders at the very end of Acts. On the other hand, harsh polemics are directed against Jews who reject Jesus' reform program and against the rich and powerful who exclude the poor, repentant sinners, and Gentiles from a renewed and enlarged Israel through which all are called to be saved. The author blames the Jerusalem authorities and people for Jesus' execution (e.g., 3:13–15) and frequently calls on them to repent. Thus Acts especially has contributed to later anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism among Christians.

lulab palm branch bound with myrtle and willow, associated with the Feast of Sukkot (Tabernacles), and well represented as a major motif in Jewish art. The lulab almost always appears with the etrog, shofar, and incense shovel in Jewish art of the Roman and Byzantine periods, and especially with the menorah in synagogue art. The lulab also appears alone on coins, glass, lamps, and small artifacts. Double lulabs appear on half-shekels of the First Jewish War of Year 4, or 69 C.E. On the reverse of one of these types there is an etrog. The lulab is covered in these depictions, though on yet another type, the lulab is free of its cover and one can see that it is a bound bundle. The lulab does not appear again until the coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–135 C.E. Now the character of the lulab changes, for it appears that the exterior wrapping of limbs is trimmed at the top. On some coins the bundles of limbs are tied in such a way as to resemble an amphora. The lulab in synagogue art, namely in mosaic floors, is never so elaborately presented. In fact, it is usually a simple palm branch, though in some depictions it is tied so tightly to defy interpretation, except that it appears with shofar, etrog, incense shovel, and menorah. On a plate (about 49.5 centimeters in diameter) from Naaneh near Ramleh, the Torah shrine appears with lulabs. Further examples appear on tomb walls and sarcophagi at the Jewish catacombs of Beth Shearim. Where the Torah shrine appears, the lulab and the other cult objects also appear.

lunar calendar *see* CALENDAR

Lupus, Marcus Rutilius Egyptian prefect. In 115 C.E., the Jews of Alexandria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica rose up against the Greeks. Lupus's edict of 115 indicates that the revolt was widespread by October. Although the Greeks in Alexandria killed and imprisoned many Jews, the Cyrenaican and Egyptian Jews ravaged and plundered the rest of Egypt. The edict reports on the successful Greek reprisals against the Jews in Alexandria, but warns the Greeks to stop using their slaves and others to organize arson and murder in the city, saying that the Jews should be left to the recently arrived Roman army.

Lupus, Tiberius Julius prefect of Egypt (72–73 C.E.). In 72 some of the Sicarii (a Jewish revolutionary group) who had fled Palestine arrived in Alexandria to continue their anti-Roman activity. The Jewish community turned over to the Roman authority some six hundred Sicarii. Though he tortured them, Lupus was unable to force them to acknowledge the emperor's rule, so he executed them.

LXX *see* SEPTUAGINT

Lycinus, Publius Aelius Sempronius procurator of Palestine (198–209 C.E.). He previously had been procurator in Gaul, Dacia Porolissensis, and Egypt. He seems to have been appointed by Septimius Severus and to have continued as procurator under Caracalla. We do not have any information about his posts after leaving Palestine.

Lydda *see* LOD

Lysias Seleucid general who led expeditions against Judas Maccabeus, unsuccessfully in 165 B.C.E. and successfully in 162 B.C.E. In 162 B.C.E. he and Antiochus V lifted their siege of Jerusalem because of an attack on Antioch by the general Philip. They garrisoned Beth Zur, pulled down the fortifications in Jerusalem, and gave Jews the privilege of living according to their own laws.

Lysimachus **1.** Alexandrian writer, possibly identifiable with Lysimachus the Mythographer (fl. c. 200 B.C.E.), who wrote a book on Egypt called the *Aegyptiaca*. According to the quotations in Josephus, his work contained some gross slanders against the Jews. In Lysimachus's account the Jews were descended from impious and diseased individuals who took refuge in the Egyptian temples. These were expelled from Egypt by King Bocchoris at the direction of the oracle of Ammon, though there is some confusion since the leprous and dis-

eased individuals were also said to have been executed. Not knowing what to do in the wilderness, the Jews lit torches and called a fast. (Although the Sabbath is not explicitly mentioned, Lysimachus may be giving here a version of its origin.) The expelled people were led north by Moses, who set himself up as leader and counseled them to show no one good will but to offer misleading advice. When they came to an inhabited land, they plundered it, showing no mercy to the native peoples, and overthrew the altars and temples. Lysimachus's account differs considerably from that of Manetho, suggesting a different tradition. Whether Apion borrowed from him is uncertain.

2. one of three influential brothers in Jerusalem in the mid-second century B.C.E. The most important brother was Menelaus, who took over the priesthood from Jason about 172 B.C.E. Lysimachus was eventually attacked and killed by the people for selling Temple vessels.

maamad one of twenty-four delegations corresponding to the priestly watches in charge of the Temple cult in Jerusalem. There were twenty-four priestly watches in charge of the Temple, and for each watch there was a delegation in Jerusalem, made up of priests, Levites, and Israelites. When the time came for a watch to go to Jerusalem, its priests and Levites accompanied it to Jerusalem, and its Israelites gathered together in their towns and studied the story of the works of creation (i.e., Gen. 1:1–2:3) day by day.

Maarib the evening prayer service. Maarib may be recited from the time when three stars become visible in the sky through midnight. In a case of special need, it may be recited as late as the beginning of the morning (M. Berakhot 1:1). In the synagogue, the Maarib service usually follows the afternoon (Minhah) prayers. This avoids the need to reconvene the prayer quorum later in the evening.

Maarib begins with a statement of God's mercy (*vehu rahum*) and the usual call to public prayer (*borkhu*). The Shema service follows. The first of the two blessings before the Shema praises God for bringing on the evening (*maarib arabim*). The second refers to God's eternal love for the Israelite nation. The Shema itself follows, comprised as always of recitation of Deuteronomy 6:4–10 and 11:13–22 and Numbers 15:37–41. The benedictions following the Shema proclaim the truth of the historical claims of Judaism (*emet veemunah*) and, finally, request God's protection, both during the night and through life in general (*hashkibenu*). The Eighteen Benedictions (Amidah) follow. In contrast to the rule for the morning and afternoon prayers, even when Maarib is recited by a prayer quorum, these benedictions are not repeated by the leader.

The title Maarib derives from the first of the blessings before the evening Shema. In the talmudic literature, this service is called Tefillat Arabit (evening prayer). Since there had been no evening offering in the Temple, talmudic authorities deemed the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions in the evening to be voluntary. In place of these benedictions, they followed the evening Shema with a recitation of eighteen biblical verses mentioning God. Only after the talmudic period did the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions in the evening become common custom. Maimonides notes that their recitation in fact is voluntary, but holds that through common practice, the recitation has taken on the status of an obligation.

maaser *see* TITHE

Maaserot (Heb., tithes) Mishnah tractate on tithes; the seventh tractate in the Mishnaic Division of Agriculture (Zeraim), concerned with defining the classes of produce that are subject to the separation of agricultural tithes and with determining (1) when, in the course of the crop's growth and ripening, tithes may be separated, and (2) when, in the subsequent harvesting and preparation of the produce, heave-offering and tithes must be paid. The tractate often is thought of as concerning in particular first tithe, which is separated by Israelite householders and given to Levites (Num.

18:20–24). But its issues are much broader, dealing in general with how produce becomes subject to agricultural offerings and discussing the appropriate times for the separation of first tithe, second tithe, and heave-offering.

The tractate's first chapter defines what produce is subject to tithes, details when produce may be tithed during its growth, and indicates when produce must be tithed after the harvest. Its theory is that food must be tithed once it is acquired by an individual for use in a normal meal. On the basis of this theory, chapters 2 and 3 discuss exceptional circumstances under which one may make a meal of untithed produce (e.g., by doing so casually or without preparing the food in the normal way). The conclusions of chapter 3 and chapter 4 concern opposite situations, in which, either by finally acquiring the produce (e.g., by bringing it into the home) or by starting to process the food, one renders it liable for tithes and completely unavailable for untithed consumption. Chapter 5 concludes the tractate with ambiguous cases, in which the processes that normally render food subject to tithing are not completed (e.g., if harvested produce is replanted) or in which other ambiguities occur (e.g., the sale or purchase of inedible produce).

Maaserot has its foundation in the notion, foreign to scripture, that produce is not invariably subject to the separation of agricultural offerings. Its point is that the claim of priests, Levites, and the poor, who were designated by God for a share of what grows upon the Land of Israel, is effective only upon food that Israelites purposely cultivate and then take for their own use in the meals that provide their sustenance. In Maaserot's view, the claim upon food of those designated by God is not automatic. It is triggered by Israelites' own exploitation of the land. This exploitation of what belongs to God brings with it the obligation to set aside the agricultural dues that recognize God's role in providing the land and allowing the food to grow in the first place.

maaser sheni (Heb.) second tithe, separated in the first, second, fourth, and fifth years of the Sabbatical cycle and brought to Jerusalem for consumption there

Maaser Sheni Mishnah tractate on the second tithe. The tractate discusses eating second tithe in Jerusalem and the prohibited uses of produce designated as second tithe (chaps. 1–2); transferring the status of second tithe to coins, to be brought in its stead to Jerusalem and used for the purchase of food to be eaten there (chaps. 2–4); and some special problems (chap. 5).

mabo *see* ALLEY

Maccabean Revolt Jewish military and political uprising from 167 to 164 B.C.E., in which Judas, surnamed Maccabeus (probably from the Hebrew word for "hammer"), played a prominent role. In the early second century B.C.E., the province of Judea was administered by the high priest Onias III under the oversight of a Seleucid governor (2 Macc. 3:1–5). By the late second century B.C.E., Judea was ruled by John Hyrcanus I, the son of Simon and nephew of Judas, who combined in his own person the roles of religious (high priest), military (commander), and political (ethnarch) leader. Through the Maccabean Revolt, the Jews went from being clients first of the Ptolemies and then of the Seleucids to being an independent political entity, tied by treaty with the Romans and the Spartans. They also extended their control over large parts of the Land of Israel and revitalized the national identity that had been submerged since the exile in the early sixth century B.C.E.

The major literary sources for the Maccabean revolt are the Book of Daniel, 1 Maccabees, and 2 Maccabees. Taken together, these works make it possible to trace the course of events through the whole period from 175 to 130 B.C.E. But these works accompany their historical facts with theological interpretations, thus complicating their use by modern historians. Daniel appears to have been put in final form before the revolt proper made much headway (about 166–165 B.C.E.). By its stories (contests and conflicts) and its visions, Daniel indicates how one Jewish group looked on the chief opponent, King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and hoped that his arrogance would soon be broken by the coming of God's kingdom and vindication of Israel. 2 Maccabees provides valuable (if sometimes legendary) information about the struggles over the Jewish high priesthood and the relations between Judea and the Seleucids that led up to the revolt. It emphasizes God's care for the Jerusalem Temple and use of Judas Maccabeus as a divine instrument. 1 Maccabees carries the story from its beginning under Mattathias and Judas through Jonathan and Simon down to the accession of John Hyrcanus in 134 B.C.E. It so focuses on the exploits of the "Maccabee" family that it is sometimes described as dynastic propaganda.

The Maccabean Revolt had its roots in the division of Alexander the Great's empire around 300 B.C.E. Throughout the third century B.C.E., Judea was controlled and administered to a large extent by the Ptolemies of Egypt. But in 200 B.C.E. Jerusalem and Judea came under the political con-

trol of the Seleucids of Syria, represented by Antiochus III (r. 223–187 B.C.E.). Throughout the second century B.C.E., the Seleucid kingship moved back and forth among the descendants (or would-be descendants) of Antiochus III. The dynastic struggles among the Seleucids form the background for the major events in the Maccabean Revolt.

After the death of Seleucus III Philopator (r. 187–176 B.C.E.), Antiochus IV Epiphanes gained the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C.E. Soon thereafter, the Jewish high priest Onias III was replaced by his brother Jason, who outbid Onias for the office at the Seleucid court (2 Macc. 4:7–8). Jason in turn established Hellenistic institutions at Jerusalem and sought to make it into a Hellenistic city. In 172 B.C.E. Jason was outbid for the high priestly office by Menelaus, a person with no legitimate genealogical claim. By 167 B.C.E. Antiochus IV, with the cooperation of Menelaus, plundered the temple, founded a military garrison near the temple (the Akra), abolished the Torah as the Jewish law, and established a new order of worship at the Temple (probably the cult of Baal Shamem [lord of heaven]).

The involvement and motives of Antiochus IV remain matters of controversy. He surely had some supporters among the Jews (see 1 Macc. 1:10–15). Was he merely responding to their invitation? Or did he use such people for his own purposes? And what were those purposes? The ancient Jewish sources portray Antiochus as the implacable enemy of the Jewish people and their religion. But this portrayal does not fit with non-Jewish sources that attribute to Antiochus a lively interest in and tolerance for various religions and philosophies. Some modern scholars contend that Antiochus stumbled into a religious or socioeconomic civil war among several Jewish factions. Others argue that he wanted to develop the eastern equivalent of the nascent Roman Empire. Still others maintain that Antiochus's chief motive was economic; he needed money from any source to pay his army and thus keep himself in power.

The author of 1 Maccabees placed the beginning of the revolt in 166/165 B.C.E. at Modein, under the priest Mattathias and his five sons. The author of 2 Maccabees 8 (see also 5:27) attributed the leadership to Judas and said nothing about the Modein incident and little about the brothers of Judas. Some interpreters find in Daniel 11:34 a dismissive comment ("a little help") on the first stages of the uprising. Not all Israel supported Judas. There were Jewish supporters of the high priests Jason and Menelaus, as well as Hasideans, strict Sabbath observers, and the "Daniel" circle of apocalyptists.

Judas and his followers had some early military successes against the Seleucid armies, probably due to their familiarity with the land and its people. Meanwhile, Antiochus turned his energies to a major military campaign in the eastern parts of his empire and issued a conditional amnesty in early 164 B.C.E. However, Judas continued his attacks. His success in capturing the Jerusalem Temple and restoring the traditional worship there in late 164 B.C.E. (the first Hanukkah) gave substance to his movement and the symbolic significance of representing Israel (see 1 Macc. 4:36–59; 2 Macc. 10:1–8). About the same time, Antiochus IV died of a mysterious disease in Tabae in ancient Persia.

Though the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple may have been the immediate goal of the Maccabean Revolt, the movement continued in large part because of Seleucid efforts under Antiochus V Eupator (r. 163–162 B.C.E.) and Demetrius I Soter (r. 162–150 B.C.E.) to keep Judea under Seleucid military and political control. Though Judas managed to defeat the Syrian general Nicanor in 161 B.C.E., he fell in battle in 160 B.C.E. at Elasa (1 Macc. 9:1–22). But before his death, Judas had sent an embassy to Rome to seek to establish a treaty uniting Judea and Rome against the Seleucids.

With Judas's death and the emergence of Alcimus as a claimant to the high priesthood, the Maccabean Revolt seemed finished around 159 B.C.E. But the sudden stroke and death of Alcimus left the high priesthood vacant between 159 and 152 B.C.E. Toward the end of that period, there was another Seleucid dynastic struggle, between Demetrius I (r. 162–150 B.C.E.) and Alexander Balas (r. 150–145 B.C.E.). Both needed allies, and Jonathan, who carried on the Maccabean movement after Judas's death, was one of the few substantive leaders left in Israel. Thus Jonathan became the object of a bidding war between the Seleucids and came away with the Jewish high priesthood, bestowed on him by Alexander Balas in 152 B.C.E. (see 1 Macc. 10:21). Though the Maccabees were a priestly family (see 1 Macc. 2:1), the priesthood should by right have remained among the descendants of Onias III. Nonetheless, in 1 Maccabees, Jonathan's accession is described without apology. In the next dynastic struggle between Alexander Balas and Demetrius II and the subsequent intervention of the Egyptian Ptolemy VI, Jonathan diplomatically played one side against the other and further solidified his power. Though Jonathan first took the side of Antiochus VI and his chief

minister Trypho, he was taken prisoner by them and executed in 142 B.C.E.

Leadership of the Maccabean movement passed to Simon, the brother of Judas and Jonathan, in 142 B.C.E. Following Jonathan's example of diplomacy and military daring, Simon, between 142 and 134 B.C.E., further consolidated the dynasty's rule and made the territory of Judea into an independent territory. He reestablished the diplomatic initiatives with Rome and Sparta and was proclaimed by Jews in their documents and contracts from 142 B.C.E. onward as "the great high priest and commander and leader of the Jews" (1 Macc. 13:42, 14:41–43). He also began to mint his own coinage (1 Macc. 15:6).

One clear sign that the Maccabean Revolt had succeeded was the capture of the Seleucid citadel (the Akra) in Jerusalem by Simon in 141 B.C.E. This garrison had been founded in 168 B.C.E. by Antiochus IV (see 1 Macc. 1:36). It had remained in Seleucid hands all through the days of Judas and Jonathan. Only when Simon dissolved this garrison (see 1 Macc. 13:50) was Maccabean control of Jerusalem complete and the revolution successful.

Revolutions often carry within them the seeds of their own undoing. The concentration of power in the Maccabean dynasty was probably necessary if the revolt was to succeed. The result was that by Simon's time, all the religious, political, and military power was in the hands of one person and one family. And that family soon fell into the sort of dynastic struggles that plagued the Seleucids and Ptolemies. The assassination of Simon by his son-in-law in 134 B.C.E. set off a cycle that lasted through the Herods.

Another seed of destruction was the alliance with Rome. The Romans were eager to make treaties in the second century B.C.E., though slow to follow through on them unless it suited their own interests. Judas, Jonathan, and Simon could point to Rome as a powerful protector against the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Rome, for its part, had in Judea a client state and a foothold in the Middle East. These two destructive forces came together in 63 B.C.E., when the Roman general Pompey intervened in a Maccabean family dispute about the legitimate successor to Queen Salome Alexandra. The Herod family eventually married into the Maccabean line and usurped the powers won so courageously, patiently, and shrewdly by the Maccabees.

The Maccabean Revolt is significant for many historical, literary, and theological reasons. At its start, Jews in Israel were clients of the Seleucid Empire; at its end they had achieved political independence, were living under their own native rulers, and had powerful allies. Whereas in the period from 167 to 164 B.C.E. Jews were in danger of cultural and religious extinction, by the time of Simon they had a form of religious life that was both traditional (focused on the Torah and the Temple) and adapted to the realities of the Graeco-Roman world.

The events connected with the Maccabean Revolt seem to have inspired literary creativity, expressed in various forms: the apocalypse (Daniel, an early version of the Testament of Moses), history (1–2 Maccabees), the religious novel (Judith), and the biblical commentary (the Habakkuk Pesher). Indeed, the Qumran sect seems to have taken shape among Jewish religious dissidents who opposed the Maccabean movement for usurping the high priesthood. Their chief enemy, "the Wicked Priest," may have been Jonathan or Simon.

The chief figures of the Maccabean Revolt—Mattathias, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon—have functioned among both Jews and Christians as models for rebels against unjust governments, guerrilla warriors, and practical men of action skilled in the art of diplomacy. The martyrs described in 2 Maccabees—especially the mother and her seven sons (chap. 7)—have inspired both Jews and Christians to hold firm to their principles in the face of torture and death and to go to their death convinced that in the resurrection they will be vindicated and their tormentors will be brought to divine justice.

Maccabee popular name for Judas, son of Mattathias, who led the successful military uprising against Antiochus Epiphanes from 167 to 164 B.C.E. The name is probably from the Hebrew *makebet* (1 Kings 6:7), meaning "hammer," or *makban* meaning a "hammer-shaped" head (M. Bekhorot 7:1). Thus the epithet could refer to his appearance or his prowess in battle. Judas's family and followers became known as "the Maccabees." *See also* JUDAS MACCABEUS; MACCABEAN REVOLT.

1 Maccabees a narration of the events beginning with the accession to power by Antiochus IV Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C.E. and ending with the death of Simon, one of the leaders of the revolt against the Seleucids, in 134 B.C.E. The book is written in a straightforward narrative style, combined with some poetic passages (e.g., 1:36–40, 3:3–9, 14:4–15). Its style is reminiscent of the Bible's historical books; for example, Mattathias's action against apostate Jews (1 Macc. 2:23–27) is modeled on that of Phinehas in Numbers 25:6–13; the Hasmonean leaders of the revolt

are described as the judges had been depicted in ancient Israel, and their enemies are characterized in terms drawn from Deuteronomy 13:12–15. The author uses biblical imagery to portray the Hasmoneans as upholders of the ancestral faith. Although the book is now extant only in Greek, most scholars hold that it was composed in Hebrew, and this use of the ancestral language is another way in which the Hasmoneans are portrayed as preservers of tradition. The question of when the author of 1 Maccabees wrote the book is still being debated, although the book's friendly attitude toward the Romans (1 Macc. 8) would seem to exclude it from having a date after the invasion of Jerusalem under Pompey the Great (63 B.C.E.), and its concluding reference to a chronicle of the acts of John Hyrcanus I (1 Macc. 16:23–24) would suggest that his reign was over, or nearly so, when the book was written. The author probably finished his work late in the reign of John Hyrcanus I (135/134–104) or early in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.).

The book's initial prologue (1:1–10) provides a setting for the narrative in the time after Alexander the Great, who is depicted as an arrogant ruler demanding tribute. Alexander's early death hints at what will happen to Alexander's arrogant successor, Antiochus IV. Then comes a description of the apostasy of base Jews (1:11–15) and the punishment that follows as Antiochus IV invades the land. A clear dichotomy is set up between loyal Jews who wish to maintain their ancestral traditions and others who wish to homogenize all nations in obedience to Antiochus IV, who has said that he wishes to abolish all particular national customs (1 Macc. 1:41–43). Laws concerning Temple sacrificial rites, kosher laws, and the law of circumcision are singled out for abrogation (1 Macc. 1:44–61). The rest of the book's narrative deals with the successful revolt of Mattathias and his five sons. First the exploits of Mattathias are narrated (2:1–70), followed by those of his successor Judas (3:1–9:27), Jonathan (9:28–12:53), and Simon (13:1–16:24). While Judas is heroic, one can see how the revolt would have been unsuccessful if the whole weight of the Seleucid forces had been concentrated against it. However, Jonathan was skillfully able to exploit the bickering between rival claimants to the Seleucid throne after the death of Antiochus IV. When finally captured, Jonathan is said to have had at least 40,000 men under his command (1 Macc. 12:41). He had rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem (1 Macc. 12:35–38) and he held the position of high priest (1 Macc. 10:21). The success of Jonathan's policy is seen in the reign of Simon, which is described in almost messianic terms (1 Macc. 14:4–15). Despite all this praise, Simon dies an ignominious death, assassinated while drunk (1 Macc. 16:16).

The author of 1 Maccabees, steeped in his tradition, is an enthusiastic supporter of the war of liberation. He clearly supports the Hasmoneans: they were the family chosen to save Israel (1 Macc. 5:62).

2 Maccabees as now found, a composite work in which two letters are prefixed to an epitome of a five-volume history by an otherwise unknown, Jason of Cyrene. The first letter (1:19) is a festal letter addressed by the Jews of Judea to the Jews in Egypt in 124 B.C.E. After offering a long prayer for the well-being of the addressees, the senders refer to a previous letter of the year 143 and then invite the Egyptian Jews to celebrate the Day of Tabernacles in the month of Kislev. The second letter (1:10–2:18) bears no date, but claims to have Judas Maccabeus as one of its senders and, if authentic, would have been written in 164 B.C.E. The contents of this letter are intriguing. First comes an account of Antiochus IV's death that differs from the one found in 2 Maccabees 9, for in the letter's account, Antiochus IV dies as he attempts to rob the temple of Nanara at Elymeus. 2 Macc. 1:18 begins a series of narratives grouped around the theme of fire. The first narrative (1:19–36) stresses the continuity between the First Temple and the Second, as Nehemiah is said to recover in liquid form the sacred fire of the First Temple, which had been hidden. The second narrative (2:1–8) specifies that it was the prophet Jeremiah who ordered the fire to be hidden. However, the sacred vessels of the First Temple are to remain hidden until God gathers his people, when the cloud of the glory of the Lord will be seen as in the time of Moses and Solomon. All these stories are said to be recorded in the official records of Nehemiah, and alongside his activity is placed Judas Maccabeus's collection of the books of Judaism. Placing all these traditions together enhances the traditional character of the new festival in Kislev, conceived as a festival of fire, which was to be the Festival of Hanukkah.

The epitome begins in verse 2:19. At times—the quick succession of events in 13:23–26 and 14:25 and the mention of characters without any introduction, for example—one can see that the narrative is condensed. Most of the narrative, however, is written in the stylistic conventions of Hellenistic historiographers: the author has a particular penchant for emotional descriptions, epiphanies of

divine helpers, and digressions from the narrative when the author speaks in the first person (5:17–20 and 6:12–17). The narrative itself spans the period from the reign of Seleucid IV (187–175) to the defeat of Nicanor, the Seleucid governor, in 161 B.C.E. It stops before the death of Judas Maccabeus and gives more attention to the events leading up to the Maccabean Revolt than does 1 Maccabees. The narrative is structured into three acts, which are all concerned with a threat to the Temple and its miraculous deliverance. The story in 3:1–40, the first act, is patterned after many stories in which a deity defends his or her temple from attack. Each of the other two acts (4:1–10:9, 10:10–15:37) ends with a decree, told in almost formulaic language, that a festival is to be celebrated every year to commemorate the victory wrought by God. The first festival is the Feast of Purification, that is, Hanukkah; the second is the Feast of Nicanor on the day before Mordecai's Day (Purim). Thus the author's concern is primarily with the Temple rather than with the Hasmonean family, for although Judas Maccabeus is certainly depicted as a hero, not all of his family is. That emphasis also helps explain why the author ends the book with the statement that, after Nicanor's defeat, the city has been in the possession of the Jews (15.37), whereas, in fact, just a year later, Judas has been killed and his army routed. The epitomist worries about threats to the Temple and its worship, not about political control. When and where the epitome was written is much debated.

3 Maccabees a narrative of the miraculous deliverance of the Jews in Egypt set in the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt (r. 221–204 B.C.E.). Written in a Greek of rich and varied vocabulary and abounding in rhetorical embellishments, the work also reveals (6:6) the author's awareness of the Greek additions to the Book of Daniel; the work also contains verbatim parallels to the Greek additions to the Book of Esther, and the punishment inflicted on Ptolemy (2:21–24) resembles that given to Heliodorus in 2 Maccabees 3:22–31. These correspondences as well as its author's focus on Egyptian themes suggest that 3 Maccabees should be dated from the early part of the first century B.C.E. and that it was possibly written in Alexandria.

The narrative opens abruptly, as though something is missing, in the midst of another narrative about the battle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies at Raphia in 217 B.C.E. Ptolemy IV Philopator is saved by a Jew—Dositheus—from an assassination plot. When the king wins the day at Raphia, he sets out to visit his territories, including Jerusalem. He arrogantly wants to enter the Holy of Holies but is rebuffed and divinely punished. Ptolemy vows revenge and returns to Egypt to enslave the Jews unless they participate in the cult of Dionysos, for which they would receive Alexandrian citizenship. In the second half of the book (chaps. 3–7), the narrative describes the refusal of most of the Jews to worship Dionysos and their persecution and divine deliverance. The story is similar to one told by Josephus (*Ag. Apion* 2:53–56) but set by him in the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (r. 145–117 B.C.E.). Although 3 Maccabees emphasizes the differences between Jews and Gentiles and gives examples of accusations made against the Jews of their exclusivism and misanthropy, the book's author insists the Jews are good citizens. The narrative ends with the Jews executing apostates (7:14) and celebrating a festival of deliverance.

4 Maccabees a philosophic discourse reflecting on the stories of the martyrs in 2 Maccabees 6–7. The author sets out to show that devout reason can master the passions. He writes with the skill of a trained rhetorician and also evidences knowledge of an eclectic blend of Platonic and Stoic philosophy. He lists the four cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, justice, and courage (1:3–4). But the author is also a loyal Jew, faithful to his ancestral traditions, and he argues that the reason that can master the passions is the reason guided by the law: "To the intellect [God] gave the law, and if a man lives his life by the law, he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate and just and good and brave" [2:23].

This emphasis on the law is evident in the discussion between Eleazar and King Antiochus. Eleazar, now called a distinguished philosopher (5:4, 35), holds against the Stoics that reason does not eradicate the passions but rather controls them (5:43). Antiochus cannot understand Eleazar's reluctance to eat swine's flesh and calls Eleazar's a preposterous philosophy, full of nonsensical calculations (5:11). In contrast, Eleazar sees true philosophy as reason guided by the law, since God is both creator of the world and the giver of the law (5:25). The author thus sets out to show how religious reason governed by the law controlled the passions that would have led the martyrs to violate the law. He first illustrates his thesis with a number of examples from biblical history (1:30b–3:18) and then quickly summarizes the events narrated in 2 Maccabees 3–5, being even more critical than the author of 2 Maccabees was toward Jason, the high priest.

The author describes, sometimes in graphic detail, the martyrdoms of Eleazar (5–7), the seven brothers (8–14:10), and the mother (14:11–17:6). All of these martyrs demonstrate the author's main thesis, particularly the mother, who shows how devout reason can triumph over even the deepest emotion of mother love. She is described as truly a daughter of Abraham, who was willing to sacrifice his son Isaac (Gen. 21). Her keen sense of wishing to avoid defilement is shown by her throwing herself into the fire so that no one would touch her body (17:1). The author intensifies the notion that the martyrs' deaths brought about God's mercy (18:4–5), using particularly the notions of purification and expiation for sin (6:28–29, 17:19–22).

4 Maccabees was most probably written in 19–54 C.E., since the book describes Apollonius as governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia (4:2), and Roman sources suggest that Syria-Cilicia constituted one province only during this time. It has been proposed that the author composed the book in Antioch, but any large Greek city would have been as plausible a location for its writing.

Macedonians inhabitants of Macedonia, an area north of Thessaly and west of Chachidice and Thrace. They were of mixed tribes, which gradually became Hellenized. Macedonia was the frontier between Greeks and other tribes. Macedonian power reached its zenith in the fourth century B.C.E., when Philip of Macedon conquered Greece and then his son, Alexander the Great, conquered all of the Middle East.

Macrinus, Marcus Opellius (c. 164–218 C.E.) Roman emperor (r. 217–218 C.E.). Born in Africa, he was the first Roman emperor who was not a senator. A Praetorian prefect under Caracalla, he arranged for the emperor's assassination. In the spring of 217 he invaded Mesopotamia but was defeated by Ardavan V at Nisibis. The emperor sued for peace, bringing an end to Caracalla's Parthian war. Macrinus gave expensive gifts to the Parthian nobles and reported to the Senate that the peace was really a victory for Rome. He angered the army by cutting their pay and leaving the European legions in Syria. In 218 Bassianus was named emperor. Macrinus was defeated near Antioch and put to death.

Madeba town south of Heshbon, east of the Dead Sea, assigned along with the plain on which it is situated to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. 13:9, 16). During the Maccabean period, it was home to the band of robbers that murdered John, the brother of Simon and Jonathan Maccabee (1 Macc. 9:35–42). Later, it was captured by John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus (Josephus, *Ant.* 8:1ff.).

Magdala town on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee about 5 kilometers north of Tiberias. Its name in Aramaic was Magdala (tower), but in Greek sources it is called Taricheae (salted or pickled fish). The latter reveals its principal industry. Magdala is the traditional city of origin of Mary Magdalene in the New Testament (Matt. 27:56). The emperor Nero gave the city to the Jewish king Herod Agrippa II (*Ant.* 20.159). It played a role in the First Revolt against Rome. Josephus claims to have made it a military base for his resistance to Rome and to have fortified the city (*Ant.* 5.96f; *Vita* 156). The Romans successfully besieged the city and amassed the Jewish captives in its stadium. After the death of Herod Agrippa, the city reverted to the province of Judea.

This may be the same town as Migdal Nunayah (tower of fishermen) in ancient Jewish sources. Archaeological excavation has unearthed the Roman city with a major paved street running north and south and at least one cross street. At the southeast corner of the intersection stands the low ruins of what the excavators believe to be a first-century-C.E. synagogue or prayer hall. This building has a set of benches across the north, narrow side. Worshipers would evidently enter a doorway on that side and walk down to the interior space. Small columns supported the roof, and heart-shaped or double columns stood at the corners of the column-nation. Only about twenty-five people could stand comfortably in the space within the columns. After the First Revolt the synagogue was converted into a fish pond. In the fifth century C.E., a Byzantine monastery was built here, but evidently was destroyed by the Arab conquest of 640 C.E.

magen david *see* STAR, SIX-POINTED, REPRESENTATION OF

Maghariya (Heb., men of caves) Jewish sect, described by Joseph al-Kirkisani as founded in the first century B.C.E. He reports that its members kept their books in caves, prohibited games, and possessed unusual commentaries on the Hebrew scriptures. The group believed that God is too transcendent to mingle with matter; therefore, its members rejected the notion that God was directly responsible for the Creation. They believed instead that the world was created by an intermediary angel, invented by God and, after the Creation, continuing to represent God in the world. On the basis of the group's name, date, theory of Creation, and the fact that al-Kirkisani does not include the Essenes on his list of sects, some scholars have equated the Maghariya with the Essenes.

magi Iranian religious leaders. Originally a tribe consecrated to the service of their deity, they became a hereditary priestly caste who controlled the state religion in whatever form it might assume. They probably expanded Zarathustra's teachings and incorporated the worship of Mithra, the god of light, and Anathita, the goddess of water and the moon, into Zoroastrianism. Agathias wrote that only those things of which the magus approves are considered lawful by the Persians. The magi performed priestly rites at the fire temples, legalized marriages, dominated law and culture, presided over legal disputes, taught basic reading, writing, and mathematical skills to the population, and provided ethical guidance to the Persians. The magi were governed by their own laws and customs. Ardashir I reorganized the magi's vast bureaucracy. The magus (the singular form of magi) was under the authority of the *herpat,* the chief of fire, and the *mobad,* the chief magus. The *herpatan herpat,* chief justice, and the *mobadan mobad,* high priest, were at the top of the hierarchical structure. With this reform, the magi became virtual state officials. Ardashir wished to convert all the people in his empire to the Mazdean religion, and the magi vigorously opposed other religions and allegedly imprisoned those who opposed the true faith, executing those who refused to confess the errors of their wrong beliefs. Under Shapur the situation changed radically, for he prohibited the persecution of minority cults and specifically encouraged Mani (the founder of Manichaeism) to create a syncretistic doctrine that would incorporate elements from Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. Kartir reversed Shapur's policy, executed Mani, and established fire temples in non-Iranian lands. However, Kartir's policies seem to be the exception. Rab argued that any Jew who learns even a single matter from the magi deserves death, because their teachings are blasphemy. Samuel argued that the magi were mere sorcerers.

magic a technique by which individuals who possess secret information can accomplish what they desire through the proper use of certain natural objects or the reciting of certain secret formulas. These techniques force the gods or natural powers to act for either the good of the one who initiated the action or the harm of that person's enemy or opponent. Ancient historians, such as the fifth-century-B.C.E. Greek writer Herodotus, traced the origins of magic to Persia, where one of the six native tribes was called the *magoi,* or magi, which developed and refined these methods of control over the natural order and over the behavior of others. However, evidence for magicians or sorcerers goes back to the law of Moses, as reported in Exodus 22, Leviticus 19–20, and Deuteronomy 18, and includes direct mention of Egyptian magicians (Exod. 9:11). Although the dates of these magical traditions cannot be determined with certainty, they seem to reflect the situation faced by Israel after it began settling in the land of Canaan in the twelfth century B.C.E. By the fifth/fourth century B.C.E., magic had infiltrated Greece and was also a significant factor in Israel.

The most complete evidence of magical practices dates from the first-century-B.C.E. Egyptian manuscripts known to scholars as the Greek Magical Papyri. Written on writing material made from reeds (papyrus), they give details of the techniques and aims of magicians. In his extensive *Natural History* (30.6), the first-century-C.E. Greek author Pliny is ambivalent about magic but admits that it does work in a range of circumstances. Two examples he gives are the uses of human saliva as a safeguard against snakes and of female menstrual fluid to drive away hailstorms and whirlwinds (28).

In the Torah, there are direct warnings (Deut. 18:9–11) against consulting or having dealings with augurs (who could foresee the future), sorcerers (who had secret powers), charmers (who could cause harm or provide protection for clients), mediums (who communicated with the spirits of the dead), wizards (who performed extraordinary deeds), and necromancers (who predicted the future by consulting the dead). The people of Israel are not to rely on such magicians but should depend solely on God for their preservation in the present and the future. God's people are neither to practice augury or witchcraft nor to consult those who do (Lev. 19:26–31). Those who claim the ability to exploit these magical powers perform all sorts of stunts in the foolish hope that these will increase their magical powers: trimming their beard or the hair around their temples in a special way; making gashes on their bodies or having themselves tatooed. Those who practice magic or rely on those who do will find that God has "set his face against them" (Lev. 20:6). Men or women who become wizards or mediums are to be stoned to death (Lev. 20:27), and female sorcerers are not to be permitted to live (Exod. 22:17–18).

As explicit as the law is, when Israel's first king, Saul, is confronted by the armies of the Philistines (1 Sam. 28), he consults a female medium (or witch) and has her call up from the dead Samuel, who had guided the life of Israel and arranged for Saul's installation as king. Instead of advising Saul on how

to withstand the Philistines' attack, Samuel tells Saul that the king and his army will be defeated.

The warning against consulting the spirits of the dead or false prophets is found in the prophetic books. Isaiah 8:19 reminds Israel that God is the only one whom it should consult, instead of "the mediums and the wizards who chirp and mutter." God himself will give his people "signs and portents," so that if they have God-given insight, they and their leaders will know what God expects of them and has in store for them. Ezekiel's condemnation (Ezek. 22:25–29) of the wicked city of Jerusalem and its misguided and disobedient leaders, both princes and priests, mentions their having consulted false prophets who mimic magicians by smearing themselves with whitewash and communicating false visions and predictions. The prophet Malachi, after describing the messenger who will come to prepare the way of the Lord and to purify God's people (Mal. 3:1–4), says that when God appears in order to judge his people, the first group that will be exposed and denounced are the "sorcerers." In 1 Enoch 7–8, the fallen angels who take human wives teach them "magical medicine, incantations, astrology" and the reading of the stars.

Sepher-ha-Razim (The Book of Mysteries) claims to be a collection of secret material that an angel gave to Noah as he was boarding the ark. Its contents assume the signs of the zodiac and the astrological secrets thought to control human destiny. A plausible date for this book's origin is the late third or early fourth century C.E. The pervasive influence of Graeco-Roman culture throughout the work is obvious. Prayers included in this material are offered not only to YHWH but to Helios (the Greek god of the sun), Hermes (the Greek messenger of the gods), and Aphrodite (the Greek goddess of love). The names of scores of angels are given who, at specified times of the year and in each of the seven firmaments or levels of the universe, may be called upon for help in relieving needs or in solving problems. The cure of a headache or the overcoming of a spirit causing blindness is as follows: take the fat that covers the brain of a black ox . . . write on it the names of these angels [in the second firmament] and place it in a silver tubular case, then bind the tube with seven colors and place it next to where the pain is. To be sure of effective results, one must abstain from meat, from wine, from contact with the dead or menstruating women, and from every unclean thing (2.180–185). This document clearly embodies a mix of factors: belief in the divine order of creation, the obligation to obey the law of Moses, and the conviction that hostile powers at work in the universe can be brought under control by the proper techniques. All of these are regarded as wholly compatible with trust in YHWH as creator and sustainer of the world.

Rabbinic Judaism condemned magic as one of the "ways of the Amorites" (M. Shabbat 6:10) and sanctioned its practitioners to death by stoning (M. Sanhedrin 7:7). One who so much as whispered over a wound the words of Exodus 15:26 ("I will put none of the diseases upon you that I have put on the Egyptians, for I am the Lord who heals you") was held to lose his place in the world to come (M. Sanhedrin 10:1). To quell magical practices, Simeon b. Shetaḥ is said to have hung eighty witches on a single day (M. Sanhedrin 6:4).

Despite these severe admonitions against magic, the rabbinic literature depicts without condemnation both rabbis and common people who performed magical acts. A number of these instances are reported in B. Sanhedrin 67b–68a, which distinguishes an actual magical act, punishable by stoning, from an illusion, which is forbidden but exempt from punishment. The Talmud reports that every Friday afternoon rabbis Ḥanina and Oshaya would study the laws of creation and make for themselves a third-grown calf, which they would eat. Ashi knew of a person who could produce ribbons of silk from his nostrils. Yannai is said to have been given a drink that, when spilled out, turned into scorpions. He repaid the innkeeper with a potion that turned her into an ass, which he mounted and road in the market place until her girlfriend nullified the charm. Ḥiyya speaks of an Arab who chopped up a camel and, by ringing a bell, caused it to come together again. Eliezer states that he taught Akiba how to cause an entire field of cucumbers to grow and then to be harvested simply by saying a few words. These reports of magic performed by rabbis, common Jews, and non-Jews suggest that despite the biblical and rabbinic prohibitions, the use of magic within the general culture of the talmudic period had a significant impact upon Jewish society, which largely accepted such practices and deemed them appropriate methods of protecting people from harm or of accomplishing legitimate purposes.

magic bowl pottery bowl on which was written a magical formula used to drive away evil spirits or to invoke the help of a deity in preserving and protecting individuals or a family. During the talmudic period, roughly 300–600 C.E., such bowls were in

common use in Babylonia by Christians, Mazdeans, Mandeans, and Jews. Bowls in use in Jewish homes often were prepared by Jews who were not involved with or representative of the rabbinical academies. At the same time, certain rabbinical figures were deemed potent in driving away particular demons and hence appear with frequency on these bowls. This indicates the extent to which the Talmudic image of the rabbi as a wonder-working holy man entered the popular culture of the day.

The formulas used on magic bowls and the deities invoked are common across religious traditions. The bowls apparently were prepared by professionals, for instance, by Jews for both Jewish and non-Jewish use. A particular practitioner would be hired to produce a bowl not because of his denomination but because of his reputation for success. Accordingly, while certain references signify the religious origin of a bowl (e.g., mention of the rabbi Joshua b. Perahia suggests a Jewish origin, while reference to Jesus the Messiah indicates a Christian context), for the most part identification depends upon the script in which the incantation was prepared: Aramaic letters are Jewish, Syriac script indicates a Christian source, and Mandean lettering suggests a Mandean origin.

The majority of extant magic bowls were found during excavations in Nippur in 1888 and 1889. They were found upside down in the ruins of houses, with one or more bowls found in almost every house as well as in cemeteries (where they apparently served to lay ghosts to rest). The bowls were used by individuals and families seeking protection for houses and property, for example, cattle, often with a particular concern for domestic sexual life and unborn babies. Lilis and Lilith, who personify sexual abnormality, prey upon women and children, and produce offspring with human beings, are common targets of the bowls.

The chief element of the bowls is an incantation composed of repeating phrases, words, or syllables believed to have the power to bind favorable powers or demons to some designated action. Angels, on Jewish bowls, and deities, on pagan ones, frequently are adduced, and there appears to have been an attempt to use as many names as possible. The spell's main power, however, derived from terminology declaring that the demon had been rendered unable to exercise its control, for instance, that it had been "bound, sealed, countersealed, exorcised, hobbled, and silenced." The separation of a Lilith from her victim often is expressed in terms of a writ of divorce.

The incantations generally begin with an invocation, followed by the name of the client or clients, the categories of demons to be purged, the names of the angels or deities in which the spells are pronounced, and a conclusion. Jewish texts frequently refer to the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. The name YHWH also occurs, often broken down into individual, repeated letters or syllables.

Magnesia, Battle of After rejecting a treaty with the Romans that would have meant giving up any claim to Thrace, Antiochus III invaded Greece in 192 B.C.E. He was driven off and pursued by Roman legions and allies. He was defeated by the Roman forces at Magnesia, in western Asia Minor between Pergamum and Ephesus, in 190 B.C.E. and was forced to accept harsh terms at Apamea in 188 B.C.E. *See also* APAMEA, PEACE OF.

magnify God *see* GLORIFY, MAGNIFY, SANCTIFY GOD

Magog *see* GOG AND MAGOG

Mah Nishtannah (Heb., how is this night different from all others?) opening words of four questions asked by the youngest person present at the Passover Seder

maḥor (pl., *maḥorim*) liturgical handbook that contains scripture readings for festivals. Some of these handbooks—Maḥor Vitry and the Worms Maḥor, for instance—contain pentateuchal readings for the seventh day of Passover (Exod. 13:17–15:26, the Song at the Sea) and the first day of Shabot (Exod. 19–20, the Giving of the Ten Commandments). These two *maḥorim* also include a targum that is similar to the Fragmentary Targum of Paris. The expansive material paralleling the Paris Targum derives from the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, while the nonexpansive verses in the *maḥorim* derive from Targum Onkelos.

Maḥoz town in the coastal area in Samaria, referred to at M. Arakhin 3:2 as "the sand-plains of Maḥoz," contrasted with the lush gardens of Sebaste

Maḥoza town on the outskirts of Be-Ardashir and Ctesiphon, on the Nahar Malka, a canal that connects the Euphrates with the Tigris River. Situated on a caravan trading route, the Jews of Maḥoza reportedly were successful merchants (B. Baba Batra 29b; B. Gittin 6a). After the destruction of Nehardea (259 C.E.), Maḥoza became a center of rabbinic study. Upon Abayye's death (338 C.E.), the academy at Pumbedita and its scholars relocated to Maḥoza, where they worked under the leadership of Raba from 338 through 352 C.E. The city was populated by many Jews (B. Yoma 11a) and proselytes (B. Kiddushin 73a). With Julian's invasion in 363 C.E., Maḥoza was destroyed; the town was rebuilt after the Roman withdrawal. By the middle

of the fifth century C.E., the growth of Nestorian Christianity had diminished its Jewish character and significance.

maiestas (Lat., a type of treason, especially against the Roman emperor) An accusation of *maiestas* was a useful way of getting rid of an enemy. There were a number of such trials under Tiberias, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian, though in many cases the emperor himself did not encourage such denunciations.

Makhshirin Mishnah tractate devoted to elucidation of conditions set forth in Leviticus 11:34, 37 for susceptibility to uncleanness of produce. Produce is susceptible to uncleanness when harvested and then deliberately watered. The tractate discusses the issue of intentionality in watering the produce (chap. 1); water that is capable of imparting susceptibility mixed with water that is not (chap. 2); absorption of water (chap. 3); water that serves one purpose and status as to a secondary purpose (chaps. 3–5); the rule that liquids not used intentionally do not impart susceptibility (chap. 5); and liquids that can impart susceptibility to uncleanness (chap. 6).

Makkot Mishnah tractate devoted to those punishable by flogging for perjury (chap. 1), the penalty of exile and those who are subject to it (chap. 2), and others penalized by flogging and how the penalty of flogging is administered (chap. 3). Both Talmuds devote important and lengthy expositions to this tractate.

Makom (Heb., place) with the definite article, a designation for God, signifying omnipresence. Genesis Rabbah 68 explains the usage as follows: "Why is the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, changed and represented as 'the Place'? Because He is the place in which his world exists." *See also* GOD, NAMES OF.

Malachi, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

malakh haMavet *see* ANGEL OF DEATH

Malalas, John (491–578 C.E.) Greek rhetorician and historian. The name Malalas means "rhetor" in Syriac. He wrote a universal chronicle covering the creation of the world to 565 C.E. Antioch is the focus of all but the end of book 18, which focuses on Constantinople. He is the only historian who speaks of an anti-Jewish riot in Antioch in 486. He states that after the war of 67–73, a theater was built in the suburbs of Daphne out of the proceeds of the booty from Judea. He is a source for the Samaritan revolt in Palestine in 529.

Malkhuyot *see* SOVEREIGNTY VERSES

mammon (Aram.: *mamona*) wealth or profit. The Greek transliteration of the word occurs four times in the Gospels, always with a negative connotation. Matthew 6:24 and Luke 16:13 (through different contexts) personify mammon as a god whose worship excludes worship of the true God. The story of the unjust steward appeals to the rich to give away their "unrighteous mammon" (i.e., ill-gotten riches) in order to gain heaven (Luke 16:1–11). In 1 Enoch 63:10, the kings and the mighty complain that their ill-gotten riches cannot save them from damnation. The word carries the same connotations in some rabbinic texts (Tg. Gen. 13:13; B. Ber. 61b). *See also* WEALTH.

mamzer (Heb.) in rabbinic law, the offspring of individuals unable to contract a legal marriage, in particular because it would be incestuous (Lev. 18). A *mamzer* is forbidden to marry an Israelite of unimpaired status. He or she may only marry another *mamzer* or a proselyte. The child of parents who are genealogically free to marry is never deemed a *mamzer*. Despite common usage, the term therefore cannot be translated as "bastard." The latter term, which has no rabbinic parallel, appears, for example, at Enoch 10:9, where it refers to the giants born of the heavenly watchers and mortal women. *See also* ADULTERY.

Mana *see* MANI I B. TANḤUM; MANI II B. YONA

Manasseh king of Judah (c. 687–642 B.C.E.). Manasseh is notorious in the biblical histories for instituting idolatrous cults (2 Kings 21:1–9; 2 Chron. 33:1–9) and inciting God's decree to destroy Jerusalem (1 Kings 21:10–15). Manasseh's sins and his responsibility for the events of 587 B.C.E. are recalled in 1 Enoch 89:53–58, 2 Baruch 64:1–6, and Apocalypse of Abraham 25:2 (cf. 2 Kings 21:6), and the chronologies in 1 Enoch 85–90 and Daniel 9 are keyed to the date of Manasseh's sin. The Martyrdom of Isaiah elaborates on 2 Kings 21:16 (he shed much innocent blood), while the apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh alleges to be the king's confession of sin described in 2 Chronicles 33:10–13.

Manasseh, Prayer of a penitential prayer ascribed to the seventh-century king of Judah. According to 2 Chronicles 33:10–17, the Assyrians took the apostate king into captivity in Babylon, where he prayed to God, who restored him to the throne. Different from the formal liturgical prayers in Daniel 9 and 1 Baruch 1–3, the Prayer of Manasseh does not employ the stereotyped language of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, but makes numerous allusions to 2 Chronicles 33:1–13. Its viewpoint is personal rather than national, with an emphasis on the sincerity and internal sources of Manasseh's repentance. God's creative power is juxtaposed with God's covenant mercy, and different from

texts that contrast the fate of the righteous and the sinners, the prayer has parallel addresses to "Lord, the God of the righteous forebears" (v. 1) and to "Lord, the God of those who repent" (v. 13). Manasseh concludes (v. 15) by acknowledging that "the host of heaven," before whom he had prostrated (2 Chron. 33:3), praise the God to whom he now "bends the knee" of his heart (v. 11). The prayer is of uncertain origin and date. It is included in two early Christian handbooks, the third-century Didascalia (2:22), and the fourth-century Apostolic Constitutions (2:22), where it is incorporated in an expanded, legendary version of 2 Chronicles 33. It is Ode 13 in the collection appended to the Book of Psalms in manuscripts of the Greek Bible. *See also* MANASSEH.

Mandaeans literally, knowers (*mandayi*); a baptist sect of southern Mesopotamia (present-day southern Iraq and southwestern Iran), the product of Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Gnostic influences on the indigenous religious traditions of the region. Mandaeans possess a complex literary tradition (written in a unique Eastern Aramaic dialect and script), dating in part back to the third century C.E., as well as a distinct married priestly class called the *nasuraiyi* (guardians).

The Mandaeans believe in a world of light and a world of darkness, eternally distinct and mutually hostile, ruled by abstract beings called the Great Alien Life and the Lord of Darkness, respectively. Our world (Tibil) occupies an intermediate zone, and was imperfectly crafted by the demiurge Ptahil, who was himself the mixed offspring of the worlds of light and darkness. The human spirit (from the world of light) abandons the body (from the world of darkness) at death, and eventually obtains unity with its soul-double (*nishimta*), which dwells in an interim paradise called Mshunia Kushta. The Mandaeans call upon many divine beings, never reduced to an ordered system, who operate on behalf of the Great Alien Life and the world of light. These include (1) Hibil Ziwa (Abel the Splendor), the savior spirit, whose descent into and reascent from the underworld forms the paradigm for Mandaean rites of purification and ascent; (2) Shitil Taba (Seth the Good), the archetype of human goodness and purity; (3) Anosh Uthra (Enosh the Angel), the patron of *nasirutha* (sacred knowledge), healer and guide to believers, and their rescuer in times of persecution; and (4) Manda dHaiya (Knowledge of Life), the "father" of Mandaeans and embodiment of their identity and aspirations (which are opposed at every step by the female evil spirit Ruha).

Mandaean rituals take place in compounds consisting of a specially constructed hut (*bit manda*) beside a baptismal pool (*yardna*), which is connected by a canal to a nearby river (stagnant water is considered impure). The all-important rites of baptism are arranged in an ascending order of complexity and power, culminating in the *masbuta*, which involves immersions, anointings, and further purifying acts, punctuated at points by the distinctive Mandaean handshake (*kushta*). The Mandaeans also frequently hold a special meal on behalf of the dead, called a *masiqta* (ascent). Commonly performed on the first, third, seventh, and forty-fifth days after a death, the *masiqta* is believed to feed the spirit and help it perfect its spiritual body. The full forty-five days marks the period during which the spirit of the deceased Mandaean traverses the purgatories (*matarata*) on its way to Mshunia Kushta. During the five days of the Parwanaiya festival, held every spring, the boundaries between earth and Mshunia Kushta dissolve, creating a period when the dead may ascend more easily and those who may have been deprived of proper funerary rites may be freed from the purgatories by retroactive rites on earth. Then follows Dihba Rba (New Year), a vigil that marks the reconstruction of the universe, and includes the rebaptism of all Mandaeans into their sacred community of "alien life."

Manetho Egyptian priest of the early third century B.C.E. at Heliopolis. He wrote the *Aegyptiaca*, a work on Egyptian history, which is still important for Egyptology, especially in listing the various dynasties and providing a framework for chronology. Only fragments of his work are preserved, in Josephus and Julius Africanus. According to Josephus, he made a number of slanderous statements about the Jews, though some scholars think this was not part of his original work but only of a later interpolator. His description of the Hyksos made them the founders of Judea, or at least caused Josephus to make this identification since they are said to be called Shepherds. In another passage, however, Manetho is said to ascribe the origins of the Jews to lepers, as Lysimachus did. Among the lepers were some learned priests who also had the disease, one of these being Moses. Under Moses, these afflicted individuals banded together and made a pact with the Shepherds (Hyksos). They also enacted laws to require the exact opposite of the laws of Egypt and agreed to refuse to have anything to do with outsiders. They successfully made war on the Egyptians for a time.

Mani (216–277 C.E.) the "doctor from Babylon" and "apostle of light" who founded the Manichaean religion. Known in Western literature as Manes or Manichaeus, and in Chinese as Mo-ni, he was born in Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq) to Parthian (Iranian) parents, and was raised in an Aramaic-speaking Elchasaite Christian community. He left the community at age twenty-four in response to a revelation from God, in which he met his divine alter ego, his "light-twin," who instructed him to start a new mission to the world. Mani traveled to India and then to the Persian court, where he gained the interest, though not the conversion, of the emperor Shapur I (r. 240–272).

Mani believed himself to be the last in a series of prophets that included Zarathustra, the Buddha, and Jesus. He sought to provide the definitive interpretation and synthesis of these earlier revelations, and to correct what he perceived as their corruption. In contrast to his prophetic forebears, Mani wrote his teachings down (in five principal Aramaic treatises, as well as letters, psalms, a Persian catechism, and a picture book for the instruction of illiterates) and formed a missionary organization to disseminate his ideas. Mani sent his disciples into the Roman Empire, India, and Central Asia, while he worked mostly in Mesopotamia and Persia. Manichaeism grew quickly, and became a serious rival to Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism, eventually spreading from the lands of present-day Spain in the West to China in the East and thriving for nearly a thousand years.

Mani taught that the world was a battleground of two alien entities (characterized as good and evil, light and darkness, life and death), and that everything in the world was a catastrophic mixture of these two opposing forces. Everything contains a divine spark of life, Mani said, which seeks liberation from pain and death, and it is the duty of humans to cooperate with God's plan to accomplish this liberation. Mani felt that ordinary human life is filled with violence toward living things, and that the only road to purity was to stop interacting with the world in a manipulative and harmful way. Consequently, he insisted on a rigorous code of behavior that was ascetic, pacifist, and celibate (called the "three seals" of mouth, hand, and heart). Believers must first conquer the enemy within themselves and convert their own bodies into the instruments of God's saving will, through which the life force can reascend to the world of light.

The success of Mani's mission posed a threat to the Zoroastrian religious authorities in Persia, and the latter finally convinced Shapur to banish the prophet. Mani returned to Persia upon Shapur's death, but was eventually imprisoned on the orders of the emperor Bahram (r. 273–277). After twenty-six days in chains, Mani "took off the warlike dress of the body" and ascended to the moon, an event commemorated by his followers at the annual Bema festival. After centuries of relentless persecution, the religion of Mani finally succumbed, but not before leaving deep and lasting influences on its rival religious traditions.

Mani I b. Tanḥum Palestinian amora, known also as Mana; contemporary of Yoḥanan (3d c. C.E.). He sometimes is confused with the fourth-century-C.E. authority Mani or Mana b. Yona.

Mani II b. Yona Palestinian amora of the mid-fourth century C.E., active primarily at Sepphoris; cited frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud simply as Mana, without the patronymic

Manichaeans followers of Mani, a Mesopotamian prophet of the third century C.E. Also called Dualists (Arab.: Thanawiya) and Interpreters (Pers.: Zanadiqa), the Manichaeans referred to themselves as the Living Family and the Righteous, and took the name Religion of Light (Chin.: Ming-jiao) in China. They considered themselves God's army in a war against evil; but they insisted that this conflict was a spiritual one and rejected violence. The true Manichaean, in fact, was required to stop committing violence toward all living things and to lead an ascetic, celibate, and pacifist life of strict discipline and constant mindfulness. Those who could not live up to such a difficult code of behavior were to do everything in their power to support those who could. Through reincarnation, these less able followers could hope for another chance in their next life, when they, too, would count on the support of others.

The Manichaean community for this reason consisted of two classes: the disciplined "elect" or "righteous," and the supportive "hearers," who led a less rigorous existence. The propertyless elect were required to travel constantly, spreading the teachings of Mani throughout the world. Consequently, they were totally dependent on the hearers for food, clothing, and shelter. The hearers were required to pray four times each day and to fast once a week. The elect prayed seven times each day and fasted until evening, when they partook of a sacred meal as part of their religious duty to free the life force in food by means of their pure bodies. The human body was itself considered a battleground of hostile forces, and Manichaeans sought to overpower their own sinful behavior and

inclination to evil. This struggle between virtues and vices was personified in a complex pantheon of spiritual beings, who were the respective emanations of the God of Truth (also called the Father of Greatness) and his eternal enemy, the anti-god and "father of lies." The Manichaeans developed an extensive hymnic tradition, in which they sang of their devotion to God and praised his light, power, and wisdom, the latter personified in his prophets, Zarathustra, the Buddha, Jesus, and Mani.

All Manichaeans theoretically obeyed the authority of Mani's successors in Mesopotamia (a kind of Manichaean "papacy"), but in actuality formed regional communities, which adapted deliberately to each cultural environment. Manichaeans in the West emphasized the religion's Christian elements, while in Central and East Asia Buddhist features gained prominence. This strategy of adaptation had been instigated by Mani himself, and it not only furthered missionary outreach, but also allowed Manichaean communities to go "underground" during frequent persecutions. In spite of nearly universal persecution, Manichaean communities extended from the region of present-day Spain to China by the eighth century C.E. Finally driven from the West by the triumph of Catholicism and then from its Near East homeland by the initially tolerant Muslims, Manichaeism persisted among the Uighur Turks (into the eleventh century) and in China, where the Manichaeans faded from history by the seventeenth century. *See also* MANI.

manna also called "bread from heaven," a white, flaky substance, which according to accounts in Exodus 16:1–36 and Numbers 11:4–9 (cf. Ps. 78:24, 105:40) was provided by God for the Hebrews after the Exodus from Egypt. In Exodus 16:15 the etymology of the term is traced to the people's question, "What is it?" (Heb.: *man hu*). The provision of manna, in response to the people's grumbling about their lack of food in the wilderness, is presented as a demonstration of the glory and power of the Lord God. Details of the narrative highlight its miraculous character. According to Numbers 11:4–9, the people grew tired of the manna and resumed their grumbling, asking for the richer food they had eaten in Egypt.

In 2 Baruch, an apocalypse of the second century C.E., manna figures in the description of the abundance of food promised at the end-time, when the messiah will be revealed: "At that time the treasury of manna will come down from on high" (29:8). In the New Testament, "the hidden manna" is promised as an eschatological reward for Christians who prove faithful (Rev. 2:17), and John 6 associates Jesus' miraculous feeding of the five thousand with the manna miracle. When the people compare Jesus to Moses, Jesus paraphrases Exodus 16:4: "It was not Moses who gave you bread from heaven, but it is my Father who gives you the true bread from heaven" (John 6:32). He goes on to identify himself with the manna, the food of eternal life, which is superior to the manna provided through Moses: "I am the bread of life. Your ancestors ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. . . . I am the living bread that came down from heaven. Whoever eats of this bread will live forever, and the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh" (6:49–51).

man pleaser (Gr.: *anthrōpareskos*) one whose overt actions are calculated to gain the approval of others. Psalms of Solomon 4 employs the term in a scorching criticism of people who pretentiously sit in the "council of the pious," but whose life is a deceitful fraud, replete with secret affairs, crooked contracts, and illegal schemes. The text is significant for the study of first-century Judaism, because it demonstrates that pious Jews, and not just the Evangelists, were aware of the dangers of hypocrisy. Interpretations of the New Testament use of the term (Gal. 1:10; Eph. 6:6; Col. 3:22) often overlook the nuance of hypocrisy.

Manual of Discipline *see* COMMUNITY RULE

Manue ancestor of a second-century-C.E. Jewish family that moved to Armenia during Trajan's reign. Moses Xorenazi reports that a family called Amaduni came to Armenia from the eastern part of the country of the Arik during Trajan's invasion of Armenia and that the family was descended from a certain Manue. Manue appears to be the Armenian form of Monobases or Monobazes. It is possible that this family was related to Monobazes, the king of Adiabene. Monobazes' son, Izates, converted to Judaism in the first century C.E. Therefore, Xorenazi's story may be a further chapter in the history of the Jewish royal family of Adiabenia.

Maon Synagogue ancient Jewish village and synagogue site about 20 kilometers southwest of Gaza, known today as Khirbet al-Main. In the Roman period it was part of the string of forts, known as the *limes Palaestinae,* that protected settled towns from marauders and bandits. The prayer hall found at this site measures about 19 by 15 meters and is built as a basilica with columns dividing the nave from the two aisles. There is an external apse built at the focus of worship at the northeast end of the building, which points toward Jerusalem. It is likely that three entrances opened into the worship space

from outside at the end opposite the apse. The floor of the nave is paved with a remarkable mosaic, which is about one-third destroyed. The mosaic has a vine trellis forming fifty medallions (inhabited by animals and birds) to the left and right of the center column. This center column is composed mainly of baskets of fruit, but at the end, just before the center of worship, is a menorah flanked by two lions. Around the menorah, an etrog, a lulab, and a shofar are depicted. From the entrance one sees a peacock, an eagle with outstretched wings, a leopard, two partridges, a flamingo, an ibex, a buffalo, two doves, a crane, a fat-tailed sheep, a hare, a guinea fowl, pheasants, a two-antlered stag, elephants, a central hen with egg on a water vessel, a duck, a bird in a cage, a hunting dog, and a gray goose. There is also a damaged Aramaic inscription beyond the menorah and the border of the mosaic: "Remembered be for good the whole congregation who have contributed this mosaic and furthermore Daisin and Thoma and Juda who have donated the sum of two [gold] denarii." The building was probably erected in the fourth century C.E. and was used through the sixth century C.E., which is the date assigned to the inscription. The latest coin found in the fill within the synagogue was 585 C.E. A water channel and a ritual bath (*mikveh*) stand to the east of the synagogue.

maot ḥittim (Heb., money for wheat) funds collected to ensure a supply of flour so that the poor would have unleavened bread for use on Passover. Maot ḥittim is referred to at Y. Baba Batra 1:6 (12b), which states that residency in a town for one year obliged one to contribute or entitled one to receive "flour for Passover." In medieval Europe, the community's rabbi and elders made up a list of those who would give or receive maot ḥittim.

Maoz Hayim Synagogue ancient synagogue site at the modern town of that name about 4 kilometers east of Beth Shean. The plan of the building during its whole history was that of a simple basilica with two rows of columns dividing interior space into a nave and two aisles. In its first phase, from the third century C.E., the building was almost square, or 12.5 by 14 meters. Two rows of columns divided interior space into a wide nave and two narrower aisles on either side. On the south side of the building a large raised platform or *bimah* extended into the worship space. This low *bimah* served for the Torah shrine. The excavator believes that the entrances were from the east, since in the later structure entry was from that direction. The interior floor of the first synagogue was a mosaic that contained a representation of a seven-branched menorah and a shofar in the southern section. The rest appears to have been composed of geometric designs, namely, meanders, though a bird was also depicted. This building was not destroyed violently, but was evidently simply superseded in the fifth century C.E. by the later synagogue.

The renovated synagogue was extended northward 4 meters to make a building 12.5 by 18 meters. In this building an apse was constructed on the south side that extended 3 meters to the exterior. The apse now served as the *bimah,* and its floor was higher than the interior floor of the worship space. The floor was the reused mosaic floor of the earliest phase of the building. The apse was partitioned by a marble screen. Interior to the apse stood the Torah shrine, probably of wood, as no stone fragments were found. Entry into the building was from an exterior courtyard forming an L-shaped exterior space without columns. That part of the L in front of the facade functioned as a narthex or front porch. This outside area was paved with stone slabs. Entrance from the narthex into the synagogue was through a central door in the north facade.

Near the end of its use as a synagogue, perhaps in the sixth century C.E., a new mosaic floor was laid about 30 centimeters above the earlier floor. It appears to have been simple geometric patterns without birds or a menorah. Benches were added along the walls. The earlier stone columns were replaced with inferior columns, perhaps of wood. A *bimah* was built beside the apse and extended into the nave. A *geniza,* a place for storing unusable or damaged scrolls, was dug into the east side of the apse. A marble screen was in use to separate the apse and *bimah* from the nave. Two double doors opened inward to the courtyard to the east. Some kind of attached structures or rooms existed in this period, or from the second phase of the synagogue, on the southwest, but it is as yet impossible to determine what they were. The synagogue was destroyed and its settlement abandoned in the seventh century C.E., probably as a result of the Arab conquest.

Mar in the Talmuds, a term of respect, often used to designate a scholar; literally, "master." In some cases, Mar is used as a title preceding the name (e.g., Mar Samuel and Mar Ukba). The term also is used when the Talmud quotes an anonymous Amoraic statement, which frequently is introduced: "A master said. . . ."

maranatha an Aramaic sentence transliterated into Greek and found in 1 Corinthians 16:22 and

Didache 10:6. It is derived from *mar* (lord) and *ata* (come). Depending on how the sentence is divided, it can mean either "Our Lord has come" (*maran atha*), or "Our Lord, come" (*marana tha*). One of the concluding phrases of the Book of Revelation is "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!" which probably derives from *maranatha* and so supports the sentence's second meaning. The contexts in which *maranatha* appears in both its transliterated and translated forms suggest that it has a liturgical origin.

Mar b. Ashi talmudic designation for Tabiomi, son of Ashi, a Babylonian amora active in the fifth century C.E.; head of the academy at Sura from 455 C.E. until his death in 468. The unusual circumstances surrounding his assumption of that post are narrated at B. Baḇa Batra 12b.

Mar b. Raḇina Babylonian amora of the early fourth century C.E., known for his ascetic practice of engaging in fasts throughout the year, except on Pentecost, Purim, and the eve of the Day of Atonement (B. Pesaḥim 68b). In a similar spirit, when he believed that his colleagues were becoming inappropriately merry at the wedding of his son, he broke an expensive cup to sadden them (B. Berakhot 30b–31a).

Marcellus, Gaius Quinctius Certus Publicius governor of Syria. Leader of the only Syrian legion, III Gallica, known to have fought in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. He probably moved his troops into Palestine in 132 or 133 C.E. He apparently was the most competent general close to the fighting. Eusebius also mentions this reinforcement of the Roman forces.

Marcion (d. c. 160 C.E.) a wealthy shipowner who in 140 C.E. went to Rome, where he developed his own understanding of Christianity; he was expelled from the Christian community in 144. Many Christian writings of the late second century seek to refute Marcion and thus testify to the success of his teaching in attracting followers to his communities, which were very similar to Christian communities. Partly under the influence of Gnosticism, he taught that the God of the Old Testament was an evil and deceptive God of creation (demiurge) who was involved with the material world and a God of law who laid impossible and contradictory burdens on Israel. Marcion understood the God of the New Testament to be a spiritual God of love who sent Jesus Christ to reveal the spiritual world and overthrow the God of creation. He held that Jesus was a spiritual being who only appeared to be a human. He accepted as authoritative only certain books of the New Testament that were not "Jewish," namely, some of the Pauline Epistles, because they contrasted law and spirit, and an edited version of the Gospel of Luke.

Marcionites followers of the early Christian teacher Marcion. The Marcionites, with their teacher, were expelled from the Roman church in the middle of the second century and established numerous communities in the following decades. They were similar in ritual to Christian communities, but taught Marcion's interpretation of the Bible and New Testament, which involved a radical rejection of anything Jewish. Marcion's communities also taught a sharp division between spirit and matter and were absorbed into the dualistic Manichean communities in the late third century. *See also* MARCION.

Marcius Turbo *see* TURBO, QUINTUS MARCIUS

Marcus Aurelius Roman emperor (r. 161–180 C.E.). He was born in 121 and named Marcus Annius Verus. Hadrian became enamored of the boy and made him a Salian priest at age eight, betrothed him in 136 to the daughter of Lucius Aelius whom Hadrian had adopted as his successor, and hired only the best teachers to supervise his extensive education in rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, and law. Upon becoming emperor, Marcus Aurelius petitioned the Senate to grant Aelius's son, Lucius Verus, joint authority with him. After settling the revolts in Britain and Chattan, in 162 he sent Verus to respond to the Parthians' seizure of Armenia and their victory over two Roman legions. Although Verus was slow to arrive, Statius Priscus regained Armenia in 163–164, and Avidius Cassius succeeded in making Mesopotamia a Roman protectorate in 165–166. His attempts to finally place central and southeastern Europe north of the Danube under permanent Roman control were abandoned when Cassius revolted in 175. In 175 and 176, after Cassius's murder, the emperor visited Egypt and Syria to firmly establish his control. Ammianus Marcellinus writes that the emperor was "frequently exasperated by the Jews, who were malodorous and riotous," and he compared them unfavorably to his barbarian enemies in the north. Exactly what this means is unclear, but it does not appear that there was an open revolt or concerted opposition to the emperor. Marcus Aurelius is often claimed to have been the Antoninus with whom the rabbinic sources claim Judah the Patriarch was in conversation. In 177 he elevated his son Commodus to coemperor and set off on a campaign against the German tribes. Marcus's life was guided by Stoic philosophy, and he is one of the few Roman emperors whose writings have gained

more fame than his practical accomplishments as ruler.

Marheshvan *see* ḤESHVAN

Mariamme **1.** second wife of Herod the Great and grandaughter of both Hyrcanus, the last Hasmonean high priest, and his brother, Aristobulus. She married Herod in 37 B.C.E., just before he became effective ruler of Palestine. She bore Alexander and Aristobulus, executed by Herod in 7 B.C.E., and two daughters. She was politically active in the struggles for power in the Herodian court. Herod became convinced of her infidelity and executed her in 29 B.C.E., an act for which he later suffered remorse.

2. Herod the Great's third wife, whom he married in 24 B.C.E. She was the daughter of Simon, an Alexandrian priest, whom Herod appointed as high priest so that he could marry her. She was the mother of Herod, son of Herod, who for a while was second in line for the throne. She was part of the group that supported Antipater as heir of Herod, for which Herod divorced her and disinherited her son.

Mariamne *see* MARIAMME

Mark, Jews in the Gospel of The majority of the people appearing in the Gospel of Mark, including Jesus, are Jews and are treated without prejudice. The Jewish crowds in Galilee who hear and follow Jesus are presented as curious, interested, and sometimes enthusiastic. Even when the Jerusalem crowd calls for Jesus' execution, they are pictured as having been misled by the Jerusalem leadership. Many stories and dialogues concern polemical exchanges between Jesus and Jewish opponents. In all cases the adversarial groups are differentiated so that Jews as a whole are not attacked. The Pharisees confront Jesus over interpretation of Sabbath, purity, and other laws. The scribes conflict with him over teaching authority. The Jerusalem authorities (chief priests, elders, and scribes) treat Jesus as a threat to political stability and seek his execution. The stories are stylized and of limited value for determining the historical relationship of Jesus to the Jewish community. The author of Mark also polemicizes against the Temple and proclaims divine judgment against it. It is likely that the author or at least his audience was mainly gentile. He explains the meaning of Jewish terms and customs and he feels free to teach that dietary and purity regulations no longer apply (7:19). In general, the author stresses the authority of Jesus and diminishes the importance of the Temple and its leadership.

Markah a fourth-century Samaritan hymnist and author of the *Memar Markah* (a theological work also known as the *Tibat Markah*) who lived in Nablus in the Palestinian hill country north of Jerusalem. According to tradition, an angel of the Lord named him Moses at birth, but his parents called him Markah, a name that has the same numerical value as Moses when the number equivalents of each Hebrew letter are totaled. He was the father of Noneh, who also became a writer of hymns. Markah was the most highly venerated of all non-biblical personages by the Samaritans, and later tradition described him as a priest, perhaps symbolizing orthodox acceptance (and co-opting) of his eclectic and possibly Dosithean views. For example, he is the earliest Samaritan to explicitly describe an afterlife, perhaps expressing a Dosithean tenet.

Markah's poetic style, though different from that of his near contemporary Amram Darah, also became a standard form of liturgical poetry. Like Amram, Markah did not use rhyme in his poetry. His poems were longer than those of Amram and did employ acrostics, usually alphabetical, in which subsequent verses began with the next letter of the alphabet. On one occasion he worked his own name into the first letters of a poem. In further contrast to Amram, he used a standard number of lines in a verse, usually four or seven. He had a rich vocabulary and good rhetorical skills that are evident both in his poetry and in his great theological commentary, the *Memar Markah*.

Part of his genius was his ability to both comprehend and blend ideas from various contemporary philosophies. There are traces of Gnosticism, Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, and the concepts of Philo in his work. John MacDonald, who has made the Memar Markah available in both Aramaic and English (*Memar Markah* [1963]), believes that Markah assimilated Christian concepts, attributing to Moses qualities that the Gospel of John and the Book of Hebrews used in reference to Jesus. Markah anticipated kabbalistic preoccupations with his mystic meditations on the letters of the alphabet. Although he did not believe that individuals need the intercession of Moses, he did believe that Moses met an intercessory "glory of God" on Mount Sinai rather than God Himself, thus resisting an anthropomorphic portrayal of God. He subtly associated Moses and God by referring to God as "The Standing One" and Moses as the one "Standing by God."

Mark Antony (c. 83–31 B.C.E.) Roman general and ally of Julius Caesar in his struggle for power in Rome. After Caesar's death, he was one of three rulers, with Octavian (later Augustus Caesar) and Lepidus. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at

the Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.E.), Antony ruled the eastern half of the Roman Empire, where he formed a liaison with Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt. Octavian conspired against him and defeated him at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. Pursued to Egypt, Antony commited suicide.

maror (Heb.) bitter herbs, consumed at the Passover Seder in remembrance of the bitter life of slaves

marriage (Heb.: *nissuin*) the legal union of a man and a woman, consummated by sexual intercourse and providing the basic structure of the family. Traditionally, it follows the betrothal and is supported by the terms of the marriage contract (*ketubah*). Fidelity is required; polygamy is permitted; endogamy is advised; levirate marriage is occasionally practiced; celibacy is uncommon but accepted; progeny are desirable; priests are restricted from marrying particular women (Lev. 21:7–8; *Spec. Leg.* 1; *Ant.* 3.12.2); and the ideal marriage remains a dominant metaphor for the relationship between the husband/God and Israel or the Church. Concern with marriage appears in sacred and secular contexts and encompasses law, wisdom literature, narrative, and poetry.

The Book of Tobit emphasizes marriage: Sarah marries Tobias only after he exorcises the demon who has killed her first seven husbands; marital strains and their resolution between Tobit and Sarah, as well as the irenic relationship between Raguel and Edna, are depicted; endogamy is preached; and Tobit instructs Tobias on how to be a proper husband. Joseph and Asenath depicts love at first sight and provides information on betrothals and weddings (esp. Jos. Asen. 21). Ben Sira bewails the inability of husbands and fathers to insure the chastity of wives and daughters. More for eschatological than social reasons, Paul too recognizes difficulties the responsibilities of marriage can cause (cf. 1 Cor. 7). Warning against sexual sins, Pseudo-Phocylides nevertheless strongly encourages marriage and children (175–217).

According to Josephus (*War* 2.8.2; *Ant.* 18.1.5), Philo (*Hyp.* 11.14.17), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 5.73), Essene (men) reject marriage; Josephus and Philo provide a reason: the Essenes view women as naturally unfaithful. Yet Josephus also mentions married Essenes (*War* 2.8.12). The Dead Sea Scrolls and archaeological evidence provide conflicting data. While the Damascus Document (CD 7:6–7), the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1:4), the War Scroll (1QM 7:4–5, with women and children removed from the camp during holy war), and the Temple Scroll (11QTemple, following biblical material) mention married members and marital laws, the Qumran cemetery has yielded almost only male remains.

Jesus' marital status is not discussed in early Christian texts. Marital imagery, however, is common (the wedding at Cana in John 2; bridegroom language; the "marriage supper of the Lamb" in Rev. 19:9). The Pastoral and Catholic Epistles commend women's subordination and patriarchal marriage (1 Tim. 2; 1 Pet. 3); some of these texts may be in reaction to Christian women's attraction to celibacy (see The Acts of Paul and Thecla).

In rabbinic Judaism, marriage refers to the consummation of a marriage and completion of the marriage bond. Rabbinic literature regards the natural state of humanity as marriage, and women in particular are assumed to be subject to the family bond, first as daughters and then as wives. The principal interest for the law of Judaism is the point at which a woman becomes or ceases to be holy to a particular man, that is, when she enters or leaves the marital union. These transfers of women are the dangerous and disorderly points in the relationship of woman to man, and therefore are dangerous to society as well.

Five of the seven Mishnah tractates concerning women are devoted to the formation and dissolution of the marital bond. Three of these five tractates, Kiddushin, Ketubot, and Gittin, treat that which is done by man here on earth, that is, formation of a marital bond through betrothal and the marriage contract and dissolution of a marital bond through divorce and its consequences. One of them, Sotah, is devoted to that which is done by woman here on earth. The fifth, Yebamot, deals with the corresponding heavenly intervention into the formation and end of a marriage: the effect of death upon the marital bond and the dissolution, through death, of that bond. The other two tractates, Nedarim and Nazir, draw into one the two realms of reality, heaven and earth, as they work out the effects of vows taken by women and subject to the confirmation or abrogation of the father or husband. These vows make a deep impact upon the marital life of the woman who has taken them.

In all, the system set forth in these seven tractates, which comprise the third division of the Mishnah, Nashim, delineates the natural and supernatural character of the woman's role in the social economy framed by man: the beginning, end, and middle of that relationship. The tractate Yebamot concerns the rule that the levirate connection is null in a case of consanguinity. The tractate also deals with marriage into the priesthood and the

right to eat heave-offering, severing the marital bond, marital ties subject to doubt, the right of refusal, infirm marital bonds, the deaf-mute, the minor male, severing the marital bond through death of the husband, the woman's testimony, and identifying a corpse. The tractate Ketubot covers the material rights of the parties to the marital union (the wife, the father, and the husband). It discusses conflicting claims, fines paid to the father in the case of rape or seduction, the father's material rights, the husband's material rights, rules for the duration of the marriage, the wife's duties to the husband, the husband's marital rights and duties, the dowry, property rights of the wife while she is married, settlement of the marriage contract in the event of the husband's death, multiple claims on an estate, and the support of the widow. The tractate Nedarim deals with the language of vows, including euphemisms and language of no effect or of limited effect; the binding effects of vows not to derive benefit in general, vows not to eat some specific kind of food in particular, and vows not to use certain objects; the temporal application of vows; and the absolution of vows. The discussion of absolution covers grounds for absolution, annulling the vows of a daughter and of a wife, the husband's power to annul the wife's vows, and vows of a woman who is not subject to their abrogation. Invoking the ordeal of the bitter water, the tractate Sotah sets forth the narrative of the ordeal and the rules of the ordeal. It discusses exemptions and applicability, testimony, rites conducted in Hebrew, the anointed-for-battle and draft exemptions, the rite of the heifer, and the neglected corpse. Dealing with writs of divorce, the tractate Gittin discusses delivering a writ of divorce; preparing a writ of divorce; two irrelevant matters (confirming the prevailing supposition and fifteen rulings enacted for the good order of society); the law of agency in writs of divorce; receiving the writ; appointing an agent to prepare and deliver a writ of divorce; stipulations in writs of divorce; invalidity and impairment arising from improper delivery, improper preparation, improper stipulations, and improper witnesses; and grounds for divorce. Taking up the process of betrothal, the tractate Kiddushin defines the rules of acquisition of a woman in betrothal. It discusses procedures of betrothal, agency, the token of betrothal, stipulations, impaired betrothals, doubts in matters of betrothal, appropriate candidates for betrothal, castes and outcastes, the status of the offspring of impaired marriages, and marriage among castes. It also includes miscellanies and homilies. We see in this detailed account of the division's repertoire of themes that we have an encompassing account of the formation, duration, and dissolution of marriages. The topic is worked out in a fairly systematic and orderly way. *See also* BETROTHAL; BRIDEGROOM; DIVORCE; ENDOGAMY; MARRIAGE CONTRACT; MARRIAGES, PROHIBITED; WOMEN, POSITION OF.

marriage contract (Heb.: *ketubah*) contract describing a marriage settlement, stipulating obligations to the wife in the event of the husband's death or a divorce. The text is as follows: "This *ketubah* witnesses before God and man that on the . . . day of the week, the . . . of the month . . . , in the year [the year reckoned from creation], the holy covenant of marriage was entered between bridegroom and his bride, at. . . . Duly conscious of the solemn obligation of marriage the bridegroom made the following declaration to his bride: 'Be consecrated to me as my wife according to the laws and traditions of Moses and Israel. I will love, honor and cherish you; I will protect and support you; and I will faithfully care for your needs, as prescribed by Jewish law and tradition.' And the bride made the following declaration to the groom: 'In accepting the wedding ring I pledge you all my love and devotion and I take upon myself the fulfillment of all the duties incumbent upon a Jewish wife.'"

marriages, prohibited marriages that may not be consecrated in the first place or that are deemed null and void (despite having been consecrated) because the involved parties are relatives or have a personal status that precludes marriage. Rabbinic law deems null and void *ab initio* marriages proscribed by scripture because the parties are within a prohibited degree of kinship (see Lev. 18:6–30). In this category are marriages between siblings (whole or half), marriages between an aunt and nephew, marriage to a brother's wife or to a wife's sister while the wife is alive (even after divorce), marriage to the wife of an uncle, marriage to a son- or daughter-in-law, and marriage to someone already married. Offspring of any of these unions are *mamzerim* and entirely forbidden from marriage.

Certain other marriages are forbidden by rabbinic law, but if celebrated are deemed valid. Included in this category are marriages involving a person born of an incestuous or adulterous marriage (*mamzer*) or a castrated man; marriages between a man and a woman whom he had divorced and who had subsequently been remarried and then divorced or widowed; marriages between a priest and a divorcee or proselyte; mar-

riages between an adulterous woman and her lover; a man's marriage to a second woman while he still is married to his first wife; marriages to a woman divorced or widowed less than three months; and marriages to a pregnant or nursing woman. These unions are deemed valid, and are treated under the law as normal marriages, with no stigma attaching to any children of the union. At the same time, the fact that the marriage was forbidden *ab initio* is grounds for either party to demand and obtain a divorce.

The Mishnah tractate Yebamot lists additional forbidden unions. The point in these instances is to prevent a man from benefiting from licentious behavior or from giving testimony or acting as a judge in a case in which he has a personal interest. For instance, a man suspected of having intercourse with a slave woman who subsequently was set free or with a gentile woman who subsequently converted to Judaism may not marry her. Comparably, one who seduces a married woman, whose original marriage then is dissolved by a court, may not marry the woman. If he does so anyway, a court can impose a divorce. Finally, individuals involved in a woman's divorce proceedings are forbidden from marrying that woman. This applies to a man who delivers a writ of divorce from overseas, who is responsible for attesting to the validity of the document (M. Yebamot 2:8), and to a judge before whom a widow refused to perform the rite of halitzah (M. Yebamot 2:10).

Mar Samuel *see* SAMUEL

Martial Roman epigrammist of the late first century C.E. He makes several references to Jews in his *Epigrams;* in some cases, it is only to have a joke at their expense, but this is not unusual since he does this with most of his subjects. For instance, he uses the "breath of Sabbatarian women" as one example of a bad smell. This may suggest that Jews were thought to fast on the Sabbath. Another epigram mentions Jews who were taught to beg, a stock image of the Jews. He also mentions a circumcised actor and a circumcised poet, indicating Jews could be in these professions.

Martialis, Quintus Rammius prefect of Egypt (117–119 C.E.). The Acta Pauli et Antonini, the longest chapter of the Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs, discusses an episode in Alexandria in which the Greeks used their slaves as agents in the illegal release and beating of some prisoners. Sixty Greeks had been found guilty of instigating the violence, but the matter dragged on until Martialis issued an edict on the subject. The papyrus also deals with Martialis's reconstructions after the revolt. Antoninus was one of the leaders of a Greek delegation to the emperor Hadrian to complain about the Jews in Alexandria. The Jews had recently been involved in a revolt and were not citizens of Alexandria, yet Martialis allowed them to reside in a place near the city from where they could easily attack the Alexandrians. It is clear to Antoninus that none of the delegation's letters reached the emperor. The implication of Antoninus's remarks is that Martialis had prevented the Greeks' communications from reaching Rome.

martyr (Gr.: *martys,* witness) one whose death or suffering for his or her convictions is construed as a witness to those convictions. Jewish and early Christian literature is replete with stories in which the protagonist comments on the meaning of her or his impending death. Most often they are cast in the genre of tales about the persecution and vindication of a wise courtier. Modifying older stories such as Genesis 37–50 (Joseph), the Story of Ahikar, and the Mordecai story in the Book of Esther, Daniel 3 and 6 characterize their heroes as righteous men prepared to die for the Torah. The three youths express their trust in God's ability to deliver them (3:16–18) and, retrospectively, Daniel ties his rescue to his faithfulness (6:22). In 2 Maccabees 7, much of the narrative about the deaths of the seven brothers and their mother consists of speeches in which the protagonists express their conviction that God (1) is punishing Israel for its sins; (2) will punish Antiochus; (3) will vindicate their innocent deaths for the Torah through resurrection. The story is preceded by an account of the death of Eleazar, who exhorts the young to imitate his willing death for the Torah (6:18–28). In the Story of Susanna, the heroine's testimony is embodied in a prayer that asserts her innocence. The Martyrdom of Isaiah depicts the dying prophet speaking from a Spirit-inspired trance (chap. 5). The story of the mother and her seven sons had long history in Jewish tradition and is attested in 4 Maccabees, Lamentations Rabbah 1:50 and B. Gittin 57b (where it is set in the time of Hadrian), and the history of Joseph ben Gorion (Josippon).

New Testament stories about Jesus' suffering and death imitate the Jewish narratives (Matt. 26–27; Mark 14–15; Luke 22–23; John 13–19). Jesus' testimony about the meaning of his death appears mainly in his comments to his disciples. However, in Matthew 26:64, Mark 14:62, and Luke 22:70, he confesses his identity when interrogated by the high priest, and in John 18:33–19:11 he converses with Pilate. References to his silence reflect Isaiah 53:7 and Second Isaiah's portrait of the Servant of

YHWH, which influenced Jewish texts about persecution and vindication. Among the accounts of Jesus' death, Luke's is noteworthy for the unique words of witness ascribed to Jesus (23:34, 43, 46), this being consonant with Luke's emphasis on the exemplary character of Jesus' death. Thus, in Acts 6–7, Luke employs the passion narrative genre to narrate Stephen's trial and death. However, this association between Jesus' death and that of his followers is explicit already in Mark 8:34 and is implicit in Mark 13:9, which mentions one's "testimony" (Gr.: *martyrion*) before kings and governors.

The explicit notion of innocent death as a witness appears in Jewish texts first in 1 Enoch 8:4, 9:10, and 22:7, where the blood of the righteous (Abel in 22:7) brings accusation and appeals for retribution. The earliest Christian uses of *martys* to refer to a martyr are in Acts 22:20 (of Stephen) and Revelation 2:13, although it may be implied in Hebrews 12:1 (cf. 11:4; 12:24 of Abel). The noun and related words meaning "martyrdom" and "to witness" come into wide Christian usage after 150 C.E. They appear frequently in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (mid-2d c.) and in the writings of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The story of Justin's trial depicts him testifying to his faith and describes him and others as "(holy) martyrs." Stories about the deaths of Christian martyrs come into wide currency from the late second century onward.

Martyrs, Ten the rabbis executed by Hadrian for their support of Bar Kokhba (134 C.E.): Simeon, Ishmael, Akiba, Ḥananiah b. Teradyon, Huspit, Yeshebab, Eliezer b. Shammua, Ḥananiah b. Hakhinai, Judah b. Baba, and Ishmael b. Elisha. Descriptions of their torture and death are taken from a gaonic midrash and are part of the liturgy for the Day of Atonement and for the Ninth of Ab. The latter's moving liturgy (probably 12th c. C.E.) mentions eight of the martyrs and includes the following expressions of grief: "The cedars of Lebanon, noble persons of the Torah, shield bearers of the Mishnah and Talmud, mighty heroes who toiled in it in purity—their blood was spilled and their heroism ended. Here are the ten holy martyrs of the realm, and for them I weep and my eyes pour forth tears. . . . They brought R. Akiba, whose powers of logic could uproot mountains and grind them together. And they combed his flesh with an iron comb to break him. His soul departed as he recited, '. . . is one.' And a heavenly voice said, 'Happy are you R. Akiba. Your body is purer than every kind of purity.'"

Mar Ukba I an early Babylonian exilarch (c. 210–240 C.E.); presided over the court at Kafri. Divergent stories report either that he honored the piety and learning of rabbis, who deferred to him in political matters, or that he was ignorant, imprisoned Rab, and did not properly observe the law.

Mar Ukba II grandson of Mar Ukba I; Babylonian exilarch (313–337 C.E.); father of Abba Mari. On his mother's side, he was a grandson of Rab. He is particularly known for having the rabbinic authority Geniba executed, apparently for teaching that rabbis (not exilarchs) should rule the Jewish nation. He is also referred to as Mar Ukban de Tzutzita, Akabiah, and Rabban Ukba.

marzeaḥ (Heb.) technical term used to designate a form of religious association. The word is known from the Hebrew Bible, as well as from cognate Semitic languages, such as Ugaritic. The *marzeaḥ* seems to have been mainly a funerary institution, with the purpose both of burying the dead and of commemorating the deceased with a periodic banquet. Thus, the *marzeaḥ* also became known for its consumption of large quantities of drink. This and possible associations with pagan worship led to its condemnation in the Hebrew Bible. Overall, the *marzeaḥ* seems to have functioned much as the *collegia* did in the Graeco-Roman world.

Mar Zutra **1.** Babylonian amora active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a friend of Ashi. He succeeded Kahana as exilarch in 401 C.E. and ruled until 409.

2. son of Ḥuna. He served as exilarch from 512 until 520 C.E., when he rebelled against the Persian government and was imprisoned and executed.

Masabala b. Simon one of the commanders of the area around En Gedi during the Bar Kosiba Revolt. En Gedi was one of the administrative centers of the revolt, and it was the chief port for supplies shipped across the Dead Sea. One of the Bar Kosiba letters is addressed to Masabala b. Simon and his co-commander, Jonathan b. Baayan, and chastises them for "sitting eating and drinking and caring nothing for their brothers." He was probably also involved with confiscating the property of a certain wealthy landowner in En Gedi who refused to cooperate with the revolt.

Masada fortress from the Hasmonean and Herodian periods located on the west bank of the southern part of the Dead Sea about 14.5 kilometers from En Gedi. The fortress is located on the top of a plateau with cliffs on all sides and it towers 600 meters above the Dead Sea. The name "Masada" is extremely close to the Hebrew and Aramaic words

for "fortress," and the name of this particular fortress occurs in numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions.

The earliest history of Masada is somewhat mysterious. Scattered sherds from the Chalcolithic and Iron II periods suggest that the site experienced some settlement, if only sparse and sporadic, since the fourth millennium B.C.E. There are no signs, however, of architectural remains from these periods. The next archaeological sign of settlement at Masada comes from the Hasmonean period with the discovery of some coins from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (first half of the first century C.E.). The name Jannaeus on these coins is seemingly consistent with an account by the Jewish historian Josephus, which relates a speech by Eleazer during the final defense of Masada. In this speech, Eleazer refers to a tradition of the founding and naming of the fortress by a high priest named Jonathan, causing some scholars to identify this Jonathan with the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (*War,* VII:285). Nevertheless, another passage in Josephus (*War,* IV:399) clarifies that the establishment of Masada was carried out by the "ancient kings," suggesting the Hasmonean kings. With this passage in mind, the Jonathan mentioned by Josephus is most easily identified as the Hasmonean Jonathan Maccabeus who became high priest in 153 or 152 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc. 10:15–21).

The mystery lingers concerning the establishment of the fortress at Masada because the extensive excavations carried out on the summit of the site have yet to yield any certain architectural remains from the Hasmonean period. Two buildings show some signs of Hasmonean occupation, but the final report of the Masada excavation disputes a firm identification. On the other hand, the written sources indicate that some sort of fortress must have been established during the Hasmonean reign, both because of the above references from Josephus and because at least a small fortress was present when Herod the Great's brother Joseph and his eight hundred men guarded Masada from siege by the Parthian army in 40 B.C.E. Herod returned from Rome the following year and rescued his brother in 39 B.C.E. Realizing the military advantages of the site and the need for a place of refuge in case he was deposed, Herod overhauled the site from 37 to 31 B.C.E., extensively improving the fortifications, buildings, and cisterns. Since all, or almost all, of the early architecture from Masada dates from the Herodian period, one must assume that the entire site was either rebuilt or established by Herod during a six-year period.

After the Herodian complex was completed in about 31 B.C.E., it contained a sophisticated water collection and distribution system, extensive fortifications, storehouses, and palaces. The desert climate of course necessitated the elaborate water system and storehouses, which are quite impressive even by today's standards. Dams were constructed that trapped the flash floods that came through the Masada Valley during the rainy season. This water was then transferred via plastered aqueducts to extensive cisterns, which were cut into the rock cliffs. The total capacity of all the cisterns was close to 40,000 cubic meters. Smaller cisterns found adjacent to the various buildings provided further ways of collecting the periodic rainfall. In addition, food storehouses were constructed for public storage and for the various palaces.

The fortifications were equally impressive. The entire distance of the circumference (about 1,400 m) was enclosed by a casemate wall. There were numerous towers spaced at uneven distances along the wall, and there were five gates (though only four were in use during any one period). Of course, the most effective fortification was the natural location of Masada on the top of a plateau surrounded by steep cliffs on all sides.

As the fortress was also constructed with the Herodian family in mind, there were several groups of palaces at Masada: (1) the three-tiered northern palace-villa, which contained living quarters on the upper tier and entertainment facilities on the lower two tiers; (2) the western palace, which contained the administrative center as well as almost 4,000 square miles of residential space for royal guests; (3) an administrative wing and residence for palace officials adjacent to the western palace; and (4) three smaller palaces, which were found close by, just southeast of the western palace, which were probably used as residences for the royal family.

Other interesting finds from Masada include numerous coins and epigraphic materials. The written texts are particularly interesting because they include multiple ostraca (pottery sherds with ink writing) that illustrate how the rationing of food and water took place during times of siege.

A synagogue was also discovered at Masada that is particularly important for an understanding of Judaism because it is one of the few examples of a synagogue that was used before the destruction of the Second Temple. This synagogue at Masada and another Second Temple synagogue from Herodium both contain a vestibule and a hallway. In addition, both buildings were almost identical in their

dimensions: the Masada building was 12 by 15 meters, while the building from Herodian was 10.5 by 15 meters. Like later synagogues, worshipers faced Jerusalem, but in both the Masada and Herodium synagogues, the worshipers faced Jerusalem immediately upon entering the building, instead of turning to face the Holy City at the Torah shrine. These two synagogues provide important data that point to a link between Second Temple synagogues and later synagogues constructed after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. This link is particularly helpful in understanding written references in sources like the New Testament to synagogues that were contemporary to the Second Temple.

The defeat of Masada by the Roman army in 74 C.E. is probably the most famous story associated with the fortress. Four years after the fall of the Second Temple, the Romans crushed the last Jewish resistance that had taken refuge at Masada. Instead of allowing the Romans to kill and imprison them, the survivors committed suicide on the eve of what would have been certain defeat. After this conquest, a small Roman force was stationed at the site to keep it secure. A church was later built during the Byzantine period in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.

mashgiaḥ (Heb.) supervisor of rituals, particularly ritual slaughter. A *mashgiaḥ* must be expert in law, pious, and God-fearing. An ignorant man, motivated by financial gain, cannot supervise religious rites.

maskil (Heb., master) one of the titles for a lay officer in the Qumran Community. The term *maskil* appears in three clearly sectarian texts, the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, and the War Scroll. In fact, the Community Rule contains an entire section of statutes for the *maskil* (1QS 9:26–10:8), in which he is admonished to be the living embodiment of the sect's rules. His duties include teaching and instruction (cf. 1QS 3:13, the introduction to the Treatise on the Two Spirits), the administration of justice, the admission of new members, and playing a pastoral role among the members of the Community. The section ends with the Hymn of the Master (1QS 10:9–11:22), which describes the characteristics prescribed in the preceding statutes.

There are two mentions of the *maskil* in the Damascus Document (CD 12:21, 13:22), both in formulaic closings to groups of statutes: "and these are the precepts in which the Master shall walk in his commerce with all the living. . . ." The *maskil*'s role is much more shadowy in the Damascus Document than in the Community Rule; it has been argued that the *maskil* should be identified with the *mebaker*, or guardian, also found in the Damascus Document (and less prominently in 1QS), since in some cases their duties overlap, but the fact that two different titles are used militates against this identification. Finally, the heading of the War Scroll reads "To the m[askil]." Therefore, it is clear that the *maskil* holds a prominent position in the hierarchy of the Qumran Community. *See also* COMMUNITY RULE.

Masorah a collection of notes and signs aimed to ensure that the text of the Hebrew Bible would be pronounced correctly when read aloud and transcribed accurately when copied. Jewish scholars from different regions developed different Masoretic systems: Palestinian, Babylonian, and Tiberian. By the sixteenth century, the Tiberian Masorah came to be accepted as the most authoritative. To ensure correct pronunciation, scribes inserted vowels and accents into the otherwise consonantal Hebrew text. To ensure accurate copying, two different types of Masorah were developed. Masorah Parva consists of short notes—usually made up of abbreviations—written in the margins of the manuscript that identify unusual spellings, the number of times a word appears, and so on. It also indicates *kere* and *ketiḇ*. The Masorah Magna (Great Masorah) consists of notes written in the margins and at the ends of books with lists of particular forms, where certain words appear as well as unique forms. Since their inception, the Masoretic notations have enabled the accurate copying of the Hebrew Bible, providing the biblical text with a stable manuscript tradition from the early Middle Ages. This is called the Masoretic Text. *See also* KERE, KETIḆ; MASORETIC TEXT.

Masorah to Targum Onkelos Like the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, the text of Targum Onkelos was considered so authoritative by the medieval rabbis that they constructed a Masorah for it. For the Masoretic text, the Masorah's list of notes was designed to help ensure that the text was copied correctly. The notes in Targum Onkelos's Masorah served the additional purpose of preserving alternate readings.

Masoretes Jewish scholars who developed a system of notes and signs to ensure the accurate transmission and pronunciation of the text of the Hebrew Bible. They did most of their work between 500 and 950 C.E. Their systems have been recorded in texts called the Masorot (plural of Masorah). The most famous of the Masoretes were Ben Naphtali and Ben Asher.

Masoretic Text the standard text of the Hebrew Bible developed by the Tiberian Masoretes. This text provides a fixed model for the three main elements of the biblical text: the consonantal text, the vowel signs, and the accents. Of the three, the consonantal text is the oldest, deriving from the first millennium B.C.E. Both the accents and the vowel signs were developed in the second half of the first millenium C.E. *See also* MASORAH.

massoret (Heb.) handing down; that which is handed down; tradition; *see also* TORAH

mastema (from Heb., hostility) a characteristic of the chief evil spirit, or, in some sources, his name. In Jubilees, the term is predominantly associated with the chief of the evil spirits who came from the dead progeny of the watchers. The texts and individual manuscripts vary as to whether it is a proper name (the Prince Mastema) or an attribute (the prince of hostility). He obstructs God's purposes, leads people to sin, brings sickness, and acts as accuser (perhaps reflecting the related Heb. root *stn*). In the Qumran War Scroll, *mastema* is an attribute of the chief evil spirit, Belial (1QM 13:4, 11; 14:9; cf. Jub. 1:20; 17:16).

Mata Mahasia town in southern Babylonia, near Sura, where the Euphrates River splits into two; first mentioned in the Talmud at the time of Ashi, who moved the academy of Sura to Mata Mahasia. Ashi calls the people who live there "stout-hearted," for "they witness the glory of the Torah twice a year [when the sages assemble], and yet a single proselyte has never come forth from among them" (B. Berakhot 17b). By contrast, Mesharshaya esteems the town's scholars over those of Pumbedita (B. Horayot 12a). In gaonic writings, Sura and Mata Mahasia often are treated as the same town. This is an error.

Matenah Babylonian amora, of the late third century C.E.; a student of Samuel and, later, Rab. For a time he was at Nehardea, to which he returned after thirteen years (B. Kiddushin 70b). He is frequently cited in the Babylonian Talmud in exegetical as well as legal contexts.

Mattai of Arbel along with Joshua b. Perahiah, one of the five pairs referred to in M. Abot. His name alternately is recorded as Nittai. M. Abot 1:6 reports that he said: "Keep away from a bad neighbor, and don't get involved with a wicked man, and don't give up hope of retribution."

Mattan Torah *see* REVELATION

Mattathias a member of the priestly family of Joarib (1 Chron. 9:10, 24:7) who began the Maccabean revolt in 166/165 B.C.E., according to 1 Maccabees 2. (He is not mentioned in 2 Maccabees.) He refused to obey the Seleucid king's order to offer sacrifice to foreign gods and put to death a Jewish collaborator and a royal official at his ancestral town, Modein (near Lydda). The movement he began was carried on by his five sons: John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. He died in 165 B.C.E. and was buried in Modein. His "testament" appears in 1 Maccabees 2:49–68.

Matthew, Jews in the Gospel of The Gospel of Matthew, written in the later first century, has long been recognized as the most "Jewish" of the Gospels. It is also notorious for its polemics against Jesus' Jewish opponents. The Gospel contains extensive teachings of Jesus, including sustained legal discussions that are more sophisticated than those in the other Gospels. The author encourages observance of the law according to the interpretations of Jesus and defines righteousness as observance of the law (not as faith in Jesus Christ as is found in Paul's letters). The crowds of Galilean Jews who hear Jesus in the narrative are either well disposed toward him or neutral. They symbolize the Jews in the late first century whom the author hopes to convince of Jesus' teachings. Despite the Christian use of Matthew for anti-Semitic attacks, the harsh polemics in the gospel do not attack Jews as a group but the leaders of the Jews (scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, chief priest, elders) and those people who have been misled into hostility toward Jesus. The threat to give the kingdom of God to a nation/group bearing fruit (21:43) is directed at the chief priests and Pharisees (21:45) and expresses the author's hope to displace the Jewish teachers of his day. The Jerusalem crowd that calls Jesus' blood down on themselves and their children (27:25) is not the whole Jewish people but a part of Israel that has been misled by the chief priests and elders and has met disaster in the destruction of Jerusalem. Matthew nowhere claims that followers of Jesus are a new or true Israel, but rather seeks to convince Israel of the truth of his claims. In doing so, he attacks in a sustained way the rival program of the Pharisees who symbolized the early rabbinic movement (chap. 23). He uses the word "Jews" only once concerning those Jews who have believed the rumor that Jesus' body was stolen by his disciples after his burial (28:15).

Matthias, son of Boethus the high priest who led Simon bar Giora and his forces into Jerusalem in 69 C.E. in order to oppose John of Gischala and the Zealots. At the height of the siege, in 70 C.E., Matthias was executed, along with three of his sons and other leaders, by Simon in order to prevent them from negotiating a surrender to the Romans.

matzah (Heb.) unleavened bread, used during Passover

Mauricius (in full, Mauricius Flavius Tiberius) Byzantine emperor (r. 582–602 C.E.). In 580 the Romans planned an invasion of Babylonia, but Hormizd IV learned of the attack and forced Mauricius to retreat. From 584 to 586 the Romans continually invaded Iranian territory, and they succeeded in capturing various locations for a short period. By 588 anarchy raged in Persia, and fearing that the instability would invite others to invade Byzantium, Mauricius threw his support to Hormizd's son, Khusro. Mauricius was a devout Christian and we learn that Domitianus, the bishop of Melitene and a brother of the emperor, forced the Jews in his diocese to undergo baptism and accept Christianity.

Maximinus I Thrax Roman emperor (r. 235–238 C.E.); born a Thracian peasant. He was proclaimed emperor after a revolt overthrew Alexander Severus. He waged war throughout Germany and was in Germany when a revolt in Africa led to the proclamation of Gordian I and his son as emperors. Maximinus invaded Italy but was murdered by his own troops. Although he persecuted the Christians, he left the Jews alone. His low-born origins were marked by contempt in the rabbinic sources: "When the Gentiles want to have a king, they take him from anywhere and set him over themselves."

Maximus, Lucius Laberius *see* LABERIUS MAXIMUS, LUCIUS

Maximus, Marcus Junius governor of Palestine (198–209 C.E. or 211–212 C.E.). His dates are uncertain, and he is placed during the reign of either Septimius Severus or Caracalla. A dedication to him in Jerusalem identifies him as provincial governor and legate of the sole legion in the province.

Mazaca *see* CAESARIA IN CAPPADOCIA

mazal (Heb.) planet; often, planetary influence

mazal tob *see* ASTROLOGY

Mazdaism (properly, Mazdayasna) the worship of Ahura Mazda (the Wise Lord), the supreme God revealed by the Iranian prophet Zarathustra. Ahura Mazda is said to administer the universe primarily through seven divine assistants, the Amesha Spentas (Immortal Benefactors). But set against Ahura Mazda's divine hierarchy and his good creation is an antigod, Angra Mainyu (Aggressive Spirit), whose army of evil forces seeks to corrupt and destroy the world. Ahura Mazda first created spiritual existence (*menog*), and then perfected it by material existence (*getig*), which serves as a demarcated area in which the assault of evil can be trapped and destroyed. The material world, therefore, is a battlefield of good and evil. Humans are the soldiers of Ahura Mazda; every good deed they perform increases the power of good, while every moral failure weakens the good and assists the cause of evil. Three days after death, at the Chinvat Bridge (the bridge to the afterlife), the human soul must answer to Ahura Mazda for its conduct in life. If the soul led a life of good, it passes over the bridge to paradise; if it followed evil ways, it is knocked off the bridge into hell. The false description of Mazdaism as "fire worship" comes from the religion's reverence for fire as a symbol of purity and of the successful emergence of good from mixture with evil. Sacred fires perpetually burn in the religion's temples, and are kept free from contact with polluting substances. Careful funeral procedures and elaborate purification practices are employed to keep both the natural world and the human body free from contamination by death and the other polluting creations of Angra Mainyu. Adherence to Mazdaism involves a life of moral righteousness and generosity, as well as daily prayers, offerings, and meals of commemoration and communion celebrated on behalf of God, his divine associates, and ancestral spirits.

Mazdak son of Bamdad; Zoroastrian reformer contemporary with Kawad I of Persia (r. 488–531 C.E.), whose support he gained for a time. Mazdak interpreted traditional Zoroastrian principles of hospitality and generosity into a radical social program of egalitarianism and nonviolence, while deemphasizing ritual practices. He advocated the abolishment of monogamous marriage and private property, which he thought to be the bases of Persian feudal society and its inherent injustices. Mazdak lost Kawad's support when his utopian program disrupted Persian society (and after Mazdak tried to manipulate the royal succession), and he was assassinated, along with many of his followers, in 528 C.E.

Mazdakites followers of the Zoroastrian reformer Mazdak (fl. late 5th and early 6th c. C.E.), whose teaching they called Dristden (the religion of justice). They believed that the social ills of envy, hatred, wrath, want, and avarice could be resolved by freely sharing the world's bounteous resources—including women—with everyone on the basis of individual need. They condemned excess in consumption and violence toward living things, and they promoted the leveling of social rank into a utopian community of equal believers.

The Mazdakites adhered to the dualistic metaphysics fundamental to Zoroastrianism, involving the eternal coexistence of two opposite principles

of good and evil, personified by the god Ahura Mazda and the antigod Angra Mainyu, who battle for control of the world. But they were also influenced by materialist and fatalist notions and taught that a person's good or bad character is the accidental outcome of a random mixture of good and bad elements; a person of bad character is inherently ungenerous to others and has to be controlled by the good in society. They played down traditional Zoroastrian ritual practices in favor of social justice and self-discipline, the latter involving self-examination in terms of twelve aspects of daily behavior, seven modes of human agency (modeled on seven administrative positions of the Persian government), and the cultivation of discernment, intelligence, memory, and joy.

The Mazdakites rejected traditional Zoroastrian marriage practices (such as *sturih,* or levirate marriage), undermining the patrimony so central to Persian feudal society by the practice of freely sharing wives with fellow believers and by advocating the tracing of descent through the mother. But they were unsuccessful in their effort to revolutionize traditional Zoroastrian lifestyles. After the assassination of Mazdak and many other leaders in 528 C.E., the Mazdakites survived as an underground sect and later adopted the public identity of Muslims, while secretly retaining their teachings and practices.

meal-offering offering of grain, a handful of which is burned on the altar and the residue eaten by the priests, in the Jerusalem Temple

meals Since ancient times, breaking bread or eating a meal together has been an accepted way of establishing or reaffirming a relationship with a divine or human partner. In the Hebrew Bible, eating a meal together is an expression of hospitality and friendship, as when Abraham entertains (divine) visitors by the Oaks of Mamre (Gen. 18:1–5). A meal is also a way of ratifying a covenant: in Exodus 24:1–2 and 9–11, Moses and the seventy elders eat a meal with God on Mount Sinai in order to ratify the covenant between God and Israel. Finally, it was believed that in the eschatological age the messianic banquet would celebrate the victory of God over his enemies (cf. Isa. 24:6).

In the Second Temple period, common meals continued to be a way of emphasizing relationship. The Pharisees, forming themselves into *ḥaḇurot,* or fellowships, took their meals together, observing ritual purity regulations that set them apart from other Jews. Among the Essenes, according to Josephus and the Qumran texts, the common meal took on great importance as a way of emphasizing their separation from the rest of Judaism. Therefore, every communal meal was blessed by a priest (1QS 6:4–5), and an initiate could only participate in these meals after a two-year probationary period (1QS 6:21–23). The Essenes also looked forward to a messianic banquet, to be presided over by the Priestly and the Davidic Messiahs (1QS^{a} 2:17–21a).

The early Christians also attached a great importance to common meals. Thus in the Gospels, Jesus is often portrayed as eating with his followers, and, in the resurrection narrative of Luke, the risen Jesus is recognized by his disciples only after he has broken bread with them (Luke 24:28–35, 41–43). In the Book of Acts, the earliest portrayal available of the first Christian community, members are portrayed as taking meals together (Acts 2:42, 46). Finally, in 1 Corinthians 11:23–26, we have the earliest record of the Christian celebration of the Eucharist, where followers of Christ came together to break bread and drink wine together ritually to commemorate the passion of Jesus. This celebration was often followed by a less formal meal. This celebration of the Eucharist, the "common meal" of the church, continues to be the centerpiece of the liturgy in Christianity today.

Rabbis engaged in common meals characterized by detailed ritual practices and formulaic behaviors (T. Berakhot 4:8ff). Seating was according to stature, and the individual's conduct at each stage in the meal was controlled by concern for cultic cleanness. Specific foods were consumed in a formalized manner. Such meals heightened the rabbinic sense of differentiation from the rest of society and concretized a system of recognition for the honor due those with the greatest accomplishments in the study of Torah, who were seated in positions of respect and served first. Such meals thus legitimated and naturalized the social and intellectual hierarchy the rabbis developed through the study of Torah. The best known example of such a meal is the Passover Seder, a ritualized symposium incorporating many of the behaviors required at rabbinic meals.

Measha **1.** early Tannaitic authority, referred to at M. Peah 2:6

2. Palestinian authority; grandson of Joshua b. Levi. Y. Betzah 1:6, 60c, reports that he had himself carried to the synagogue on Saturday in order to preach.

3. Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; a colleague of Samuel b. Isaac and Zera; referred to in both Talmuds

meḇaker (Heb., guardian, or overseer) official title for a lay leader of the sect, usually identified with

the Essenes, that produced the Damascus Document and the Community Rule. The office of *meḇaker* is given prominence in the Damascus Document, where an entire section (CD 13–14) is headed "the Rule for the *meḇaker* of the camp," presumably the individual settlements of the Essenes in the towns and villages of Judah. The *meḇaker* is to be a man between thirty and fifty years of age, well versed in the teachings of the sect, whose duties include instruction, the administration of justice, the admission of new members, taking a pastoral role among the members of the camp, and overseeing the financial contacts between the sectarians and outsiders.

In the Community Rule the *meḇaker*'s role is less well-defined. He is called the Guardian of the Many—in control of the meetings of the Community's members (1QS 6:11b–12a)—and also the Guardian of the Property of the Many—in charge of the pooled property of the sect's members (1QS 6:18–21a). It is not clear whether these offices are the same or separate. It has been argued that the office of *meḇaker* is the same of that of *maskil*, also found in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, because of their similarity of function, but then the two separate titles are left unexplained. It seems certain that the *meḇaker* played the leading role in the Essene camps to which the Damascus Document is addressed, and a less prominent one in the Qumran Community of the Community Rule.

Media country south and west of the Caspian Sea, in the vicinity of present-day Azerbaijan, associated with Noah's grandson Madai (Gen. 10:2). Having risen to power in the seventh century B.C.E., the Median Empire was absorbed into the Achaemenid Empire under Cyrus II. Throughout Achaemenid history, the Medes remained an important component of the empire. The princes and kings of Media are referred to in the Book of Esther as a distinct component of the Persian Empire.

medicine, talmudic References to this subject, interspersed throughout the Talmud and rabbinic literature, show that the rabbis had a significant level of medical knowledge. The physician was recognized as a source of authority in questions regarding healing and injuries. The Talmud makes mention of specialists akin to modern internists, psychiatrists (San. 75a), dentists (Kid. 24b), surgeons, and obstetricians (Arakh. 7b). Rabbis are said to have dissected birds or animals to gain knowledge of anatomy (Ḥul. 57b) or to have experimented on themselves (Ned. 50b) to learn about disease. Talmudic tradition asserts that the body is made of 248 limbs and 365 sinews, more than the number commonly accepted by early medicine. They sought out a corresponding number of commandments in the Torah, indicating their more immediate interest. Rabbinic sources show familiarity with the blood, the structure of the heart and other features of the circulatory system (Ḥul. 45b), and note many aspects of the nervous (Ḥul. 45a), the digestive (Ḥul. 43b), and the respiratory systems as well. Details that the Talmud represents in the genital and urinary systems and in its understanding of embryology (Nid. 30b) are consistent with the medical knowledge of the day.

In some instances, the sources recognize that a disease or dysfunction is caused by a physical agent, by unsanitary conditions, or by improper consumption of alcohol or foods (Hul. 59a). Many times, however, the agents of rabbinic pathology are demons or other mystical and spiritual causes. Incantations and amulets were effective against these forces (Ber. 53a). Folk medicine plays an important role in talmudic therapeutics. An amulet containing a scroll with names of God inscribed on it, for example, might cure rabies from the bite of a mad dog (Yoma 84a). Of course, circumcision was a universally practiced surgical procedure, and other surgeries are described, including the discussion of a caesarian section. A variety of mental disorders are acknowledged in the sources, which recognize some as congenital and some as transient. Study of the Torah helps to prevent senility (Shab. 152a).

medinah (Heb., city, or province; Aram.: *medintah*) a basic administrative unit under the Persian Empire, being a subunit of the large satrapies and a more manageable and coherent entity. The Persian Empire divisions seem generally to have been continued under the Greeks.

Megillah Mishnah tractate containing the laws for the reading of the Scroll of Esther on Purim (chaps. 1–2), the laws of synagogue property and liturgy, and lections of scripture read in the synagogue (chaps. 3–4)

Megillat Taanit (Heb., scroll of fasting) a listing of thirty-six days on which happy events or victories occurred during Second Temple times and on which the rabbis forbade fasting. Megillat Taanit is written in Aramaic and appears to derive originally from the second century C.E. Its current form is much later, and through later accretions, the document has evolved into two distinct versions.

Among the dates on which fasting is prohibited (listed in chronological order according to the original occurrence of the event being commemorated)

are the fourteenth of Iyar, the second Passover; the fourteenth of Adar, Purim; the twenty-third of Iyar, when, during the Maccabean revolt, Jerusalem was captured (1 Macc. 13:49–53); the fourteenth of Sivan, when the citadel Zur was seized (1 Macc. 11:65–66; 14:33); the fifteenth and sixteenth of Sivan, when the sons of John Hyrcanus captured Beth Shean and the Jezreel Valley (Josephus, *Ant.* 13:280; id., *War* 1:66, 14:33); the twenty-third of Ḥeshvan, when the Maccabees removed a certain structure from the desecrated Temple; the twenty-fifth of Ḥeshvan, when John Hyrcanus conquered Samaria (Josephus, *War* 1:64, *Ant.* 13:275–81); the twenty-first of Kislev, when John Hyrcanus destroyed the Samarian Temple on Mount Gerizim (Josephus, *Ant.* 13:255); the twenty-fifth of Kislev, which is Hanukkah; the twenty-eighth of Shevat, when Antiochus was driven from Jerusalem; the thirteenth of Adar, marking the defeat of the Syrian commander Nicanor (1 Macc. 7; 2 Macc. 15); the third of Kislev, when the images of the emperor were removed from the Temple court; the twenty-second of Shevat, marking the rescinding of Gaius Caligula's order to erect a statue of him in the Temple (Josephus, *War* 2:195–203); the twenty-fifth of Sivan, marking the suspension of tax payments to the emperor, probably in 66 C.E. (Josephus, *War* 2:235–401); and the seventeenth of Elul, when the Romans left Jerusalem.

Megillot, Five *see* FIVE SCROLLS

meilah (Heb., trespass) the improper use of sacred property

Meilah the eighth tractate of the division Kodoshim in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmud Babli. Its six chapters specify the cases and extent of liability for violations against sacred property.

Meir Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E. and leader in the period following the Bar Kokhba Revolt; a student of Ishmael and later of Akiba; the husband of Beruriah. Meir resided primarily in Tiberias but died in Asia. He is one of the most frequently cited rabbis in the Mishnah.

Midrashic statements hold that Meir was descended from proselytes and that his given name was Nehorai (B. Erubin 13b). He reportedly was one of the five scholars ordained by Judah b. Baba during the persecutions following the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Discussions of his ordination by Akiba also are extant. After the persecution, he was a major figure in the newly convened academy at Usha, where he served as *ḥakham,* a position of leadership over the Sanhedrin.

Meir's centrality in the formulation of the Mishnah is indicated by the talmudic statement that anonymous mishnaic rules represent Meir's view, based upon Akiba's teaching. While this statement is not literally true (the Mishnah reports numerous anonymous rules that disagree with statements of Meir), it indicates Meir's overall importance as well as the respect in which later authorities held him.

Talmudic stories report a number of tragedies in Meir's life. His wife, Beruriah, was the daughter of the martyr Ḥananiah b. Teradion. After the Bar Kokhba Revolt, her sister was enslaved in a brothel, from which Meir rescued her. Beruriah was known for her erudition and intelligence, but reportedly was seduced by one of Meir's students.

Meiron ancient town and synagogue site in Upper Galilee on the eastern foothills of Mount Meiron (Jebel Jarmaq) about 5 kilometers northwest of modern Tsfat (Safed). Meiron or Meron is mentioned by Josephus (*Life* 188) as one of the localities he fortified in the First Revolt against Rome. He also mentions the town as a border town of Upper Galilee (*War* III.40). Later rabbinic sources regard the town as the place of ministry of Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai (T. Dem 4,13).

The lower city of Meiron was organized in blocks, at least two of which have been partially excavated. Living and working rooms (carpentry, etc.) were arranged around open courtyards. Many cisterns were cut into bedrock beneath the houses. At least one ritual bath or immersion pool (*mikveh*) was excavated beneath one of the houses. In one room of the structure that the excavators called the Patrician House, a large assemblage of storage jars with foodstuffs were found: peas or beans, walnuts, wheat, and barley. These pantry items were evidently deliberately burned, as one of the storage jars was inscribed in Hebrew "fire." Another jar was inscribed in Greek with the name of the owner: "belonging to Julianos." The excavators believe that the burning represents a pious act of the individual or family, who burned or otherwise rendered unusable items dedicated as consecrated to the Lord. Most of the remains date from 250 to 363 C.E., the peak of village life, though the village was probably founded about 200 B.C.E. On the other hand, village life at Meiron continued to about the fourteenth century, when it began to wane.

The synagogue stood at the very top of the steep promontory upon which ancient Meiron rests. The building is a long basilica, about 13.5 by 27 meters, oriented south, with a finely built facade with three portals, two of which are still standing. A porch with stairs in front and six columns stood before the facade. Entry into the worship space was

through the three portals. Two long rows of columns divided the interior space into a nave and two side aisles, with a third aisle across the back. The floor of the building was probably paved with slabs of stone, and a stone-cut bench stood on the west side. In fact, most of the west wall of the building was cut from the bedrock of the hill. Evidently a small Torah shrine stood between the central portal and the west portal against the south wall. The synagogue was built during the third century and was evidently destroyed by the earthquake of 363 C.E.

Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael Midrash compilation devoted to the Book of Exodus, divided into nine freestanding tractates, compiled sometime after 600 C.E. Mekhilta, the first scriptural encyclopedia of Judaism, joins together expositions of topics and disquisitions on propositions, generally precipitated by the themes of scriptural narrative or the dictates of biblical law, and collects and arranges in accord with scripture's order and program the exegeses—paraphrases or brief explanations—of clauses of biblical verses. A sustained address to approximately half of the Book of Exodus, Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael presents three kinds of materials: (1) a set of ad hoc, episodic exegeses of some passages of scripture; (2) a group of propositional and argumentative essays in exegetical form, in which theological principles are set forth and demonstrated; and (3) a set of topical articles, some of them sustained and many of them well crafted, about important subjects of the Judaism of the dual Torah. Lacking all interest in cogent and sustained argumentation and demonstration of propositions set forth for argument, the authorship of the document scarcely aspires to make a statement of its own.

Mekhilta of Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai a lost, presumably Tannaitic midrash compilation to Exodus reconstructed by D. Hoffman in 1905 from fragments interspersed in the medieval Midrash haGadol.

Melchiresha (from Heb., king of wickedness) a name for the chief of the evil spirits, probably formed in parallel to Melchizedek (king of righteousness), his heavenly opponent. The name occurs only at Qumran (4QAmram^{b} 3:3; 4Q280 2:2), although Malchira (king of evil) is a name for the demon Sammael in Martyrdom of Isaiah 1:8.

Melchizedek (from Heb., king of righteousness) "the king of Salem" and "the priest of the Most High God," who meets Abraham after the war with the kings, blesses him, and receives tithes from him (Gen. 14:18–20). The only other reference to him in the Hebrew Bible is Psalm 110, a royal psalm similar to Psalm 2, in which the king, enthroned at God's right hand, is called "a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

The abruptness with which Melchizedek appears and disappears in the Genesis narrative and the mystery surrounding him provided fertile ground for Jewish and Christian speculation. In the Melchizedek text (11QMelch, a fragmentary Qumran text), he is a high angel, the opponent of Belial and champion of the righteous. He executes judgment on Belial and his spirits and proclaims freedom and atonement for the righteous. Although the text is too fragmented for certain interpretation, the occurrence of cultic language suggests that Melchizedek has priestly functions as well as those of warrior and judge. In another fragmentary Qumran text (4QAmram), the wicked angel's name, Melchiresha, suggests that one of his opponent's three names (lost in a lacuna) is Melchizedek. Thus, Melchizedek is ascribed roles elsewhere attributed to Michael (and to an extent the son of man in 1 Enoch). An identification between Michael, the heavenly high priest, and Melchizedek is explicit in two medieval texts (Yalkhut hadash f. 15, col. 3.19; Midrash haNeelam Lech. 25). Two other texts identify Melchizedek with Shem (B. Ned. 32b; Tg. Neof. Gen. 14:18).

Early Christian speculation about Melchizedek is concentrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Jesus, the preexistent Son of God, now exalted at God's right hand, is said to be a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek (chap. 7). The comparison suggests that this author was aware of Jewish ideas about an angelic Melchizedek. A fragmentary text in Nag Hammadi Codex IX indicates ongoing related speculation about Melchizedek in third-century Christian Gnostic circles.

Chapters 71 and 72 of 2 Enoch preserve a narrative about Melchizedek's miraculous conception and birth by Sopanim, Noah's sister-in-law, and his assumption to heaven before the flood. Because of its many similarities to Matthew 1, scholars dispute whether the story is of Jewish or Christian origin. However, a tradition in B. Sukk. 52b identifies Melchizedek, along with Elijah, as one of the four smiths in Zechariah 1:20 (2:3 in Heb.) This may reflect knowledge of a tradition about Melchizedek's assumption to heaven.

Melito of Sardis Christian bishop of Sardis in the second century C.E. (d. c. 190 C.E.). He was a Quartodeciman, that is, a Christian who kept the (Christian) Passover, or Easter, on the fourteenth of Nisan. He defended this practice in works that are

now lost. His one surviving work is a Passover homily, which is characterized by highly rhetorical language. It includes a long paraphrase of the narrative on the first Passover in Egypt, with elements of midrash. In the second half of the sermon, he turns to the Crucifixion and strongly attacks the Jews for not accepting Christ.

Memar Markah "the word of [the Samaritan theologian] Markah," a Samaritan liturgical and theological writing that seems to date from about the fourth century C.E. Its contents are varied and consist of five homilies or sermons, based on specific themes of the Pentateuch, plus a sixth section that is a mystical interpretation of certain letters of the alphabet. The five homilies are built around the life of Moses and the events of the Exodus (the subjects of the first two homilies), Israel as a holy people, God's justice and mankind's sin, and the death of Moses. Within these broad themes, a huge number of subjects and biblical passages are discussed. *See also* MARKAH.

memra (Aram., from Heb.: *amar,* to speak, to say) Usually translated as "word," the term *memra* appears throughout the targums, but is unknown in rabbinic literature and other Jewish writings of the biblical period. It is usually associated with the name of God, either attached to the name, as in "the *memra* of the Lord," or replacing a reference to God. The targum to Isaiah 1:2 reads "they have rebelled against my *memra*" instead of the Hebrew text's "they have rebelled against me." It designates the active attribute of God—usually linked to commanding. Under that general rubric, it can be used to describe him speaking, creating, acting, punishing, or receiving worship. It does not constitute a separate entity, personality, or hypostasis.

men *see* GENDER ROLES, IN RABBINIC JUDAISM

Menaḥem *see* MENAḤEM B. YOSE

Menahem, son of Judas the Galilean an early leader of the revolt against Rome in Jerusalem. He led a group to Masada and captured it in 66 C.E. Armed with weapons from Masada, he and his group returned to Jerusalem and took leadership over the rebel forces besieging the Roman garrison and Jewish leaders who had sought refuge in Herod's palace in the Upper City. Menahem took the palace and slaughtered those left there. When the fugitive high priest Ananias and his brother Ezechias were captured, Menahem executed them. According to Josephus, his brutal and high-handed leadership provoked an assassination plot by Eleazar ben Ananias. In the armed clash Menahem's forces were defeated. He escaped, but he was finally run down and executed.

Menaḥem b. Yose Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch (late 2d c. C.E.); sometimes referred to simply as Menaḥem, without the patronymic

Menaḥem the Essene (Gr.: Manaemus) an Essene who predicted to Herod the Great when the latter was a boy that he would be king by God's favor, but would be punished in the end for injustice. During his reign (40–4 B.C.E.), Herod was assured by Menaḥem that he would reign for a long time. Because of these predictions, Herod treated all Essenes with honor.

Menaḥot (Heb., meal-offerings) Mishnah tractate on meal-offerings in the Temple. The tractate discusses improper intention and invalidating meal-offerings (chaps. 1–4); proper preparation of meal-offerings (chaps. 5–9); special meal-offerings (chaps. 10–11); and vows in connection with meal-offerings (chaps. 12–13).

Menander, Pseudo- In some Jewish writings, several verses are quoted and attributed to Menander, the famous Greek writer of New Comedy (fl. c. 300 B.C.E.); however, they seem to be Jewish pseudepigraphs. They speak out against having images of God and give various general moral exhortations.

Menelaus high priest who obtained the office in 172 B.C.E. by outbidding Jason at the court of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He was the brother of Simon, the enemy of Onias III (2 Macc. 3:4, 4:1–4), and not a legitimate heir to the priesthood ("of the tribe of Benjamin"). He was responsible for the murder of Onias III; he conspired with his brother Lysimachus to rob the Jerusalem Temple; and he escorted Antiochus IV Epiphanes as the latter profaned and robbed the Temple (2 Macc. 5). He may also have collaborated in the transformation of the Temple cult (2 Macc. 6:1–11). According to 2 Maccabees 13:3–8, Menelaus was put to death at Beroea in 163 B.C.E. on orders from Antiochus V Eupator.

Men of the Great Assembly unidentified leaders of Israel in the Persian and early Hasmonean periods between the time of the classical prophets of ancient Israel and the first Pharisaic masters. This important link in the chain of tradition from Moses to the rabbis is recorded in the mishnaic tractate Abot (1:1). Tradition ascribes to them the enactment of festivals, prayers and blessings (especially the prayer of eighteen blessings), and the feast of Purim.

menorah (Heb., candelabrum) a stand that supports oil lamps or candles. A nine-branched menorah is used during Hanukkah; a seven-branched menorah was used in the ancient Temple. *See also* MENORAH, REPRESENTATION OF.

menorah, representation of The most popular motif in ancient Jewish art, the menorah (candelabrum) appears on coins, ceramic lamps, and decorating tombs and synagogues. It is considered the symbol par excellence of Judaism. The menorah is first mentioned in Exodus, where Moses is told to make a seven-branched candelabrum to put into the tabernacle. The description is unclear, but it appears it was to be made from one ingot of gold with six branches, three on each side curving upward from a central shaft that stood on some form of base. The shaft and branches were ornamented with knops and almond blossoms. The flowers which formed the uppermost cups of the branches served as the receptacles for oil. Solomon placed ten menorahs of a similar type in his Temple. All his menorahs and the later one that replaced them were lost when the Temple was plundered, first by Nebuchadnezzar and later by Antiochus Epiphanes. The Maccabeans, after their reconquest of Jerusalem, had a new golden menorah made in conformity to the biblical description. It was lit for the first time at the rededication of the Temple. The earliest known representation of the seven-branched menorah appears on a coin of Antigonus Mattathias (40–37 B.C.E.), the last of the Hasmonean kings. It is dated to the last year of his reign. The menorah is shown in a simplified form without the requisite knops and flowers and stands on what appears to be a tripod base. This latter detail, plus the fact that all the branches terminate at the same height, conforms to rabbinic descriptions of the Mosaic menorah and may be an accurate portrayal of the menorah that stood in the Hasmonean Temple. However, it differs somewhat in appearance from an image of a menorah scratched on plaster fragments found in an excavation of the Old City of Jerusalem that is dated to the reign of Herod (37 B.C.E.–4 C.E.), although it is believed that Herod continued to use the Hasmonean menorah. It was this menorah that was removed from the Temple by Titus's soldiers and carried by them in a triumphal procession depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome. The base of the menorah shown on the arch is not a tripod as depicted on the coin and plaster fragments, but stands on an elaborate pedestal decorated with images of animals, suggesting it was added by the Romans to be make it easier to carry. The fate of the menorah is unknown. Tradition relates that during the sack of Rome in 410 C.E., the menorah was thrown into the Tiber River near where the modern synagogue now stands.

Following the ill-fated Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (the Bar Kokhba Revolt, 133–135 C.E.), the menorah became the most ubiquitous of Jewish motifs in Palestine. It was particularly popular for use in the synagogue despite the Babylonian Talmud's injunction forbidding Jews from making an exact copy of the Temple menorah. In fact, the appearance of a menorah is often the only means whereby a building can be identified as a synagogue. Three-dimensional, seven-branched menorahs were found in and around Palestinian synagogue sites, including a cast bronze replica from En Gedi and stone examples from Hammath-Tiberias, Eshtemoa, Maon, and Khirbet Susiya. A number of two-dimensional images of the menorah can be seen decorating synagogues' mosaic pavements, painted on walls, and in relief or incised on column capitals, doorposts, lintels, and chancel screens. Examples include capitals (Capernaum, Caesarea, Hammath-Tiberias); doorposts (Qisrin); lintels (Khirbet Shema, Nabratein, Japhia); wall painting (Rehov); mosaic pavements (Maon, Jericho, Maoz Hayyim); chancel screens (Hammath-Gadera, Horvat Qoshet). Torah shrines depicted in mosaic pavements are usually shown flanked by menorahs or have menorahs in the same panel, possibly a realistic rendition of their actual position in the synagogue. Examples can be seen at Hammath-Tiberias, Beth Shean, and Beth Alpha. At times the menorah is shown with more than seven branches and at times with less. It is unclear if this was done to conform to the talmudic prohibition forbidding exact replicas of the Temple menorah or due to artistic license. The majority of examples come from the Golan: Qisrin, Salokia, Apheca, Yahudiyya.

The origin of the seven-branched menorah is unknown, but its treelike form may be based on the ancient Mesopotamian tree of life. In antiquity, light and life were considered interchangeable: one could not exist without the other. Thus, the menorah, as a tree and symbol of life, became the bearer of lights. The seven lamps may represent the five planets known to the ancients, plus the sun and moon. The number seven has a magical significance in many ancient cultures because it consists of two groups of three, considered the most perfect of numbers as it is the only one with a beginning, middle, and end, flanking a single one, possibly within a Jewish context representing God the creator. Following the Temple's destruction and the two failed revolts against Rome, the menorah became both a religious and political symbol of Judaism and of the Temple that was to be restored in the messianic age. It remains a symbol of light,

hope, and redemption of the Jewish people as seen in its representation on the emblem of the state of Israel.

menstruation period of "uncleanness," in line with Leviticus 15, during which sexual relations are forbidden

mercenaries, Jews as Various references indicate that some Jews participated as mercenaries in the Persian and Greek periods. To do so would have had certain religious ramifications, such as fighting on the Sabbath. For these reasons, Jews were generally exempted from military service in the Roman army.

mercy compassion or forbearance shown particularly to an offender or to a person subject to one's power. The relationship between God and his people that is established through the covenant He made with them is called *ḥesed* in the Bible. It involves mutual trust and fidelity and is based on God's kind and continuing concern for his people. A related term is *raḥam,* which means compassion. *Ḥesed* and *raḥam* are often linked in the Bible, and in the Greek translation of the Bible (Septuagint), they are frequently translated as *eleos,* which means "mercy." The term appears in the Torah, Prophets, and Psalms. A repeated question is: why does God act in kindness, love, and compassion toward his people, even though they and their leaders are at times careless and disobedient? It is God's nature to be concerned, to forgive, and to restore and renew his people. But this is not just an emotion that God feels: it is an essential feature of the covenant relationship into which God entered with his people, even when their disobedience led to the division of Israel into the northern and southern kingdoms after Solomon's death. It is stated that even while Israel was under attack by neighboring nations (2 Kings 13:23), "the Lord was gracious to them [Israel] and had compassion on them; he turned toward them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and would not destroy them" (2 Kings 13:23). According to older English translations, that relationship is described in Genesis 24:27 as based on God's "mercy and truth," but the real meaning is "The Lord God of . . . Abraham . . . has not forsaken his steadfast love and his faithfulness toward my master [Abraham]." The same fidelity of God is evident toward Joseph (Gen. 39:21) and is of central importance when God establishes the covenant with Israel through Moses at Mount Sinai: "God shows his steadfast love to the thousandth generation of those who love him and keep his commandments" (Exod. 20:6). The same belief is repeated in Deuteronomy 5:10.

God's steadfast love and mercy are linked in the last words of David (2 Sam. 22:51), who is described as showing that same sort of generosity toward other humans, including Saul's son Jonathan (1 Sam. 20:8, 14) and Jonathan's crippled son, Mephibosheth (2 Sam. 9:7), and even to the young king of the Ammonites (2 Sam. 10:2). The theme of God's compassion and steadfastness toward his people is recurrent in the words of the prophets (Isa. 63:7; Jer. 16:5; Hos. 2:18; Zech. 7:9). Jeremiah declares he will boast only in God's steadfast love, not in human wealth, or might, or wisdom (Jer. 9:23). He asserts that it is because of God's steadfast love that his faithfulness to his people continues (Jer. 31:3).

This insight into the merciful and faithful nature of God and his dealings with humans is repeatedly asserted in the Psalms and is frequently linked with the continuing royal line of David as rulers of God's people. In Psalms 18:50 and 61:7, God's steadfast love will be given to the king and his descendants forever. This promise of God's faithful care of the nation Israel and its ruler is said to be conditional on their conformity to his "covenant and his decrees" (Ps. 25:10). Those who walk in God's ways without wavering will always have his gracious and steadfast love before their eyes (Ps. 26:10). This dependable mercy of God is evident in his willingness to forgive his people when they become disobedient (Ps. 86:5) and in the confidence that he is "merciful and gracious, and slow to anger" (Ps. 85:10).

In Proverbs, these paired qualities of mercy and faithfulness are said to be patterns for the way God's people live. They are to be bound around one's neck and written on the heart (Prov. 3:3) and are to be evident in the king's life and use of his authority (Prov. 20:28). Job says those who fail to manifest these qualities ("withhold kindness") are cutting themselves off from right relationship with the Almighty (Job 6:14).

The Hebrew Bible's depiction of God's mercy serves as the foundation for the rabbinic ideology, which frequently denotes God as Raḥmanah (the merciful) and which holds that just as God shows mercy towards humanity, so the people of Israel must be distinguished by their compassionate nature (B. Yebamot 79a). Mercy shown towards another person will be repaid by compassion from God (B. Shabbat 151a), who pardons the iniquities of people who themselves have pardoned the transgressions of others (B. Rosh Hashanah 17a; B. Shabbat 151b). People who exhibit such traits of mercifulness are presumed to be of the seed of Abraham (B. Betzah 32b).

The centrality of mercy in God's character is reflected in the thirteen attributes listed at Exodus 34:6, which define God as just, as well as merciful. Talmudic passages explain the possible contradiction between doing justice and showing mercy by arguing that while God initially engages in strict and truthful judgment, he ultimately acts upon his trait of mercy (B. Rosh Hashanah 17a). These same qualities of impartiality and compassion are expected of human judges (B. Sanhedrin 6b).

Meremar *see* YEMAR

meridarch *see* MEROS

merit *see* ZEKHUT

merkabah the chariot that bears God's throne, the Throne of Glory. The term is found as early as Ben Sira (49:8) and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Qumran (4QShirShabb) to designate the wheeled vehicle seen by Ezekiel in his vision of the glory of God by the River Chebar (Ezek. 1:1–28). Though study of Ezekiel 1 and speculation on the mysteries of heaven to which it alludes—a body of lore known as the Account of the Chariot (Maseh Merkabah)—was declared esoteric by the Mishnah (Hagigah 2:1), circles of Merkabah mystics, called paradoxically "those who descend to the Chariot" (Yoredei Merkabah), flourished in the Talmudic period and left behind an extensive body of texts, the Hekhalot literature. In this literature "chariot" is not taken literally but defined as an elaborate structure of angelic hierarchies that support God's throne. *See also* OFANIM.

meros (Gr., part, share, portion) frequently used to refer to a piece of property, especially a cleruchy or plot of land granted for service to the state. The word could also be applied to a district or province governed by a *meridarch*.

Meroth *see* KHIRBET MARUS

Mesene region in southern Mesopotamia, on the Persian Gulf; home to a Jewish population from the Parthian period and on. Talmudic authorities deemed Mesenean Jews to be of tainted genealogy (B. Kiddushin 71b; B. Yebamot 17a) and prohibited marriage with those of Apamea, a major city of the area (B. Kiddushin 71b).

Mesharshaya Babylonian amora, best known for his statement: "When you want to go to learn before your master, first of all review your studies in the Mishnah, and then go to your teacher. And when you are in session before your teacher, watch the mouth of your teacher. . . . When you study any teaching, do it by the side of water. Just as water goes on and on, so may your learning go on and on. Stay on the garbage dumps of Mata Mehasia rather than in the palaces of Pumbedita; eat a rotten fish rather than a bread pudding that breaks rocks" (B. Keritot 6a).

Mesopotamia, Jews in *see* BABYLON, JEWS IN

messiah (Heb.: *mashiah*) **1.** in Second Temple literature, anointed one, a person designated by God for a special status or role. Kings were anointed with oil (1 Sam. 16:1–13), as were Israel's high priests (Lev. 8:1–13, cf. Lev. 4:3). "The anointed of YHWH" was a designation for Israel's king (1 Sam. 26:16). *Mashiah* alone never occurs in the Hebrew Bible, and the term should be translated rather than transliterated.

The exilic demise of the Davidic dynasty introduced some changes in the conception. Second Isaiah does not envision a restoration of the Davidic dynasty and calls Cyrus, king of Persia, YHWH's anointed one (Isa. 45:1). Third Isaiah is also silent about a Davidic king, and the prophet claims to have been anointed with God's spirit (Isa. 61:1). Zechariah, however, refers to Zerubbabel the Davidite and Joshua the high priest as God's anointed ("sons of oil," 4:14).

After the exile, the hope of a restored Davidic dynasty was nourished through the preservation and use of the royal Psalms (e.g., Pss. 45, 72, 89). Following the tradition in Psalm 89, the unnamed author of Psalms of Solomon 17 appeals to God's covenant with David, and employing phrases from royal oracles such as Psalm 2, Isaiah 11, and Ezekiel 34, he lays out a scenario for the restoration of the dynasty and details the activities of "the anointed of the Lord." Of special interest alongside the traditional kingly functions is this king's responsibility for the priestly function of purifying Jerusalem (Ps. Sol. 17:30).

Following the parallelism in Zechariah 3 (cf. Ecclus. 45:23–25), the priestly community at Qumran, smarting from what they perceived to be the pollution of the temple, awaited "the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11; 1QSa 2:11–22). The Testament of Levi 14–18 details the sins of the Jerusalem priesthood and describes an eschatological priest, employing language from Isaiah 11.

In 1 Enoch 37–71, this same language and allusions to Psalm 2 are applied to a transcendent heavenly figure (1 Enoch 48:8–10, 49:2–3), who combines the features of the exalted son of man (Dan. 7:13), the exalted servant of YHWH (Isa. 49, 52:13–53:12), and the Lord's "anointed one" (1 Enoch 48:10, 52:4).

Other eschatologically oriented postbiblical Jewish texts make no reference to an anointed one, much less a future Davidic king. Most striking in

this respect is the Wisdom of Solomon. Although it is ascribed to David's son and employs phrases from Psalm 2 (Wisd. of Sol. 4:18, 6:1), its protagonist is depicted in language and motifs drawn from Second Isaiah's servant songs. Most postbiblical passages drawing on Second and Third Isaiah are silent about a Davidic king.

Thus, postexilic Jews as a whole did not expect "the messiah," and those that did held divergent opinions about the anointed one or anointed ones. The New Testament proclamations about Jesus the Messiah (early called Jesus "Christ," a veritable surname) need to be read in this context. The variety of Jewish options warn against a facile conclusion that all Christians thought of Jesus as the son of David, although this interpretation occurs (Matt. 1–2; Rom. 1:3). The Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes Jesus' priestly office, and Paul may imply this in his use of Psalm 110 (Rom. 8:34). Later church fathers interpreted Jesus' baptism as his priestly anointing, and the parallels between Mark 1:9–11 and Testament of Levi 18:6–7 are striking. The indentification of Jesus as the exalted son of man suggests that some claims about Jesus as Christ may reflect this form of messianic speculation (cf. Acts 2:36). Finally, the notion of a suffering and vindicated messiah (1 Cor. 15:3–4) could draw on the servant traditions as they are interpreted in the Wisdom of Solomon. In any case, the spectrum of Jewish messianic speculation and the similar variety in early Christian theology suggests a possibly important factor in first-century Jewish-Christian discussions about Jesus' identity and significance. *See also* ANOINTED; CHRIST; SERVANT OF THE LORD; SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN.

2. in rabbinic Judaism, eschatological king, to rule at the end of time. The messianic theme is of varying importance in diverse Judaic writings, episodic in writings concluded c. 200 C.E. (e.g., the Mishnah), but critical in documents put together after the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century C.E. (e.g., the Jerusalem Talmud, completed c. 400; Gen. Rabbah, completed c. 450; the Babylonian Talmud, completed c. 600). In constructing a systematic account of Judaism—that is, the worldview and way of life for Israel presented in the Mishnah—the philosophers of the Mishnah did not make use of the messiah myth in the construction of a teleology for their system. They found it possible to present a statement of goals for their projected life of Israel that was entirely separate from appeals to history and eschatology. Since they certainly knew, and even alluded to, long-standing and widely held convictions on eschatological subjects, beginning with those in scripture, the framers of the Mishnah thereby testified that, knowing the larger repertoire, they made choices different from those of others before and after them. Their document accurately and ubiquitously expresses these choices, both affirmative and negative.

The Mishnah finds little of consequence to say about the messiah as savior of Israel, one particular person at one time, but manages to set forth its system's teleology without appeal to eschatology in any form. For the Mishnah, "messiah" is a category of priest or general. The messianic theme proved marginal to the system's program. By c. 400 C.E., by contrast, a system of Judaism had emerged in the Jerusalem Talmud in which the Mishnah, as foundation document, would be asked to support a structure at best continuous with—but in no way fully defined by the outlines of—the Mishnah itself. If the Mishnah provided a teleology without eschatology, the framers of the Jerusalem Talmud and related Midrash compilations could not conceive of any but an utterly eschatological goal for themselves.

Historical events entered into the construction of a teleology for the Jerusalem Talmud's system of Judaism as a whole. What the law demanded reflected the consequences of wrongful action on the part of Israel. Thus, again, Israel's own deeds defined the events of history. The failed messiah of the second century, Bar Kokhba, above all, exemplifies arrogance against God. He lost the war because of that arrogance. His emotions, attitudes, sentiments, and feelings form the model of how the virtuous Israelite is not to conceive of matters. The messiah, the centerpiece of salvation history and hero of the tale, emerged as a critical figure. The historical theory of this passage is stated very simply. In this view, Israel had to choose between wars, either the war fought by Bar Kokhba or the "war for Torah." "Why had they been punished? It was because of the weight of the war, for they had not wanted to engage in the struggles over the meaning of the Torah" (Y. Taanit 3:9 XVII). Those struggles, which were ritual arguments about ritual matters, promised the only victory worth winning. Then Israel's history would be written in terms of wars over the meaning of the Torah and the decision of the law.

The heart of the matter, then, is Israel's subservience to God's will, as expressed in the Torah and embodied in the teachings and lives of the great sages. When Israel fully accepts God's rule, then the messiah will come. Until Israel subjects itself to God's rule, the Jews will be subjugated to

pagan domination. Since the condition of Israel governs, Israel itself holds the key to its own redemption: an act of humility and self-abnegation is what is required. Gentile kings are boastful; Israelite kings are humble. Thus, the messiah myth deals with a very concrete and limited consideration of the national life and character. The theory of Israel's history and destiny as it was expressed within that myth interprets matters in terms of a single criterion. Whatever others within the Israelite world had done or would do in the future with the conviction that at the end of time, God would send a (or the) messiah to "save" Israel, the concept of final redemption described above was a single idea for the sages of the Mishnah and the Talmuds and collections of scriptural exegesis. And that conception stands at the center of their system; it shapes and is shaped by their system. In context, the messiah expresses the system's meaning and thus makes it work. The rabbinic system, then, transformed the messiah myth in its totality into an essentially ahistorical force. If people wanted to reach the end of time, they had to rise above time, that is, history, and stand off to the side of great movements of political and military character. That is the message of the messiah myth as it reaches full exposure in the rabbinic system of the two Talmuds. *See also* ESCHATOLOGY.

messiah in the targums According to the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, the messiah will come at the end of days, when the current world order will be changed. The messiah will fight and overcome all God's enemies, casting the wicked into Gehenna and placing the righteous into paradise (Eden). The messiah will spring from the tribe of Judah. The Targum to the Prophets further specifies that the messiah's origins are from the lineage of David and makes it clear that when the messiah comes, he will reestablish the Temple.

metallurgy the science and art of fashioning items from metals such as iron, bronze, gold, and silver. Simple jewelry and many small domestic tools were made of bronze. Despite this fact, almost no remains of bronze smelting installations have been uncovered, but numerous small slags have been found in many excavations. The finest metals, mainly gold and silver, were imported.

Iron was used for working and farming tools, weapons, and simple jewelery. Iron bracelets and rings have been found in many tombs from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Although many slags were found in excavations, no obvious remains of smelting installations were found. At four sites there is evidences of smithing. At Masada and Herodium, two sites of the First Jewish Revolt, remains of smithing and weapon manufacturing have been uncovered and are believed to be connected to items the rebels left at the sites. At Betar, one of the main sites of the Second Jewish Revolt, a group of blacksmith tools were found, not in situ, together with small anvils. The tools are believed to be the remains of a portable mint of Bar Kokhba.

An entire blacksmith workshop was excavated at a late Byzantine Galilean site. In one of the rooms, a half storage jar that had been used as a furnace and was full of ashes was adhered to the packed soil floor. In the other room, a large ashlar had been used as the base for the anvil. About thirty iron tools were found all around the room and were divided into two groups—blacksmith tools and farming tools. Among the blacksmith tools were found three different types and sizes of anvils, three sizes of sledges, hammers, pliers, and chisels. The farming tools included picks, axes, hammers, and bidental hoes.

Although many jewels from many periods have been found all over the land of Israel, the remains of a possible jeweler's workshop was excavated at Beth Shean and dated to the late Byzantine or early Arab period. Broken jewels made of gold and bronze, together with two jugglets full of mercury, suggest jewelery making. *See also* JEWELRY.

metanoia (Gr., change of mind, or repentence) a term frequently used in reference to repentence of sin or evil. Thus, in both Jewish and Christian writings in Greek, it became an important theological concept relating to salvation.

Metatron archangel who plays an important role in Hekhalot mysticism. The name (also spelled Mitatron) may derive from the Greek *metathronos,* the one enthroned with God, or from the Latin *metator,* the title of the officer who went ahead of the Roman army to prepare the camp, hence, more generally, a forerunner. If the latter is correct, then the term may have first been applied to the biblical angel of the Lord who led Israel through the wilderness (Exod. 23:20). 3 Enoch designates him "the lesser YHWH," in contrast to God himself, "the greater YHWH," who withdraws from the world, leaving Metatron in charge. Metatron is, consequently, called the Prince of the World and he presides over the heavenly law court made up of the princes of kingdoms, the angelic representatives of the nations on the earth. He is sometimes identified with the archangel Michael (Israel's celestial representative). He also functions as the Prince of Torah, the Heavenly Scribe and the Heav-

enly High Priest, serving in the celestial tabernacle, the Tabernacle of Metatron. He has been compared to the Gnostic *demiurge* and to Christ—the latter parallelism being reinforced by the idea found in 3 Enoch that Metatron spent part of his existence incarnate on Earth as the patriarch Enoch. Some rabbinic authorities attacked the doctrine of Metatron as endangering the unity of God by implying that there are two powers in heaven. He is invoked in Jewish, Mandaean, and Islamic incantations. In the medieval Kabbalah, he is linked with the Shekhinah, the divine presence in the world.

metempsychosis (Gr., transmigration of the soul) A belief found in various religions (such as Hinduism), it was important in Pythagoreanism and Platonism. The concept is also found in the writings of Philo of Alexandria. According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed in it as well.

Methuselah son of Enoch (Gen. 5:21–27). He is best known for having lived longer than any human being, 969 years according to Genesis 5:27. In the literature ascribed to Enoch (1 Enoch and 2 Enoch), he is the recipient of the books of heavenly wisdom written by his father and hence the guarantor of this tradition (1 Enoch 81:5; chapters 72–82 in general; 91:1; perhaps "my son" in 105:2; chapters 106–107; and 2 Enoch 68–70, where he serves as priest).

meturgeman (or turgeman) translator. According to the Mishnah and other rabbinic texts, a *meturgeman* translates the text of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic as part of a synagogue service. This translation is spoken either from memory or composed orally on the spot; the translation is not supposed to be read from a written text. Scholars sometimes use *meturgeman* to designate the author of a written targum. *See also* SCRIPTURE READING IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

Mezigah *see* CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA

mezuzah (Heb., doorpost) parchment containing the first two paragraphs of Shema, rolled tightly and placed in a case attached to the doorpost of one's home; *see also* MEZUZAH, AS AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECT

Mezuzah title of one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. It is a collection of Tannaitic sources in two chapters, containing the rules for the writing, the type of parchment, and the placement of a *mezuzah* on a doorpost.

mezuzah, as an archaeological object a doorpost that had inscribed directly upon it a quotation from the book of Deuteronomy. The term *mezuzah* later came to be identified as an encased parchment scroll that contains one of these same citations from Deuteronomy, or the case that holds the scroll. This later understanding of *mezuzah* is how the term is used today, and these *mezuzah*s are common in almost all Jewish homes and worship centers. The *mezuzah* as an archaeological object is instructive in understanding how the transformation took place from the biblical understanding of the term as a literal doorpost to the modern usage as a container that holds a credo written on parchment.

One sees from the use of the word in Exodus 12:7 that the original meaning of *mezuzah* was simply a "doorpost" and not the parchment attached to the doorpost as is the modern practice. The term *mezuzah* took on the meaning of a kind of statement of faith attached to a doorpost, because two times in Deuteronomy the Israelites are commanded: "and you shall write them [the words of God] upon the *mezuzah*s [doorposts] of your house and your gates" (Deut. 6:9, 11:20). From this biblical evidence, it appears that originally the statements of faith were written on the doorposts themselves instead of on a piece of parchment that was placed inside a container, as is common today. Such a practice of writing on actual doorposts is confirmed and illuminated by several archaeological finds. One such inscription is actually found on a lintel from Palmyra, Syria. It dates from the third century C.E. and contained the text of Deuteronomy 6:4–9 ("Hear O Israel the Lord your God is one Lord . . .") on the actual lintel as opposed to a piece of parchment. The next development that can be identified archaeologically seems to be the practice of boring a cavity in the doorpost for the placement of an inscription with one of these citations from Deuteronomy. Such a cavity is found in a doorpost in the ancient synagogue of Caesarea. Though other extensive archaeological clues that illuminate more of this development are lacking, it seems that by the Middle Ages the term had taken on the modern meaning of a container that had this text from Deuteronomy 6:4–9 written on a piece of parchment or paper and that was fastened to the doorpost.

Micah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Micah Commentary (Pesher Micah) tiny surviving fragments of a Hebrew composition (abbreviated as 1 QpMic) found in Cave 1, Qumran, in 1947 and published in DJD I. The surviving copy dates from the Herodian period; the work's date of composition is uncertain. The text is a continuous commentary on the Book of Micah, exhibiting the *pesher* form: quotation of biblical pericope, formu-

laic statement ("its interpretation is . . ."), interpretation based on events or personalities of the Qumran sect. Two figures that occur are the Teacher of Righteousness, the leader of the community and its inspired interpreter of scripture, and the Man of Lies, the leader of a rival congregation.

Michael (Heb., who is like God?) one of the four or, in some cases, seven holy ones (angels) who stand in God's immediate presence. Michael is mentioned in all lists of these angels in the pseudepigrapha (1 Enoch 20, 40) and Qumran scrolls (1QM 9:15–16). Along with Gabriel and Raphael, he is one of three who appear by name in canonical and deuterocanonical texts. In Daniel he is Israel's heavenly patron, serving as commander of the heavenly hosts (10:13–21) and as the nation's advocate at the great judgment (12:1). His name implies a challenge to his satanic opponent, who storms heaven and claims to be like God (Dan. 8:11; Isa. 14:14). In Revelation 12:7, he commands the heavenly army and, with a hint of his role as advocate, he drives Satan "the accuser" and his hosts from heaven.

middat Sedom (Heb., rule of Sodom) rabbinic description of an unfair or selfish principle, for example, the notion that "what is mine is mine and what is yours is yours" (M. Abot 5:10), which, while just, precludes charity. B. Baba Batra refers to *middat Sedom* in arguing that in a case in which there is no cost to himself, an individual must avoid selfishness or spitefulness by acting in a way beneficial to his associate.

Middle Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, MIDDLE

Middle Platonism *see* PHILO; PLATONISM

Middot Mishnah tractate describing the layout of the Temple: watchposts and gates (chap. 1), the Temple Mount (chap. 2), the altar and porch (chap. 3), and the sanctuary and courtyard (chaps. 4–5)

Midrash exegesis of scripture or collection of such exegeses. Midrash compilations exhibit distinctive traits. Seen individually and also as a group, they intersect at a few places but not over the greater part of their territory, and they are not compilations but free-standing compositions. These documents emerge as sharply differentiated from one another and clearly defined, each through its distinctive viewpoint and particular polemic, formal, and aesthetic qualities. *Midrash* means "investigation," ordinarily, inquiry into the meaning of scripture. Midrash works so as to lead us into the world of the Hebrew Bible as that holy scripture enters into Judaism. It is how sages wrote with scripture. Through the workings of Midrash, the Hebrew Bible became the written half of the one whole Torah, oral and written, revealed by God to Moses Our Rabbi at Mount Sinai. Thus Midrash works in three dimensions: first, as explanation of meaning imputed to particular verses of scripture; second, as a mode of stating important propositions—syllogisms of thought—in "conversation" with verses or sustained passages of scripture; and, third, as a way of retelling scriptural stories in such a way as to impart to those stories new immediacy. The word *midrash* bears three meanings. First is the sense of Midrash as the explanation, by Judaic interpreters, of the meaning of individual verses of scripture. The result of the interpretation of a verse of scripture is called a Midrash exegesis. Second, the result of the interpretation of scripture is collected in Midrash compilations or a Midrash document. Third, the process of interpretation, for instance, the principles that guide the interpreter, is called Midrash method.

There are three types of interpretation of scripture characteristic of Midrash compilations. In the first, the focus of interest is on individual verses of scripture, and interpreting those verses, in the sequence in which they appear, forms the organizing principle of sustained discourse. The earliest compilations are organized mainly verse by verse, and in large measure they make their statements through comments on verses, saying the same thing in the same way about successive passages over and over again. These are the compilations that came to closure during the third century, as is shown by the frequent citation of the Mishnah and the Tosefta verbatim in those compilations. They are Sifra, to Leviticus; Sifrei to Numbers; and Sifrei to Deuteronomy. In the second type of interpretation, the center of interest is the testing and validating of large-scale propositions, which, through the reading of individual verses, an authorship wishes to test and validate. In that rather philosophical trend in rabbinic Midrash interpretation, the interpretation of individual verses takes a subordinate position—the appeal to facts of scripture in the service of the syllogism at hand. This form of writing with scripture so as to set forth a single, vast proposition, characterizes the second group of Midrash compilations, those associated with the Talmud of the Land of Israel. These are Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, and Pesikta deRab Kahana, all of which are believed to have come to closure between c. 450 and 500 C.E. The third approach focuses upon the reading of phrases or verses so as to make a single, remarkably cogent statement. Here the form is the same as before, but the result is not. Instead of relating a variety of

things about many verses, the compilers of this third type of Midrash compilation really wish to say one thing in many different ways. This approach to Midrash compilation characterizes the documents associated with the Talmud of Babylonia. These are, in particular, Lamentations Rabbah, Esther Rabbah I (dealing with Esther 1–2), Song of Songs Rabbah, and Ruth Rabbah. A rough date for the conclusion of these compilations is c. 600 C.E.

All of these dates, approximate though they are, really are guesswork. The one thing that may be said for certain is that the first group is early; relative to that group, the second group is somewhat later; and the third group is the last in sequence. Nothing in any of the compilations plausibly permits us to date any document by reference to external events or evidence other than what the document itself gives us. But it is clear, in the unfolding of the Midrash compilations that form the other half of the Torah, oral and written, which, in secular language, comprises the classics of Judaism—the half focused upon scripture—we move from the exegesis of phrases to make a fresh point, through the reading of a variety of verses of scripture so as to form a proposition, to the compilation of readings of verses of scripture to make a single, stunning, and encompassing proposition.

Midrash Ahasweros *see* ESTHER RABBAH I

Midrash Rabbah compilation of Midrash collections devoted to the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and the Five Scrolls

Midrash Ruth *see* RUTH RABBAH

Midrash Tanḥuma Midrash compilation in which a rabbi, Tanḥuma, is often cited. A compilation of such Midrash exegeses, covering the whole of the Pentateuch, was printed under the title Midrash Tanḥuma by Salomon Buber in 1885. The earliest of the extant texts derives from the period after 800 C.E.

Midrash Threni *see* LAMENTATIONS RABBAH

Migdal Eder (Heb., tower of the flock) an undisclosed location between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, referred to once in scripture (Gen. 35:21) and mentioned at M. Shekalim 7:4 as an area in which cattle were grazed outside of Jerusalem

miggo (Heb., in consequence of) In talmudic law, the term refers to (1) a principle of evidence holding that a deponent's statement should be believed on the ground that if he wished to lie, he could have invented a more advantageous lie than what he in fact said; and (2) a deed declared valid because the legal requirements needed to legitimate it could easily have been met or because one aspect of those requirements indisputably has been met.

Migr. *see* DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI

mikdash *see* SANCTUARY

Mikhwar, mountains of a hill district in Transjordan, referred to with some frequency in the rabbinic literature. Its exact identity is unknown.

Mikra (Heb.) designation of the Hebrew Bible, which Protestant Christians refer to as the Old Testament. In a Jewish context, the word "Mikra" is essentially interchangeable with "Holy Scriptures" and "Tanakh." *Mikra* can also refer to a specific biblical verse or passage as well as to the recitation of scripture or fixed prayers.

Mikvaot Mishnah tractate on immersion pools. The tractate focuses on the kind of collection of water that serves to remove uncleanness (chaps. 1, 2–5); doubts in connection with immersion and immersion pools (chap. 2); the union of pools to form the requisite volume of water (chaps. 5–6); mixtures of water and wine, mud, and water in various locales (chaps. 7–8); and the use of the immersion pool and the problem of interposition between the flesh and the water (chaps. 8–10).

mikveh (Heb.) immersion pool for ritual cleanness and baptism of converts, used for removing ritual uncleanness

milk and meat "You shall not seethe a kid in the mother's milk" (Exod. 23:19, 34:26; Deut. 14:21) is taken to mean that cooking meat and milk together or eating them together is forbidden. All dairy products are considered milk. *See also* DIETARY LAWS.

min (Heb.; pl., *minim*) a sectarian. In the rabbinic literature, the term usually applies to an apostate Jew, although it can signify as well a non-Jew who has rejected his people's gods (see, e.g., B. Abodah Zarah 65a). Understanding the term to refer specifically to Jewish-Christians, medieval censors often substituted it with the terms "Tzaduki" or "Kuti," which denote Sadducees. These substitutions remain in many contemporary printings.

mina a unit of weight in the ancient Near East. Weights and measurements were not usually standardized; however, we have some information about them from archaeology. The *mina* was usually either fifty or sixty shekels, which would make it about 1.25 pounds (.5 kg) in Israel, based on the approximate weight of a shekel.

minḥag (Heb.) custom

minḥah **1.** afternoon prayer, recited at twilight
2. meal-offering; *see also* MENAḤOT

minor, status of Rabbinic Judaism deems a person a minor until the emergence of the first signs of puberty, estimated at the beginning of the thir-

teenth year for women and the beginning of the fourteenth year for men (Babli Niddah 52a). Prior to this age, the individual is in the same category as a deaf-mute or mentally incapacitated person, regarded as not responsible for his or her actions and exempt from ritual requirements.

Rabbinic law allows children over the age of six who understand business negotiations to sell movable property. Children are permitted to deal in immovables after the age of majority. This does not apply to inherited real estate, which they may not sell until they reach the age of twenty. A minor's testimony is not admissible in court, although in certain cases individuals who have reached the age of majority are permitted to testify regarding incidents they witnessed as minors (Babli Ketubot 28a).

Minor Prophets *see* PROPHETS

minyan *see* QUORUM

Miqra *see* MIKRA

miqvah *see* MIKVEH

Miqvaot *see* MIKVAOT

miracle an extraordinary event manifesting divine intervention in human affairs. The two most common biblical terms for the actions of God in the world and in human affairs are *peleh* and *mofet*. The first means an action that is so difficult as to be considered marvelous; the second means an act that fills the observer with wonder. These meanings are especially clear in Job, where God is said to do "great and unsearchable, marvelous things without number" (5:9), "things which we cannot comprehend" (37:5), "things too wonderful for me, which I did not know" (42:3). These terms are most frequently used in the Bible in accounts of God's actions in the events leading to Israel's liberation from slavery in Egypt in the time of Moses. Moses is told that God will strike Egypt's ruler, who otherwise would not let the people go (Exod. 4:20). God will perform many acts to convince Pharaoh. For example, Moses is to throw down his rod before the king, and it will become a serpent (Exod. 7:9). Even when God has done all the marvels, Pharaoh's heart is hardened and he refuses to release them (Exod. 11:10).

Moses' song after the successful crossing of the Red Sea recalls God's unique power and the wonder of God's action on behalf of his people (Exod. 15:11). When Israel becomes disobedient while still in the desert and God renews the covenant with Israel's people, He declares again that their relationship with Him rests on his incomparable actions on their behalf (Exod. 34:10). Again, in Deuteronomy 4:34, Israel is reminded of God's unique activity in freeing and establishing his people. It is the recital of these marvelous divine acts that recur in the law (Deut. 7:18–19, 11:2–4), in the historical books (1 Chron. 16:12), and in the wisdom traditions (Wisd. of Sol. 19:8). They continue to be rehearsed from the time that Israel enters and settles in the Land of Canaan (Deut. 26:8, 29:3, 34:11–12), and in the hymns sung in the worship of YHWH (Ps. 78:43, 105:5, 27; 106:21, 135:9), as well as in the wisdom literature (Sir. 45:19) and the Prophets (Jer. 32:17–23).

In broader terms, it is God's "wondrous deeds" on behalf of his people that serve as a major theme in worship (Ps. 9:1, 86:10, 98:1; Isa. 25:1). God's amazing actions are also seen as taking place through Elijah, the prophet (Sir. 45:14). He continues to speak to and through the prophets by means of extraordinary events (Isa. 8:18). His actions on behalf of his people will be recognized as such only after the events, when they are recognized as God's work among them. In the later prophetic tradition, God's marvelous acts are foretold as happening in the future, when God fulfills his purpose for the renewal of his people (Joel 2:30; Dan. 6:27). It is essential that these deeds be acclaimed if the covenant people are to accept responsibility in that relationship (Isa. 29:13–14). But many will fail to understand God's work on their behalf to achieve his purpose. God's actions will be seen in the future to include severe punishment of idolaters, but also the preservation of his own people (Wisd. of Sol. 15:18–19:22).

The incomparable deeds of God are celebrated in Sirach 18:1–14. Looking back over the history of Israel, Sirach 44:1–50:24 describes the "famous men" through whom God has been at work to inform his people of his purpose for them and to shape the course of history so their destiny might be fulfilled. Examples of this perspective on the miraculous include the destruction of those in Israel who revolted against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num. 16; Sir. 45:18–19) and the defeat of Israel's enemies through Joshua's leadership (Josh. 6–11; Sir. 46:2–8). The punitive actions Elijah carried out against the disobedient and rebellious element in Israel were accomplished "by the word of the Lord," although the prophet can be justly proud of his achievements (Sir. 48:1–4). Isaiah's ability to foresee the future was through "the spirit of might," and through God's power he was able to turn back the sun's movement and extend the king's life (2 Kings 20:10–11; Sir. 48:25).

God's mighty power on behalf of his faithful people is evident in the stories of Daniel and his

companions, where natural powers and human capabilities are altered (Dan. 2:20–23). The faithful three who refuse to worship the golden image of the pagan king are thrown into the fiery furnace but are accompanied by one "like a son of the gods" and are preserved from the flames (Dan. 3). When Daniel violates the decree of King Darius by praying to the God of Israel, he is not devoured by the lions. Darius then acknowledges that the God of Daniel "delivers and rescues; he works signs and wonders." In 1 Enoch 46–48 there are descriptions of the amazing powers of the son of man, who removes kings from their thrones and destroys their kingdoms. In 4 Ezra 13, one like a human gathers the winds of heaven, carves out for himself a great mountain, and destroys his enemies by the flaming breath of his mouth. Operating through human agents, the marvelous powers of God are expected to work to accomplish the divine purpose for the world and for God's people. In Isaiah 35:5–6 there is a prediction that when God's renewal of the earth takes place, the blind will see, the deaf will hear, and the lame will walk.

Talmudic rabbis acknowledged that miracles occur and evidence God's action in the world. At the same time, they held that miracles were neither an appropriate foundation for faith, nor expected actions through which God could be depended upon to protect individuals or the Israelite people as a whole. This was especially the case insofar as contemporary generations were not as pious and worthy as earlier Jews (see, e.g., B. Berakhot 4a, 20a; B. Sanhedrin 94b). Accordingly, the rabbis held that one should not endanger him or herself in anticipation of a saving miracle (B. Taanit 20b; B. Ketubot 61b), and they considered human expectation of or demand for the miraculous to be folly (M. Abodah Zarah 4:7; B. Taanit 18b).

The rabbis believed the miracles described in the Bible to have been preordained, arranged by God at the time of creation, when, for instance, manna (consumed by the Israelites after the Exodus from Egypt) and the mouth of Balaam's talking ass were created (Mishnah Abot 5:6; see Exod. Rabbah 21:6). Miracles, therefore, did not actually interrupt the natural order; they were rather a part of that order, only appearing to people as extraordinary. In their own day, the rabbis saw as miraculous the wonders that occurred in daily life, for instance, in a person's recovery from an illness (B. Nedarim 41a) or even simply in people's having sufficient food (B. Pesahim 118a). Understood to result from divine providence, such everyday occurrences were viewed as greater miracles than the escape of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah from the furnace (Dan. 3) or the parting of the Red Sea.

Mishnah a philosophical law code, completed c. 200 C.E. and promulgated by Judah the Prince in about the same year. The code contains six parts (divisions), comprising sixty-three tractates, concerning agricultural laws, festival and Sabbath law, family and personal status, torts, damages, and civil law, laws pertaining to the sanctuary, and rules of ritual cleanness. Through details of the law, a philosophical system of hierarchical classification of worldly things is set forth, showing that many things derive from one and one thing encompasses many; hence, the hierarchical unity of all being is set forth. The premise is that one God has generated many kinds and classes of things. The Mishnah classifies and compares, finding the right rule for each matter and each important situation, by determining whether one case is like another, or not like another. If it is like another, it follows the rule governing that other; if not, it follows the opposite of that rule. In this way, an orderly and logical way to sort out chaos and discover the inner order of being generates the balanced and stable, secure world described by the Mishnah. Historical events, when they enter at all, lose their one-time and unprecedented character and are shown to follow—even to generate—a fixed rule; events therefore are the opposite of eventful. This age and the age to come, history and the end of history—these categories play a very small role. Even the figure of the messiah serves as a classification; that is, designation or anointment distinguishes one priest from another.

The Mishnah focuses upon the sanctification of Israel; sanctification means, first, distinguishing Israel in all its dimensions from the world in all its ways and, second, establishing the stability, order, regularity, predictability, and reliability of Israel in the world of nature and supernature in particular at moments and in contexts of danger. Danger means instability, disorder, irregularity, uncertainty, and betrayal. Each topic of the system as a whole takes up a critical and indispensable moment or context of social being. Through what is said in regard to each of the Mishnah's principal topics, what this halakhic (legal) system as a whole wishes to declare is fully expressed. Yet if the parts severally and jointly give the message of the whole, the whole cannot exist without all of the parts, so well joined and carefully crafted are they all. This brings us to a rapid survey of the several parts of the system, the six divisions and their sixty-three tractates.

The Division of Agriculture treats two topics: (1)

producing crops in accord with the scriptural rules on the subject, and (2) paying the required offerings and tithes to the priests, the Levites, and the poor. The principal point of this division is that the Land of Israel is holy because God has a claim both on the land and on what it produces. God's claim must be honored by setting aside a portion of the produce for those for whom God has designated it. God's ownership must be acknowledged by observing the rules God has laid down for use of the land. In sum, the division is divided along the following lines: (1) rules for producing crops in a state of holiness—the tractates Kilayim, Sheḇiit, and Orlah; (2) rules for disposing of crops in accord with the rules of holiness—the tractates Peah, Demai, Terumot, Maaserot, Maaser Sheni, Ḥallah, Bikkurim, and Berakhot.

The Division of Appointed Times forms a system in which the advent of a holy day, such as the Sabbath of creation, sanctifies the life of the Israelite village through imposing on the village rules on the model of those of the Temple. The purpose of the system, therefore, is to bring into alignment the moment of sanctification of the village and the life of the home with the moment of sanctification of the Temple on those same occasions of appointed times. The underlying and generative theory of the system is that the village is the mirror image of the Temple. If things are done in one way in the Temple, they will be done in the opposite way in the village. Together the village and the Temple on the occasion of the holy day therefore form a single continuum, a completed creation, which is thus awaiting sanctification.

The Division of Women defines the women in the social economy of Israel's supernatural and natural reality. Women acquire definition wholly in relationship to men, who impart form to the Israelite social economy. The status of women is effected through both supernatural and natural, worldly action. What man and woman do on earth provokes a response in heaven, and the correspondences are perfect. Thus women are defined and secured both in heaven and here on earth, and that position is always and invariably relative to men. The principal interest for the Mishnah is the point at which a woman becomes or ceases to be holy to a particular man, that is, enters or leaves the marital union. These transfers of women are the dangerous and disorderly points in the relationship of woman to man, and therefore, the Mishnah states, to society as well. The formation of the marriage is discussed in Kiddushin and Ketuḇot, as well as in Yeḇamot. The rules for the duration of the marriage are scattered throughout, but derive especially from parts of Ketuḇot, Nedarim, and Nazir and from the paramount unit of Soṭah. The dissolution of the marriage is dealt with in Gittin, as well as in Yeḇamot. We see very clearly, therefore, that important overall are issues of the transfer of property, along with women, covered in Ketuḇot and to some measure in Kiddushin, and the proper documentation of the transfer of women and property, treated in Ketuḇot and Gittin. The critical issues, therefore, turn upon legal documents—writs of divorce, for example—and legal recognition of changes in the ownership of property, for example, through the collection of the settlement of a marriage contract by a widow, through the provision of a dowry, or through the disposition of the property of a woman during the period in which she is married. Within this orderly world of documentary and procedural concerns a place is made for the disorderly conception of the marriage not formed by human volition but decreed in heaven, the levirate connection (marriage between the widow and surviving brother of a man who died childless). Yeḇamot states that supernature sanctifies a woman to a man under the conditions of the levirate connection. What it says by indirection is that man sanctifies too: man, like God, can sanctify the relationship between a man and a woman, and can also effect the cessation of the sanctity of that same relationship. Five of the seven tractates of the Division of Women are devoted to the formation and dissolution of the marital bond. Kiddushin, Ketuḇot, and Gittin treat what is done by man here on earth, that is, formation of a marital bond through betrothal and the marriage contract and dissolution of a marital bond through divorce and its consequences. Soṭah is devoted to what is done by woman here on earth. And Yeḇamot, greatest of the seven in size and in formal and substantive brilliance, deals with the corresponding heavenly intervention into the formation and end of a marriage: the effect of death upon both the formation of the marital bond and its dissolution. The other two tractates, Nedarim and Nazir, draw into one the two realms of reality, heaven and earth, as they work out the effects of vows, perhaps because vows taken by women and subject to the confirmation or abrogation of the father or husband make a deep impact upon the marital life of the woman who has taken them.

The Division of Damages comprises two subsystems, which fit together in a logical way. One part presents rules for the normal conduct of civil society. These cover commerce, trade, real estate, and

other matters of everyday intercourse, as well as mishaps, such as damages by chattels and persons, fraud, overcharges, interest, and the like, in that same context of everyday social life. The other part describes the institutions governing the normal conduct of civil society, that is, courts of administration, and the penalties at the disposal of the government for the enforcement of the law. The two subjects form a single tight and systematic dissertation on the nature of Israelite society and its economic, social, and political relationships, as the Mishnah envisages them. The main point of the first of the two parts of the Division of Damages is expressed in the sustained unfolding of the three Babas, Baba Kamma, Baba Metzia, and Baba Batra. It is that the task of society is to maintain perfect stasis, to preserve the prevailing situation, and to secure the stability of all relationships. To this end, in the interchanges of buying and selling, giving and taking, and borrowing and lending it is important that there be an essential equality of interchange. No party in the end should have more than what he had at the outset, and none should be the victim of a sizable shift in fortune and circumstance. All parties' rights to, and in, this stable and unchanging economy of society are to be preserved. When the condition of a person is violated, so far as possible the law will secure the restoration of the antecedent status.

The Division of Holy Things presents a system of sacrifice and sanctuary, addressing matters concerning the praxis of the altar and maintenance of the sanctuary. The praxis of the altar, specifically, involves sacrifice and things set aside for sacrifice and consequently deemed consecrated. This topic is covered in Zebahim and part of Hullin, Menahot, Temurah, Keritot, part of Meilah, Tamid, and Kinnim. The maintenance of the sanctuary (inclusive of the personnel) is dealt with in Bekhorot, Arakhin, part of Meilah, Middot, and part of Hullin. Viewed as a whole, the contents of this division's eleven tractates fall into three groups: (1) rules for the altar and the praxis of the cult, set forth in Zebahim Menahot, Hullin, Keritot, Tamid, and Kinnim; additional relevant material appears in Bekhorot and Meilah; (2) rules for the altar and the animals set aside for the cult, set forth in Arakhin, Temurah, and Meilah; additional relevant material appears in Bekhorot; (3) rules for the altar and support of the Temple staff and buildings, set forth in Bekhorot and Middot; additional relevant material appears in Hullin, Arakhin, Meilah, and Tamid. In short, this division speaks of the sacrificial cult and the sanctuary in which the cult is conducted. The law pays special attention to the matter of the status of the property of the altar and of the sanctuary—both materials to be utilized in the actual sacrificial rites, and property the value of which supports the cult and sanctuary in general. Both are deemed to be sanctified, that is, "Holy Things."

The Division of Purities presents a very simple system of three principal parts: sources of uncleanness, objects and substances susceptible to uncleanness, and modes of purification from uncleanness. Thus it tells the story of what makes a given sort of object unclean and what makes it clean. The tractates on these several topics are as follows: (1) sources of uncleanness—Ohalot, Negaim, Niddah, Makhshirin, Zabim, and Tebul Yom; (2) objects and substances susceptible to uncleanness—Kelim, Tohorot, and Uksin; and (3) modes of purification—Parah, Mikvaot, Yadayim. Viewed as a whole, the Division of Purities treats the interplay of persons, food, and liquids. Dry inanimate objects or food are not susceptible to uncleanness. What is wet is susceptible, so liquids activate the system. What is unclean, moreover, emerges from uncleanness through the operation of liquids, specifically, through immersion in fit water of requisite volume and in natural condition. Liquids therefore deactivate the system. Thus, water in its natural condition is what concludes the process by removing uncleanness. Water in its unnatural condition, that is, deliberately affected by human agency, is what imparts susceptibility to uncleanness to begin with. The uncleanness of persons, furthermore, is signified by body liquids, or flux in the case of the menstruating woman (discussed in Niddah) and the zab (discussed in Zabim). Corpse uncleanness is conceived to be a kind of effluent, a viscous gas, which flows like liquid. Utensils for their part receive uncleanness when they form receptacles able to contain liquid. In sum, we have a system in which the invisible flow of fluidlike substances or powers serve to put food, drink, and receptacles into the status of uncleanness and to remove those things from that status. Whether or not we call the system metaphysical, it certainly has no material basis, but is conditioned upon highly abstract notions. Thus, in material terms, the effect of liquid is upon food, drink, utensils, and man. The consequence has to do with who may eat and drink what food and liquid, and what food and drink may be consumed in which pots and pans. These loci are specified by tractates on utensils (Kelim) and on food and drink (Tohorot and Uksin). The human being is ambivalent. Persons fall in the middle, between sources

and loci of uncleanness, because they are both. They serve as sources of uncleanness. They also become unclean. The zab, suffering the uncleanness described in Leviticus, chapter 15, the menstruating woman, the woman after childbirth, and the person afflicted with the skin ailment described in Leviticus, chapters 13 and 14—all are sources of uncleanness. However, being unclean, they fall within the system's loci, its program of consequences. They make other things unclean and also are subject to penalties because they are unclean. Unambiguous sources of uncleanness never also constitute loci affected by uncleanness. They always are unclean and never can become clean: the corpse, the dead creeping thing, and similar things. Inanimate sources of uncleanness and inanimate objects are affected by uncleanness. Systemically unique, man and liquids have the capacity to inaugurate the processes of uncleanness (as sources) and also are subject to those same processes (as objects of uncleanness).

Misinai melody the oldest stratum of Ashkenazi synagogue music. It is putatively traced to Mount Sinai, but actually originates no earlier than the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

missionary literature literature written to propagate one's religion and perhaps even to gain converts. It has been argued that certain types of Jewish literature were written specifically with a gentile audience in mind, with more than one potential purpose. One type might be simply apologetic, intended to present Judaism in as good a light as possible. Another might, however, be aimed at the actual conversion of Gentiles to Judaism. It is much easier to identify the first type than the second. It seems fairly clear that some literature was written to present Judaism attracively to outsiders. A good example is Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews,* in which Jewish history is presented as ancient and venerable, Jewish law is treated as modeled on a rational ideal, and the Jewish patriarchs appear in the recognizable guise of Hellenistic sages. The biblical text is sanitized so that several disreputable episodes are quietly omitted. A number of other writings, including some of the works of Philo, have been suggested as performing the same function. One of the principal works said to be aimed at conversion is Joseph and Asenath, which pictures the actual conversion of a non-Jew. *See also* PROSELYTIZATION.

Mithridates I Parthian ruler (r. 171–138 B.C.E.). Although not the first Parthian ruler, Mithridates I was the real founder of the Parthian Empire. He conquered the western reaches of present-day Iran, reaching Media in 155 B.C.E. and Seleucia in 141 B.C.E. By 139 B.C.E., Babylonia, Mesene, Characene, and Elymaeis were in his hands. Mithridates was part of a military aristocracy, and he established the Parthian policy of conciliating the various groups in the empire, including the Jews, and of not interfering with the religious life and cultures of the peoples they conquered.

Mithridates II Parthian ruler (r. 123–88 B.C.E.). Under Mithridates II, the Parthians definitively established their hold on Babylonia and expanded into central Asia. During his reign, the Parthians began to claim that they were descended from the ancient Achaemenids, and the rulers called themselves by the ancient title "king of kings." During his reign, Parthian architecture, as an amalgamation of Hellenistic and Iranian forms, began to develop. In addition, Seleucus of Seleucia, an important astronomer, and Apollodorus of Artemita, who wrote a history of Parthia, flourished.

Mithridates III Parthian ruler (r. 57–55 B.C.E.). When he was expelled by the Parthian nobility, he started a civil war. During the course of his revolt, he won over Babylonia, including Seleucia, before 55 B.C.E. However, Orodes I retook Seleucia and Babylonia and executed Mithridates III.

mitzvah (Heb., commandments) in the technical sense, scriptural or rabbinic injunctions; later, also used in sense of good deeds. Every human activity may represent an act of obedience to divine will.

mizbeah *see* ALTAR

Mizpah alternatively, Mizpeh; the name of several biblical sites in and around the Land of Israel. The name means "watchtower"; in scripture and at M. Peah 2:6, it appears with the definite article. The most significant Mizpah (e.g., Josh. 18:26) was in the territory of Benjamin and is probably the modern Tell en-Natzbeh, 12 kilometers north of Jerusalem.

Moab land east of the Jordan River and Dead Sea; a neighbor of biblical Israel. The Moabites' eponymic ancestor was the son of Lot and his elder daughter (Gen. 19:30–38). Rabbinic texts are ambivalent about the Moabites: on the one hand, conscious of the continuing conflicts between biblical Israelites and Moabites but, on the other, cognizant that Ruth, the great-grandmother of King David, was a Moabite (Gen. Rabbah 51).

mobad chief of the magi. Ardashir I seems to have established a hierarchy of church officials: The magus was under the authority of the *herpat* (priest in charge of the sacred fire) and the *mobad,* headed at the top by the *herpatan herpat* (chief

justice) and the *mobadan mobad* (high priest). Ardashir placed a *mobad* in each satrapy to foster the interests of the state religion. The Talmud indicates that under Ardashir, the *mobads* forbade those Jewish religious practices, such as the preparation of meat, the use of ritual baths, and burial of the dead, that offended the sensibilities of the followers of the Mazdean state church.

Modern Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, MODERN

Modiim village in the district of Lydda, where the Maccabean revolt broke out; home of Mattathias the Hasmonean and his descendants. The village is about 15 miles from Jerusalem; in rabbinic times, it marked the boundary of the area deemed close to the holy city (M. Pesaḥim 9:2), within which individuals could be trusted regarding the purity of wine and oil (M. Ḥagigah 3:5). One Tannaitic authority is said to have come from there, Eleazar of Modiim, a relative of Bar Kokhba.

moed (Heb.) festival

Moed the second division of the Mishnah, devoted to the rules of Temple sacrifice on Sabbath and festival occasions and laws pertaining to the home on those same holy days

Moed Katan Mishnah tractate devoted to the intermediate days of a festival, with special interest in labor that may or may not be performed between the first and final festival days of Tabernacles and Passover (chaps. 1–2), commerce on the intermediate days of a festival (chaps. 2–3), and burial of the dead and mourning on the intermediate days of a festival (chap. 3)

mohel (Heb.) ritual circumciser

money a medium of exchange often used in standard weights and coinage. In the biblical period, silver appears to have been the most common currency. Rather than being coined, it was carried in unminted form and weighed out as required (see Deut. 25:13–16 and Lev. 19:36, which record warnings against false measures but not against adulteration of coins). Coined money came into use in the Persian period (see Ezra 8:27 and 1 Chron. 29:7, which refer to values of Persian coinage).

Rabbinic law reveals a continuing debate regarding the use of coins other than silver. In general, the rabbis retain silver as the primary coinage, allowing the use of gold or copper only in limited circumstances, for example, if they are to be exchanged for silver (M. Baba Metzia 4:1). Specific usages of gold coins are debated. While the House of Shammai prohibits a householder who needs to take second tithe to Jerusalem from exchanging silver *shekels* for gold, the House of Hillel permits it (M. Maaser Sheni 2:7). In this, the House of Hillel's approach may reflect an acceptance of the gold standard common in the Roman culture of the day.

In rabbinic economics, money functions as a means of exchange that facilitates sale and purchase of goods, that is, barter, but money is not viewed as itself a commodity that may be traded or invested for profit. All earnings from this latter use of money are deemed "interest," an inappropriate economic gain that is prohibited under rabbinic law.

In the rabbinic literature, the smallest copper coin is called a *perutah*. Eight *perutahs* are valued at an *issar*. Two *issars* equal a *pondion* and two *pondions* have the value of a *maah*, which is the smallest silver coin. Twelve *pondions* equal a *denar* (also called a *zuz*) and two *denars* have the value of a *shekel*. Two *shekels* equal a *sela*. Less frequently mentioned are the *teresit*, equal in value to three *issars*; the *asper*, five of which equal a *denar*; and the *tropaic*, two of which equal a *denar*. Twenty-five *denars* have the value of one golden *denar*, and one hundred *denars* equal a *mina*.

money changers financiers and bankers in the Hellenistic and Roman periods who converted, for a premium of between 4 and 8 percent, various types of coinage to facilitate commerce. According to Mark 11:15, Matthew 21:12, and John 2:5, at the time of Passover, Jesus overturned the tables of the money changers, who would have been converting coinage into Tyrian silver didrachms, the currency accepted by the Temple (Exod. 30:13; Lev. 5:15, 27:25; Num. 3:47), and may have then been engaged in collecting the annual half-shekel tax (see M. Shek. 1:3). Debates continue on the symbolic meaning as well as the historicity of Jesus' action.

money lending Biblical and rabbinic laws permit loans among Jews only where the lender charges the borrower no interest at all. The rabbis extended the prohibition of interest and increase to a variety of cases of commercial transactions where one party may derive some financial benefit from providing capital for the use of another party. The Mishnah (Baba Metzia 5) goes so far as to prohibit as interest the lending party receiving favors of any kind, even favorable statements, from a borrower. However, biblical and rabbinic law permitted a Jew to lend money to a Gentile and charge interest and to borrow from a Gentile and pay him interest. Jews could circumvent the prohibition of lending to one another with interest through the use of a Gentile as an intermediary in the transaction. Similarly, later when canon law imposed restrictions

against usury among Christians in the Middle Ages, Jews were used as intermediaries. The stereotype of the medieval Jew as money lender has been exaggerated much beyond its historical fact and is a prominent theme in anti-Semitic writings from the Middle Ages to the present.

Monobazus II first-century-C.E. ruler of Adiabene. He was the brother and successor of Izates of Adiabene, who converted to Judaism. Monobazus also embraced Judaism. The Jewish sources credit Monobazus with using all of his resources to support the poor in a year of famine. They also emphasize his generosity to the people of Jerusalem and the Temple, his resources, and his wisdom. Josephus claims that he and his mother, Helena, had palaces in Jerusalem and that he buried his mother and his brother in a spectacular tomb in Jerusalem. Some of his family participated in the Palestinian Revolt against Rome in 66–73 C.E.

monogamy and polygamy The marriage of a man exclusively to one woman was the expected norm in Israelite and later rabbinic society. Polygamy was permitted but there is little evidence that it was practiced. Biblical sources provide a somewhat ambiguous model in this area. In its narratives, Adam had one wife, Abraham married his slave at the request of his wife, Isaac had one spouse, and Jacob was tricked into marrying two sisters who then asked him to marry their maids. The Israelite kings openly practiced polygamy but were castigated for it (Deut. 17:17). The prophets, priests, and other prominent biblical figures were monogamous. Social and economic obligations imposed on a husband to support each wife equally (Exod. 21:10) and to provide a marriage contract for each made monogamy more attractive. The obligatory polygamy imposed on a man whose brother died childless and which obligated him to marry as a *levir* his brother's wife was also rarely carried out in rabbinic times (M. Bekh. 1:7). Instead, more often the ritual of *ḥalitzah* was performed, freeing the woman from that relationship. Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah (d. 1028 C.E.) officially banned polygamy by decree for Ashkenazic Jews of France and Germany. *See also* MARRIAGE.

Monophysitism form of eastern Christianity. The doctrine holds that in the person of the incarnate Christ there is only a single, divine nature. This stands in opposition to the orthodox teaching, which holds that there is a double nature, divine and human, in Christ. Monophysitism became a distinct doctrine after the Council of Chalcedon, 451 C.E., which detailed the orthodox doctrine. The Byzantine emperors Zeno and Anastasius (474–518 C.E.) tried to appease the Monophysites, while Justin I and Justinian (518–565 C.E.) supported the Orthodox Christians. The Monophysites often accused their enemies, the Nestorians, of holding Jewish views on Jesus.

Mordecai, Dream of *see* DREAM OF MORDECAI

Moriah, Mount site in Jerusalem where Solomon built the First Temple (2 Chron. 3:1); associated in scripture and rabbinic literature with "the land of Moriah" (Gen. 22:2), where God sent Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. The holiest site in Judaism, Mount Moriah, represented by the Temple platform in the Old City of Jerusalem, currently is occupied by the El-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, from which, according to Muslim tradition, Mohammed ascended into heaven.

Moses the leader of Israel in Egypt and during the Exodus and wilderness wanderings. Exodus reports that Moses, along with all other Hebrew males, was supposed to be drowned in the Nile River, but his mother hid him in a basket in some rushes, where the pharaoh's daughter found him. She named him Moses (the biblical text derives his Egyptian name from the Hebrew word for "to draw out") and raised him in the palace. When he was forty years of age, he killed an Egyptian and fled to Midian to avoid punishment. There, he married a daughter of the priest Jethro and, while serving him as a shepherd, received the revelation of the divine name YHWH at the burning bush. On that occasion, the Lord commissioned him to return to Egypt and lead his fellow Hebrews from their servitude. After the ten plagues, he led the nation across the Reed Sea and to Mount Sinai (the location of the burning bush), where the Lord revealed to him the Ten Commandments and the many other instructions that were part of the covenant between God and his people. Moses served as the people's leader and frequent intercessor for forty years but was denied the right to enter the promised land because of a single act of disobedience. According to the story in Deuteronomy 34, he was allowed to view the land from a mountaintop but was not permitted to enter it. Deuteronomy 18 presents Moses as the model prophet: in each generation, it says, the Lord will raise up a prophet like him and use him as the divine mouthpiece. The later books of the Hebrew Bible (such as Ezra and Nehemiah) indicate that by then he was regarded as the author of much of the legal material now found in Exodus through Deuteronomy. Ezra was said to be a scribe who was an expert in the law of Moses (Ezra 7), and he was commissioned by the Persian king to implement that law.

Moses continued to play an important role for Jewish people after the biblical period. The laws that were disclosed to him served as the legal basis for Jewish life in the centuries of the Second Temple. Several books that were clearly written long after his time were attributed to him. Examples are the Book of Jubilees (c. 150 B.C.E.), the first witness to the belief that he had written not only the legal sections of Exodus and Deuteronomy but also the narrative parts of Genesis and Exodus, which claims to contain revelations from God to an angel, who in turn communicated them to Moses when he was on Mount Sinai, and the Testament of Moses, which contains his final, predictive address to Joshua before his death. The Dead Sea Scrolls, too, include some documents that are attributed to Moses' authorship, the Temple Scroll, for instance. In the scrolls, Moses is primarily associated with the law or teaching revealed to him in the biblical books Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. For the first-century-C.E. Jewish historian Josephus, Moses was the founder of the Israelite theocracy. Moreover, Josephus reproduced a story about Moses' successes as an Egyptian general before he led the people out of Egypt. The historian indicated that the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees differed regarding the use of Moses' law: the Pharisees considered it and the traditional interpretations of it to be authoritative in legal matters, while the Sadducees believed that only what was written in that law could be employed for this purpose. Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), the Jewish philosopher from Alexandria, considered Moses a divine man possessed of supreme gifts—the perfect recipient for God's revelation of the highest wisdom.

Moses figures prominently in the New Testament as well. Matthew's gospel presents Jesus as parallel to Moses in several ways: their lives were endangered as infants; both were associated with Egypt and departed from it for the Land of Israel; both were in the wilderness (Moses was there for forty years, and Jesus was tempted for forty days); and both their stories feature inspired teaching from a mountain (Sinai for Moses, and the Sermon on the Mount for Jesus). Moses, with Elijah, appeared to Jesus on the mount of transfiguration (Mark 9 and parallels). Moses' name appears in Paul's letters when the apostle distinguishes his gospel of faith from the way of Moses' law (Gal. 3; 2 Cor. 3). Paul considered the law revealed to Moses to be associated with an old and now superseded covenant between God and his people. In Hebrews, Moses is contrasted with Jesus as a servant to a son (chap. 3); later, the writer presents Moses as an example of faith, one who long before Christ suffered abuse for Christ's sake (chap. 11). The letter of Jude mentions an extrabiblical story about Moses' corpse (verse 9), and in Revelation 11 one of the witnesses who will be active at the end of time is described in language that reminds one of Moses.

Rabbinic Judaism primarily refers to Moses in his role as lawgiver, understanding him to have received both the written law, contained in scripture, and the oral law, embodied in rabbinic teachings, from God. In this thinking, Moses, called Moshe Rabbenu, that is, Moses Our Teacher, was the prototypical rabbi and foremost scholar of Torah. Central in rabbinic Judaism is the idea that even new interpretations of Torah embody truths that were revealed to Moses. This concept is highlighted in an account of Moses' being brought by God to the academy of Akiba, where Moses finds that he does not comprehend Akiba's teachings. His mind is set at ease only when Akiba proclaims that his teachings comprise laws he had received as a tradition from Moses at Sinai (B. Menaḥot 29b).

The rabbis viewed the life of Moses as the model for that of all great teachers. Like him, Hillel, Akiba, and Yohanan b. Zakkai lived 120 years. Moses was understood to have acquired from God forty-nine of the fifty gates of understanding (B. Nedarim 38a) and to have seen God as in a translucent mirror. In this way, Moses was above all other prophets, who saw God as though through dark glass (B. Yebamot 49b).

The rabbis heaped on Moses the highest praise, holding that the entire world was created only for his sake (Lev. Rabbah 36:4) and that, rather than die, Moses continues to stand and serve God as he did on Mount Sinai (B. Sotah 13b). At the same time, rabbinic texts are careful to depict Moses as a human being with human faults. Moses was not uniquely worthy of receiving the Torah. Yose holds that if Moses had not predated him, Ezra could have received it (B. Sanhedrin 21b). Moses' temper is said to have caused him to forget his wisdom (B. Pesaḥim 66b), and Moses made mistakes, although he admitted them without embarrassment (B. Zebaḥim 101a).

Moses died through a kiss of God, and God himself buried Moses in a grave prepared at the time of creation on the eve of the first Sabbath. Moses' tomb is opposite Beth Peor but cannot be located, since, wherever one stands, it appears to be elsewhere (B. Sotah 14a).

Moses, Apocalypse of *see* ADAM AND EVE, BOOKS OF

Moses, Assumption of a lost work that described Moses' assumption to heaven. It is attested by quotations in Jude, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, the Acts of the Council of Nicaea, and other Christian authors. Its name has been wrongly attached to the Testament of Moses.

Quotations of the Assumption suggest the following sketch of its contents. When Moses ascends Mount Nebo, Michael is sent to bury his body. Satan (Gr.: *ho diabolos*) opposes the burial, claiming to be the lord of matter and accusing Moses of being a murderer. Michael rebukes him, stating that God created the world and humans through the holy spirit, and accusing Satan of having provoked the sin of Adam and Eve. Joshua and Caleb watch as Moses, living in the spirit, ascends to heaven, while his dead body is buried in the recesses of the mountains.

The confrontation between Michael and Satan (cf. Jude 9) reflects Jewish traditions about the opposition of the two spirits and Satan's role as accuser (cf. Jub. 48:2) and employs wording from Zechariah 3:1–5. Satan's claim to be lord of matter parallels Luke 4:6 and adumbrates Gnostic views. The quotation in Jude indicates that the text was composed before the second century C.E. Moses' presence in the story of Jesus' transfiguration (Mark 9:1–8) may reflect knowledge of the tradition in the mid-first century C.E. *See also* MOSES, TESTAMENT OF.

Moses, Testament of a rewritten version of Deuteronomy 31–34, cast in the genre of a testament. It is extant in a fifth-century Latin version that is poorly preserved on a single palimpsest which was first edited in 1861 under the incorrect name of The Assumption of Moses. This title was applied to the work because a series of patristic quotations from another text, The Assumption of Moses, also quoted this text, probably because the two separate works had been combined into one. The Latin translates a Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic original that was composed during Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution of the Jews (168–165) and revised in the first decade of the common era.

The heart of the Testament is a summary of Israelite history from the conquest to the time of Antiochus, structured according to the Deuteronomic historical scheme (sin–punishment–turning point–salvation), which is repeated in two cycles (chaps. 2–4, 5–10). The time of composition is indicated by unmistakable references to the 160s in chapters 5 and 8. The story of Taxo and his sons (chap. 9) also parallels contemporary martyr accounts. In his role as a catalyzer of salvation, Taxo parallels the unnamed intercessor in the first cycle (4:1–4, possibly Daniel), but his action is radical. With an allusion to Deuteronomy 32:43, Taxo and his sons provoke their own deaths, appealing for God's vengeance (9:7). Chapter 10 describes the anticipated response to this prayer (v. 2) in the form of cosmic judgment, Israel's exaltation to heaven, and the destruction of its enemies. Much in the beginning and end of the Testament paraphrases Deuteronomy (cf. 1:1–11 with Deut. 31:7, 14; 9:7 and 10:2 with Deut. 32:43; 10:3 with Deut. 33:2; 10:7–8 with Deut. 33:27–29; 11:5–8 with Deut. 34:5–6). Details in chapter 10 also parallel apocalyptic predictions of the judgment in Daniel 12:1–3 and 1 Enoch 1:4–7.

The Testament was composed in some unknown group of pious Jews, who interpreted Antiochus's actions as punishment for the sins of their compatriots, which are described as pollution of the cult, gluttony, oppression of the poor, and religious hypocrisy (chaps. 5–7). Similar to the author of Daniel and different from the Hasmoneans, this author finds a solution not in human militant action, but in passive resistance of the martyrs. This ideology has some connections with 2 Maccabees, which recounts some of the same events; however, here salvation is not seen in accomplished historical events, but is anticipated in an imminent cosmic catastrophe.

By emphasizing the determined course of history (10:12–13, 12:4–5) and attributing the work's accurate detailed predictions of the present to a figure of antiquity, whose secret prophecy has been hidden until the latter days (1:16–18, 10:1; cf. Deut. 31:26, Dan. 12:4), the author adds credibility to his predictions of imminent salvation. Thus, like the almost contemporary pseudo-Mosaic author of Jubilees 23:16–32, this writer offers consolation and encouragement to his troubled readers.

An editor, writing in the difficult times after the death of Herod the Great, updated the text by interpolating chapter 6 with its references to the Hasmonean high priests, Herod and his sons, and the Roman intervention by Varus after Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., and thus reinterpreted chapters 9 and 10 as a scenario for current resistance and imminent salvation. *See also* MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.

Moses Our Rabbi representation of Moses as sage and rabbi, studying Torah as God's first disciple, teaching Torah to Joshua, his disciple, and onward through time

Moshe Rabbenu *see* MOSES OUR RABBI

Most High an epithet for God (Heb.: *elyon*, Gr.: *hypsistos*). El Elyon is an ancient Hebrew title for

God (e.g., Gen. 14:18–20, where Melchizedek is priest of God Most High, El Elyon). It was never a distinctively Israelite or Jewish title for God. It is also attested in the Sefire inscriptions from ancient Syria, and in the *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos, which refers to "a certain Elioun, called Most High." The Greek equivalent was widely used as a divine title by both Jews and Gentiles in the Hellenistic period. In Daniel 7:18 and 27, the Aramaic plural form *elyonin* is used in the expression "holy ones of the Most High." Some scholars have argued that it should be taken as an adjective in this case ("Most High holy ones"); however, *elyon* is not the usual Aramaic word for high, but an epithet for the deity. The plural, then, should be taken as a plural of manifestations, like the Hebrew word *elohim,* "god." A parallel expression using the singular, "holy ones of Elyon," is found in the Damascus Document from the Cairo Geniza (CD 20:8). *See also* GOD, NAMES OF.

mountains These typical features of Mediterranean topography were thought to be joining places between heaven and earth, or where subterranean springs welled up between heaven and the abyss. Because of its "proximity" to heaven, a mountain, especially a high mountain, suggested itself as the dwelling place of the deity, as a ladder on which God descended to earth, or at least a place where humans could most easily commune with God. Sacred mountains included Mount Cassius in Syria, Mount Hermon in Upper Galilee, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, Mount Gerizim, Mount Zion, and Mount Sinai. Hermon was where the rebel angels had descended from heaven to earth and where Enoch ascended to heaven. In the New Testament, Jesus is transfigured in glory on a "very high" mountain (quite possibly Hermon) (Mark 9:2–8) and commissions his disciples on a mountain in Galilee (Matt. 28:16–20). The cosmology of 1 Enoch 17–19 and 22–25 is populated with many mysterious mountains from which Enoch sees the mysteries of the universe. Sheol is said to be a great mountain (chap. 22), and God's mountain throne in the far northwest is flanked by seven small mountains (18:6–8; 24–25). *See also* HERMON, MOUNT; SINAI, MOUNT.

Mount Gerizim *see* GERIZIM, MOUNT

Mount Hermon *see* HERMON, MOUNT

Mount Horeb *see* HOREB, MOUNT

Mount Moriah *see* MORIAH, MOUNT

Mount Sinai *see* SINAI, MOUNT

Mount Zeboim *see* ZEBOIM, MOUNT

mourning ritualized responses to death or to a crisis such as war and famine. Mourning rites encompass the mourner's clothing, diet, interpersonal relationships, and prayer. Genesis 50:10 (see also 1 Sam. 31:13; 1 Chron. 10:12 [with fasting]; Sir. 22:12) notes a mourning period of seven days. In the Life of Adam and Eve (Apocalypse of Moses), Michael tells Seth not to mourn more than six days. Sackcloth (the traditional garment for mourning), tearing clothes, and sprinkling ashes on one's head indicate mourning as well as repentance (Gen. 37:34; Jon. 3:6–8; 1 Macc. 2:14; 3:47; Matt. 11:21; Jos. Asen. 10). The Life of Adam and Eve 51, Mark 5:38, John 11:33, and many other texts note weeping. The Sentences of the Syriac Menander 458–474 instruct on the etiquette of mourning.

The talmudic rabbis formalized the rules for mourning, detailing activities permitted or forbidden of the mourner and setting out fixed periods within which mourning was to be conducted (see B. Moed Katan 22b–23a and the minor talmudic tractate Semaḥot). From death until the funeral, a period referred to as Aninut, the individual whose dead lies unburied before him was exempt from religious requirements, such as the recitation of fixed prayer and the donning of the prayer shawl and phylacteries. The individual additionally was prohibited from indulging in luxuries, such as drinking wine or eating meat (B. Berakhot 17b). After the funeral, during a seven-day period called Shiva (seven) or Avilut (mourning), mourners remained at home, sitting on low stools or on the floor, a common sign of mourning. During Shiva, they were prohibited from conducting business or doing other work, from bathing, cutting the hair, engaging in sexual relations, wearing leather shoes, or otherwise engaging in pleasurable activities. It was customary at this time for relatives and friends to visit and express condolences (B. Moed Katan 28b).

The prohibitions against cutting one's hair, getting married, and participating in joyous celebrations or social gathering continued for thirty days from burial (Sheloshim) and, in the case of the death of one's parent or spouse, for the entire year after the death. The prohibition against marriage was abrogated for a man with small children who needed to be cared for or for a man who had no children, in which case the obligation to procreate overrode the mourning ritual. In these circumstances, the mourner even could marry immediately following the death.

The rabbis viewed the thirty days after burial as an appropriate and sufficient period of grief, after which time the mourner was to return to his or her usual life. Excessive grief after thirty days was

viewed negatively and understood potentially to cause the death of another, for whom the mourner would then need to continue to mourn (B. Moed Katan 27b). *See also* BURIAL.

MRI *see* MEKHILTA OF RABBI ISHMAEL

Mucianus, Gaius Licinius legate of Syria (67–69 C.E.). He became governor of Syria when Vespasian took charge of the Jewish war. When the Greeks prevented the Jews in Syria from receiving their refund of the oil tax and outlawed the observance of the Sabbath, Mucianus confirmed the Jewish right to receive the refund and to observe the Sabbath.

muktzeh (Heb., cut off) that which had not been planned for use on the Sabbath or a festival and therefore is forbidden for use or handling on those days. In the category of *muktzeh* are both items that have no permitted use on a holy day, for example, a tool or other implements associated with work and items, such as foods, that, while intrinsically permitted, had not been especially set aside or prepared for use on the holy day.

mumar *see* APOSTASY

Mundhir, al- ruler of Hira, capital city of the Lakhmid Arab vassal state, located on the Euphrates. The Persians placed al-Mundhir in charge of the western border of their kingdom. In the early 520s C.E., the Jewish rulers of Himyar sought his help against the Byzantines. It was a time of peace between Persia and Byzantium, and al-Mundhir refused to assist them. In 529, he invaded Syria, with Persian support, and Antioch. His war provided support for the Samaritan revolt against Justinian. There is no hard evidence that the Jews joined with the Samaritans during this revolt.

muqtzeh *see* MUKTZEH

murder the deliberate killing of another person, distinguished in biblical and rabbinic law from involuntary homicide (manslaughter). To be treated as murder, the homicide must have been premeditated and the result of malice (Exod. 21:14; Num. 35:20–21), unlike the case of manslaughter, in which the accused acted suddenly and without enmity (Num. 35:22–24). According to biblical law, one found guilty of murder is, after conviction, subject to death at the hands of the "avenger of blood" (Num. 35:21), who may carry out the sentence immediately. No other form of punishment is available; the execution of this sanction is left entirely in the hands of the kin of the individual murdered.

The rabbinic system recognizes a number of categories of homicide, only one of which is punishable by death at the hand of the "avenger of blood." Along with three categories of nonculpable homicide (resulting, for instance, from misadventure or accident), the rabbis define two categories of murder: culpable homicide, which is the result of criminal negligence, and felonious homicide, that is, murder. As in the biblical system, the rabbis define murder as the result of the perpetrator's premeditated, malicious action. In this circumstance, the accused is subject to trial and, if found guilty, is sentenced to execution by the sword (that is, decapitation). While, following the biblical view, the responsibility for the execution devolves first upon a relative of the deceased, if none is found or willing, the court itself assigns an executioner (Babli Sanhedrin 45b).

By contrast, a person who commits culpable homicide is exempt from criminal trial but is subject to death at the hand of the redeemer of blood. The act was intentional and therefore not in the category of nonculpable homicide, which would exempt the person from punishment. Since the act was not premeditated, however, the laws of felonious homicide do not apply, and the person cannot be brought to trial as a murderer. In the absence of alternatives, the rule of Numbers 35:21 applies: the redeeming relative of the deceased may kill this person at any time and in any place.

musaf (Heb., additional service) liturgy recounting the additional offerings presented in the Temple on the Sabbath, festivals, and holy days

Mut. *see* DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM

mystery (Heb./Aram.: *raz;* Gk.: *mysterion*) In Hebrew, *raz* is a Persian loanword meaning "secret." The word first appears in Daniel 2, in which Daniel interprets the "mystery" of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This "mystery" cannot be found out through mere human effort, but must be revealed by God, "the revealer of mysteries" (Dan. 2:29). This notion of "mystery" as a special revelation by God to the chosen is used by the Qumran Essenes who produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Qumran literature, the words of the prophets are "mysteries" (*razim*), and their correct interpretation can be obtained only through a special inspired knowledge given by God. The possessor par excellence of this special knowledge was the Teacher of Righteousness: "This concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpeshHab 7:1–5a). However, other members of the Community may also possess this special knowledge through the teachings of the sect; in the Community Rule it is stated that the

"sons of light [the sect] faithfully conceal [from outsiders] the mysteries of truth." This information is corroborated by Josephus: the Essenes "conceal nothing from the members of the sect and report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death" (*War* 2.8.7).

This sense of mystery as concealed knowledge is also known in the Greek world, where *mysterion* refers to the practices, teaching, and implements of the mystery religions, such as those of Demeter at Eleusis, which flourished in the Graeco-Roman period. Thus, the Semitic and Greek streams of thought come together in early Christian literature, where the word "mystery" denotes the divine plan that is hidden from all except those who have the special knowledge or grace to perceive it; Romans 16:25–26 expresses this thought: "Now to God who is able to strengthen you according to my gospel and the proclamation of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery that was kept secret for long ages but is now disclosed, and through the prophetic writings is made known to all the Gentiles. . . ." The Christian thus possesses the key to unlocking the "mysteries" of scripture: the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. In later usage, however, the word "mystery" came to refer to the practices of the Christian cult—the sacraments—in which God was revealed to the believer.

mystery religion, Judaism as Mystery religions were widespread in the Graeco-Roman world. They were characterized by secret rites of both initiation and worship, the goal of the religion ultimately being salvation. Judaism was primarily an ethnic religion and differed in many ways from the standard mystery religions, but there were certain characteristics they had in common that would make many outsiders lump them together. The practice of the Temple cult was off limits to Gentiles, which led it to be identified with the worship of Dionysus by some writers, such as Plutarch. Others even alleged secret, abominable rites, such as cannibalism and human sacrifice. As absurd as these allegations are, they arose in part because of the secrecy of the cult. Some scholars, however, have also suggested that Judaism was treated as a mystery internally, with a focus on initiation and esoteric knowledge, or *gnosis*. Although it is recognized that such writers as Philo used mystical language, this interpretation as a whole has not gained wide support. On the other hand, it has been argued that Gnosticism, with its focus on secret knowledge, originated in Judaism.

mysticism Though there is no general term for mysticism in the Hebrew Bible, there were individuals in ancient Israel whose spiritual life was marked by an intense desire for direct experience of the transcendent divine world and for communion, or even union, with God. Statements such as "taste and see that the Lord is good" (Ps. 34:8), or "as the hart pants for the water brooks, so pants my soul for you, O God" (Ps. 42:1), or "in your presence is fullness of joy, at your right hand are pleasures for evermore" (Ps. 16:11), can be seen as expressions of mystical longing. The Hebrew Bible contains some notable descriptions of theophanies that were granted to individuals: God spoke to Moses "face to face" (Exod. 33:11; Num. 12:8; Deut. 34:10; cf. Exod. 33:17–23); Isaiah saw God seated on his throne, surrounded by his angelic retinue (Isa. 6:1–5); Ezekiel had a vision of God's glorious chariot by the river Chebar (Ezek. 1:1–28). Mysticism in the Hebrew Bible is closely linked to prophecy in that both phenomena involve a direct experience of the divine. A distinction can, however, be drawn: in mysticism the experience remains essentially private and personal; in prophecy the experience validates a moral message that the prophet is expected to make public and is designed to reinforce the covenant between God and Israel.

Visionary accounts of the heavenly world are found also in apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period: two early and influential texts are 1 Enoch 14:8–25 and Daniel 7:9–10. It is unclear to what extent these accounts reflect genuine psychological events or are literary constructions pieced together from elements drawn from earlier traditions. The latter suggestion is more likely: vision in apocalyptic literature in general seems to be used as a literary device to disclose information about the terrestrial and celestial worlds, or about the future. It may also be doubted whether there was genuine mysticism at Qumran. In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and other Dead Sea Scrolls, intense interest is shown in the angelic liturgy, but there is no indication as to how the esoteric knowledge of this liturgy was obtained. The point being made is fundamentally theological: the worship of the community on earth corresponds to and, perhaps, is validated by the worship of the angels in heaven.

The first clearly defined mystical movement in Judaism is attested in the Talmudic period (2d–9th cs. C.E.). The Hekhalot literature points to the existence of conventicles of mystics in both Palestine and Babylonia who met to study traditions about the heavenly world, some of them clearly derived from earlier apocalyptic movements. Behind the

texts are real psychological events: they are full of magical techniques and incantations designed to assist the adept either to ascend to heaven to contemplate God's glory, to commune with the angels and to learn secrets, or to conjure powerful angels, such as the prince of the Torah (Sar Torah), down to earth to help him with his studies and to reveal the hidden meanings of scripture. This movement was regarded with some suspicion by the rabbinic authorities and its teachings were ruled to be esoteric (M. Ḥagigah 2:1). The impact of Islamic philosophical theology (the Qalam) on Jewish thought in the early Middle Ages seems to have brought Hekhalot mysticism as a living tradition effectively to an end. Influential thinkers, such as Saadia, clearly found its use of extreme anthropomorphic language about God hard to defend against the criticism of the Karaites. The literature of the movement was disseminated, however, to North Africa and Europe (it was being closely studied in Italy in the 9th c.), and, often radically reinterpreted, it formed a major source for later mystical developments among the Kabbalists of Provence and Spain and the Haside Ashkenaz of the Rhineland and northern France. *See also* KABBALAH.

myth a word used with a number of meanings in scholarship. It often occurs in Near Eastern studies in reference to stories that relate the activities of the gods (with "legend" being reserved for those stories about heroes and other human beings, even if gods are mentioned). Cultural and social anthropologists use it in a somewhat similar sense as a description of any stories of origins that explain how and why the world and society are the way they are. "Myth" is also used in theological and other contexts to denote a meaningful symbolic system. (None of these definitions has the common English meaning of "something untrue," since myths are regarded as true in a symbolic sense even if not literally.) Whether there is myth in the Hebrew Bible depends on one's definition, but there is certainly mythical language drawn from ancient myths about God's conquest of the monsters of chaos (e.g., Isa. 27:1, 51:9–11) known from myths elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Mythical language and imagery are also found in apocalyptic literature, in some cases with ancient roots. The Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers, such as Artapanus, at times draw on myths from the Graeco-Roman world.

N

Naaneh Synagogue remains of a probable Byzantine synagogue found about 6 kilometers south of Ramlah. The town is not mentioned in the two Talmuds. A bronze plate about 49.5 centimeters in diameter was found here in the nineteenth century. It depicts a vine trellis with rosettes. Within one vine medallion is a seven-branched menorah with a horizontal crossbar joining the branches. A Torah shrine with a gabled roof is standing to the right of the menorah. Lulabs emerge from an amphora. Two squared capitals, perhaps from a synagogue, were found in the modern village. One is inscribed in Greek, "One God." Since this is a popular phrase in Samaritan contexts, it has been suggested that these are all remains of a Samaritan synagogue of the fifth or sixth century C.E.

Naaran Synagogue ancient synagogue site near Jericho at the Arab village of Ein Duk. Naaran is a biblical name (1 Chron. 7:28), but it is known to Josephus as Neara (*Ant.* 17.340). During the fourth century C.E., the Christian bishop Eusebius describes a Jewish settlement 5 Roman miles from Jericho, which he calls Noorath (Onomasticon 136:24). Variations on this name occur in other ancient sources.

The synagogue of Naaran is a basilica with square columns that divide the interior space into a nave with two side aisles and an aisle across the back. A large courtyard adjoins the synagogue on the north and west. Directly in front of the facade a small square pool occupied a rectangular courtyard with an entrance directly south into the narthex or roofed porch of the synagogue. The narthex was paved with a white mosaic, in the center of which is a depiction of a stylized, eight- or nine-branched menorah with twelve lamps surrounded by geometric and floral designs. An Aramaic inscription honors Phinehas ben Justa, the priest who donated the mosaic. A second inscription honors Rebecca, wife of Phinehas.

Those who entered the worship space, which measures about 15 by 21 meters, walked onto an exceptionally beautiful mosaic in three panels. The first panel is a series of octagonal spaces formed by wide braided ribbons; within each octagon is a bird or other animal. The central panel depicts a zodiac and the four seasons, and Helios rides his chariot in the central circle. The third panel represents Daniel with two lions right and left. Above and to the right of Daniel one reads in Hebrew "Daniel. Shalom." A dedicatory panel to the left of Daniel honors a certain Benjamin and all those who donated to "this holy place." Above Daniel and the two lions stands a Torah shrine flanked by two seven-branched menorahs. Two hanging lamps are suspended on chains from each menorah. Above the menorahs dedicatory inscriptions honor donors: Maruth, Ketin, Jacob, Ben Chrospedah. It is possible that there was an apse on the north wall. It is also possible that there was no column across the back, as the original excavators relied on what was known of other synagogues at the time (1921) for their reconstruction of the south end of the worship space.

A rectangular room about 9 by 13 meters opens

off the west side of the synagogue. Since it has no egress to the outside, its use is integral with the use of the synagogue. It may be a school or *beit midrash*.

The synagogue is understood today to date to the sixth century C.E. Its mosaic was badly defaced by those who were offended by the images but who left the Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions.

Nabateans a people who ruled the modern area of southern Syria, Jordan, and parts of the Negeb and the Sinai from the late fourth century B.C.E. until 106 C.E. The Nabateans are known for the massive archaeological remains found in their capital city of Petra, which is located in modern Jordan, about 80 kilometers south of the Dead Sea.

The Nabateans are not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, despite a reference to the Ishmaelite clan of *nabayoth*. Though the modern spelling of Nabatea and the ancient Hebrew name are similar, there are significant differences between the Hebrew name and the spelling of the Nabateans found on Aramaic inscriptions, which make the identification of the two problematic. The notable differences are the absence of the letter *yod* from the Hebrew Bible name in the Aramaic version and the absence of the emphatic *t* in the Hebrew form. A Nabatean monarch (Aretas) is mentioned in 2 Maccabees 5:8. There is also a brief reference to the Nabateans in the New Testament (2 Cor. 11:32) in which Paul mentions a governor of King Aretas IV.

Linguistically, the root containing the name "Nabatea" (*nbt*), is found both in the southern and northern Semitic families, so the name itself provides little insight into the origin of this people. Affinities of later Nabatean culture suggest an origin from the north Semitic group—probably an Aramaic-speaking group. In spite of this probable Aramaic origin and in spite of the fact that Aramaic was used in their inscriptions as their lingua franca, their personal names and a fair number of Arabic inscriptions indicate that the native tongue of the Nabateans was a dialect of Arabic once they were established as a nation.

Though their origins are somewhat mysterious, some clarity can be found beginning around 312 B.C.E. from Greek records that describe the campaigns of Alexander the Great and mention that the Nabateans were in Petra. There are several ancient sources that shed light on the history of the Nabateans after they were established as a nation. The records of the Hasmoneans and Herodians relate some details of relations with the Nabateans. In addition, there are numerous Nabatean Aramaic inscriptions that provide further insight. The Nabatean king Aretas I (r.c. 170–160 B.C.E.) was the first king, and the Aramaic inscription "Aretas, King of the Nabateans" probably refers to him. Various Nabatean kings ruled the area until Cornelius Palma, the Roman governor of Syria, annexed Nabatea in 106 C.E. as the province of Arabia.

In general, the Nabateans had good relations with the Hasmonean and Herodian Jewish rulers. An exception is a conflict that arose when Herod Antipas divorced a Nabatean princess in order to marry his niece and sister-in-law, Herodias. There are also several cases where ambitious plans of one ruler or the other strained the relationship, but in general, the Jews and the Nabateans had cordial relations, for example, during the reign of Herod the Great. During Herod the Great's reign, Nabatea also flourished under Obodas III (30–9 B.C.E.) and Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), and Herod's mother (Cypros) was of Nabatean ancestry.

nabi *see* PROPHET

Nabonidus, Prayer of a first-person account of the sickness of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, his prayer, and his healing by a Jewish soothsayer. The Aramaic text is preserved in one Qumran manuscript, three pieces of which preserve parts of twelve lines.

Parallels to Daniel 4 enable us to reconstruct the story line; however, the Nabonidus fragments contain elements that are arguably more primitive than the Nebuchadnezzar story in Daniel 4 because they evidence accurate knowledge about historical facts that are obscured in the Daniel version. Nabonidus, not Nebuchadnezzar, was the father of Belshazzar (cf. Dan. 5:2). He, rather than Nebuchadnezzar, is known to have spent time away from Babylon (Dan. 4:31–33) in Teiman (4QPrNab 2), and he forsook the gods of Babylon (4QPrNab 7–8) for the worship of the moon god Sin.

Thus, although the Qumran manuscript dates from 50–1 B.C.E., it appears to preserve a form of the story in Daniel 4 that dates from the Persian period and derives from Babylonian Jewish circles. The story was revised in Daniel to refer to Nebuchadnezzar, the more familiar figure and a frequent stand-in for Antiochus Epiphanes. Belshazzar, who was his father's regent, is now said to have been present at the fall of Babylon (historical sources place Nabonidus on the scene). The gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, listed in 4QPrNab 7–8, but missing in Daniel 4, appear in Daniel 5:23 as objects of Belshazzar's worship (cf. the components of the colossus in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dan. 2:31–35). Thus the Prayer of Nabonidas preserves in an early form

one of a series of stories about Babylonian monarchs who acclaim the true God, and it provides some insight into the complex history of the narratives collected in Daniel 1–6.

Nabratein *see* NABURAYA

Naburaya (also Niburayya, Niburayah; Arab.: Nabratein) Talmudic village and home of the fourth-century-C.E. sage Jacob, known in Jewish sources for his daring and unorthodox interpretations. The village itself is located around 4 kilometers toward the north of Safed in Upper Galilee and flourished in the Roman and Byzantine periods, though traces of Early Bronze, Iron II, and Hellenistic pottery were also found on the site. The site was occupied from the first century C.E. to the mid-fourth century, when it was abandoned. Resettled in the early sixth century, the village flourished until around 700 C.E., making it one of the important sites testifying to the continuation of Judaism throughout the Arab conquest. A twelfth-century-C.E. structure was also excavated on the site.

The existence of a Jewish synagogue on the site was long attested by the presence of a lintel there, whose secondary (added later) inscription bore the year 564 C.E. In fact, three synagogues existed on the same spot, demonstrating the long and complicated history of the site, whose remains were excavated in 1980 and 1981.

The earliest synagogue was built as a small broadhouse type of structure in the middle Roman period of the site (135–250 C.E.). The discovery of this type of synagogue, which is oriented toward Jerusalem by the long wall, represents the earliest broadhouse synagogue yet excavated in Israel. The synagogue interior contained two stone *bimah*s, or platforms, located on either side of the central doorway.

Around 250 C.E., the synagogue was rebuilt as a true basilical (columned hall) structure (Synagogue 2a) oriented on a north/south axis. The central aisle had three columns on either side dividing it from the side aisles. The building was lengthened, an exonarthex (exterior front poarch) was added, and a permanent *aedicula* or Torah shrine was constructed on the western interior *bimah*. A fragment of the actual Torah shrine of Synagogue 2a, bearing a stone gable flanked by two lions, was discovered reused in the *stylobate* (column support) of the subsequently rebuilt Synagogue 2b. In 306, Synagogue 2a was destroyed by an earthquake; and the new structure (2b) was built on the same floor plan as the previous building, but at a higher level.

Sometime around 350 to 363 C.E., the synagogue and village were abandoned, but around 500 C.E., the village was resettled and a much larger synagogue building was built (564 C.E.) directly over the remains of the earlier synagogues. It served the community until around 700 C.E., as attested by coins found in the latest floor of the structure. This last synagogue had a four-columned nave; and although no structural evidence for a *bimah* appeared, a broken, late Byzantine, burnished black ceramic bowl found in a nearby house carried a crude depiction of the Torah shrine of this last synagogue.

Naḥman *see* NAḤMAN B. JACOB

Naḥman b. Ḥisda Babylonian amora active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; son of the head of the academy at Sura

Naḥman b. Ḥuna Babylonian amora active in the first half of the fifth century C.E.; during 452–455 C.E., head of the revived academy at Mata Meḥasia. It is unclear whether or not this is the same authority as the Naḥman mentioned without the patronymic in conjunction with Rabina and Ashi.

Naḥman b. Isaac Babylonian amora active in the mid-fourth century C.E. He studied under his uncle, Aḥa b. Joseph. He was head of the Kallah in the academy of Raba. After Raba's death in 352 C.E., he joined the academy at Pumbedita.

Naḥman b. Jacob leading Babylonian amora of the early fourth century C.E., usually cited simply as R. Naḥman, without the patronymic; born in Nehardea. His principal teacher was Rabbah b. Abuha. His marriage brought him into the family of the exilarch (B. Ḥullin 124a). In Nehardea, he held the post of dayyan (B. Erubin 34b).

Nahum, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Nahum Commentary (Pesher Nahum) The five fragments of this manuscript, representing seven damaged columns of writing, were found in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952 and were published by J. M. Allegro in DJD V. The text, whose title is abbreviated as 4QpeshNah, is a running commentary on Nahum 1–3, making it one of the examples of a continuous *pesher*. It exhibits the *pesher* form: a citation of the biblical verse, followed by the phrase "its interpretation is," continuing with an interpretation concerned with contemporary events surrounding the sect. The date of the only manuscript is the late first century B.C.E., and the date of composition is approximately the same time.

The Nahum Commentary's importance lies in the fact that the commentary mentions two recognizable historical figures, the Greek kings Demetrius and Antiochus. Once these figures are identified, it becomes easier to interpret the symbolic names

used by the commentary: the Wrathful Lion, the Seekers after Smooth Things, Ephraim, and Manasseh. As the Book of Nahum castigates its enemy Assyria and exults over its downfall, so the author uses Nahum to castigate the sect's enemies and gloat over their (coming) end. The identification of the figures, therefore, must be deduced from a knowledge of the enemies of the sect.

The Antiochus mentioned is Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the last Greek king to exercise sovereignty over Judah. Demetrius is associated with the Wrathful Lion, who "executes revenge on those who seek smooth things and hangs men alive" (a probable reference to crucifixion). The events seem best associated with the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), when a revolt against him took place (93–88 B.C.E.) led by the Pharisees (evidently to be identified with the Seekers after Smooth Things). The Pharisees supported Demetrius III Eukairos (the commentary's Demetrius) against Alexander Jannaeus for a while, but then returned to Alexander, who punished them by crucifying hundreds of them (the reference to "hanging men alive"; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13:372–383 and *War* 1.90–98). If the Pharisees are the Seekers after Smooth Things, who are equated with Ephraim, then it is possible to identify Manasseh as the Sadducees, who suffered greatly in Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., the latest historical event alluded to in the commentary ("the coming of the rulers of the Kittim" [2:11b]). Thus the date of composition for the Nahum Commentary must be post–63 B.C.E. As the Book of Nahum rejoices over the fall of the enemy Assyria, so the Nahum Commentary ends by rejoicing over the imminent downfall of its enemies and the vindication of the sect.

Naḥum of Gimzo Tannaitic authority of the late first and early second centuries C.E.; born in Gimzo (2 Chron. 28:18). Little is preserved of his teaching. According to B. Berakhot 22a and other sources, Naḥum was a teacher of Akiba.

Naḥum the Mede Tannaitic authority in Jerusalem during the period of the destruction of the Second Temple (M. Nazir 5:4). Few of his teachings have been preserved; according to Nathan (T. Baba Batra 9:1), Naḥum was a judge of civil law.

Nain Roman Jewish village in the north central part of the Jezreel Valley. It is mentioned in Luke 7:11 as a locality where Jesus raised a young man from the dead; the young man was being borne on a bier in a funeral procession near the gate of the city. A village gate implies a city wall, and in fact the modern village of Nain, which lies north of the modern city of Afula on the slopes of the Hill of Moreh and not far from Mount Tabor, is ringed by the remains of a village wall. Nain was known to Origen of Caesarea about 200 C.E., and in Genesis Rabbah 98.12 it is known to be a Jewish village in the tribal territory of Issachar. Christian authors of the fourth and fifth century know of Nain and its location near Mount Tabor. An ancient cemetery of the Roman and Byzantine periods lies to the east of the modern village. A spring emerges from the ground to the northwest of Nain, and fragments of Roman sarcophagi from the cemetery are scattered about. The water from the spring collects in a basin 2 by 1.5 meters, perhaps from the Roman period. Pilgrim reports from as early as the fourth century locate a church in Nain, but its ruins have not been found. As yet no architectural fragments of an ancient synagogue have been found.

nakedness In ancient societies, clothing marked status, and so nakedness referred to a liminal, in-between state that could be either positive, denoting innocence (as in "naked but not ashamed," Gen. 2:25) or negative, denoting a state of shame and danger. In Revelation (3:17, 16:15, 17:15), to be without clothes is to be shamed, and throughout Second Temple literature there are countless exhortations to cover the naked (Tob. 1:17, 4:16; 2 Esd. 2:20; Test. Jacob 2:23, 7:25; Tes. Zebulon 7:1; 2 Enoch 9:1, 42:8; Matt. 25:36–44; James 2:15). As a source of danger, the nakedness of women is particularly troubling for a patriarchal society, so Reuben is said to have sinned when he saw his father's naked concubine (Test. Reuben 3:11–14; developing Gen. 35:22); the prophet Balaam suggests to the Moabites to send naked women to lead the sons of Israel astray (LAB 18:13); and the two elders sin when they see Susanna bathing. The Qumran covenanters also frowned on nakedness, enjoining a punishment of six months on unnecessary nakedness and of thirty days on nakedness resulting from poor attire (1 QS 7:12–14). In Jubilees, Adam's covering of his skin on expulsion from the Garden distinguishes humans from animals, and so the correct rule for humanity is not to uncover one's shame as the Gentiles improperly do (Jub. 3:26–31).

As a liminal state, nakedness is so disliked that Paul wants his heavenly body put over his earthly one (2 Cor. 5:3); Eve is described as having been clothed with righteousness before sinning (Life of Adam and Eve 20); and the blessed Rechabites are not really naked but covered with glory so that their private parts are not seen (Hist. Rech. 4:1, 12:1).

This same negative attitude toward nakedness is expressed in the rabbinic literature, which holds that God's desire that people not be naked is proved by the fact that the first man was created clothed (T. Berakhot 2:3). Performance of religious commandments while naked or even in the presence of naked people is prohibited (see, e.g., B. Berakhot 25b; B. Shabbat 14a; T. Berakhot 2:3). Despite their negative view toward physical nakedness, the rabbis see in nakedness both a positive and negative symbolic value. B. Berakhot 57a refers to one who, in a dream, is standing naked. If this is in Babylonia, the person knows that he is without sin. In the Land of Israel, however, this means that he is as one who has rejected the Torah and therefore stands naked of the fulfillment of religious duties.

name designation for a person or place. In the Hebrew Bible, names serve the normal purpose of identifying individuals, but in some cases the meaning of a name has special significance. Abram, for example, had his name changed to Abraham, which is explained as meaning that he would father a multitude of nations (Gen. 17). A large percentage of biblical and postbiblical Hebrew names contain a divine name as an element ("-iah," as in Jeremiah, is a shortened form of Yahweh; "-el," as in Daniel, is another word for God). The name of God took on special meaning in Deuteronomy and related literature in which the earthly sanctuary is identified as the place where the Lord makes his name dwell. His name was not to be taken in vain according to the Third Commandment. As the centuries passed, there developed a reluctance to utter God's name, especially the unique name YHWH. Various substitutes were introduced; the name Lord (*adonai*) is the most common. To have one's name written in the book of life is to be assured of eternal life (Rev. 13). "Name" has the sense of power or authority in those instances in which one blesses or curses in the name of another, or when one is baptized into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (Matt. 28). According to Paul, Jesus was given the name above every name—apparently the name Lord (Phil. 2).

In rabbinic Judaism, too, a person's name represented his essence. People thus needed to be careful in choosing names of children, who the Talmud recommends should be named after the patriarchs but not after enemies of the Jews (B. Yoma 36b). Of all possible rewards, the crown of a good name is the best (M. Abot 4:13). In rabbinic practice, a person was called by his given name and patronymic. M. Gittin 9:8 refers to the use of family names, a practice that in Talmudic times apparently was not commonplace (B. Megillah 28a).

names, Graeco-Roman Jews have always taken names from their surrounding culture. This was also true in the Graeco-Roman world, where many Jews had Greek and occasionally Latin names; however, Jews can often be identified with fair probability or even certainty, despite having Greek names. Some names were evidently chosen because of closeness to Hebrew or Aramaic names, such as the name Simon, which closely resembles the name Shimon. There are also a few names that are purely Greek in form and origin but appear to have been taken only by Jews, such as the name Theodotus (God's gift).

naos (Gr., temple) term that usually referred to the main building of the Temple. The *naos* with the surrounding courtyard and outbuildings was usually called the *hieron*. Thus in Jerusalem the building with the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place would be the *naos*.

Narbata a Jewish area east of Caesaria. In 1 Maccabees 5:23, it is called Arbatta, from which Simeon evacuated Jews at the inception of the revolt. It appears in the Jerusalem Talmud as the site of an inn (Y. Berakhot 6:1, 10b).

Nashim the third division of the Mishnah, devoted to laws affecting women as they pass from the domain of the father to that of the husband (the marriage settlement, betrothal) and back (divorce), levirate marriage, the woman accused of adultery, and vows; *see also* GENDER ROLES, IN RABBINIC JUDAISM

nasi *see* PATRIARCH

Nathan the Babylonian Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E. He moved to the Land of Israel in his youth and studied under Ishmael, Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and others. During the Hadrianic persecutions, Nathan returned to Babylonia. Under Simeon b. Gamaliel, he was for a time vice president of the court. Along with Meir, he was removed from office as the result of a dispute.

natin (Heb., the donated one; pl., *netinim*) a descendant of the Gibeonites, whom Joshua dedicated to Temple service (Josh. 9:27). Treating them as comparable to bastards (*mamzerim*), rabbis excluded *netinim* from marriage into the Israelite people in perpetuity (M. Yebamot 8:3).

nations, seventy rabbinic enumeration of nations and languages of the world based on the biblical number of the grandsons of Noah (Gen. 10). Rabbinic sources say each nation is protected by its own angel, but God protects Israel (Gen. Rabbah 37); a sacrifice was offered on the festival of Tabernacles for each of the nations. Every judge of the

Sanhedrin ideally had to know the seventy languages (San. 17a).

Naveh Synagogue ancient Jewish village and synagogue site at modern Nawa in southern Syria about 45 kilometers east-northeast of Tiberias in the territory of Batanaea. Batanaea was biblical Bashan, though it was called the "territory of Naveh" by some ancient Jewish authors (T. Shebiit 4:8). The town is called Naue or Neue by Greek authors (*Onomasticon* 136:12). It seems to have reached a peak in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Visitors to modern Nawa early in this century thought that they had located a synagogue building entered from its long side, therefore a broadhouse structure. They describe a niche more than two meters above the interior pavement with pillars on both sides. Above the niche a shell carved into one of the stones suggested a place for a Torah shrine. Other stones in secondary use in the modern village appear to have been taken from an ancient synagogue. For example, two lintels were decorated with inhabited meanders or repeated swastika patterns with figures in the space in the middle. One of these lintels is decorated with a seven-branched menorah at its center. A garland ornaments the central branch of the menorah. Another carved lintel in another house was decorated with a wreath around a shell. On either side of the wreath and shell stood two seven-branched menorahs. At least three other stones depicted menorahs, sometimes with lulabs and shofars. Researchers have found an ancient stone with a fragmentary Aramaic inscription built into the east wall of the modern mosque: ". . . bar Yudan . . . bar Ahawa . . . shrine." Scholars have noticed that these stones are decorated in much the same manner as the synagogue at Kefar Baram in Upper Galilee. A stone at Baram even bears the name "Eliezer bar Yudan," leading to speculation that this is the same man honored at both sites.

Nazarenes term used in English for several related Greek and Semitic terms in Jewish and Christian literature. Most frequently in the Christian Gospels, the term refers to Jesus from Nazareth, the town (e.g., Mark 1:24; 14:67; 16:6; Matt. 2:23). But the term Nazoraioi or Nasraya (usually translated as Nazarenes) also came to be used for those who believed in Jesus as Messiah (Acts 24:5) and continued in Jewish and Syriac usage after the term "Christians" became standard in Greek.

Nazareth the Jewish village of Jesus' youth, located in the Nazareth Hills in western Lower Galilee. According to Luke 1:26 and 2:4, it was where Mary and Joseph lived before Jesus' birth. It is mentioned for the first time in the New Testament as the place of Jesus' education (Matt. 2:23; Luke 2:39). In the Roman and Byzantine periods Nazareth remained a Jewish city (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 138). Nazareth became a place of Christian pilgrimage from the fourth century onward. In the sixth century Nazareth belonged to a territory called Helenopolis after Helen, mother of the emperor Constantine.

Excavations beneath the modern Church of Saint Joseph showed that there was village occupation at Nazareth from the period of the Israelite monarchy. Excavations beneath the Church of the Annunciation, however, showed that the period of continuous occupation began in the second century B.C.E. Nazareth was a small hamlet with many underground cisterns, granaries, and areas for storage and work. The location of the tombs of the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. disclose that the occupied area extended hardly 300 by 100 meters.

Further excavations directly beneath the proposed new Church of the Annunciation showed that there were three shallow caves in bedrock that were singled out for decoration by later Christian visitors. There had been a Jewish house on this spot, for a ritual immersion pool, or mikveh, was found just south and a little west of these caves. The mikveh was covered by a mosaic floor, presumably for a synagogue, in the fourth century. The mosaic was oriented north to south and included the raised bedrock and its caves. The excavators believe that this was a Jewish-Christian synagogue. About eighty architectural fragments, presumably from this synagogue, were found about 10 meters to the south beneath the floor of a fifth-century Byzantine monastery. They are carved in a form typical of the late Roman to Byzantine synagogues of the Galilee. In the fifth century C.E. the synagogue was destroyed to make way for the monastery. The chapel of the monastery incorporated one wall of the synagogue and incorporated the caves. One of the caves became honored as the Grotto of the Annunciation. There is no proposed date when the Byzantine monastery went out of use.

Nazir Mishnah tractate on the Nazirite, with special attention to the vow that he or she takes (chaps. 1–4), the offerings presented by a Nazirite at the end of the period of restriction (chaps. 4–5), and the restrictions on the Nazirite concerning wine, haircuts, and corpse-uncleanness (chaps. 6–9); *see also* NAZIRITE

Nazirite one who vows to abstain from wine, haircuts, and contracting of corpse-uncleanness, in line with Numbers 6

Neapolis modern Nablus on the west bank, a Roman city founded after the First Jewish Revolt in Samaria near the biblical city of Shechem. The city was founded in 72 C.E. as part of the Roman attempt to secure the area by ensuring that a major Roman population lived there. The city was long and narrow, built to fit in the narrow east–west valley that runs between Mount Gerizim on the south and east and Mount Ebal on the north and west. The walled city occupied about 250 acres. The earliest coins of Neapolis were minted in 82 C.E. They bear the head of the emperor Domitian and bear a Greek inscription: "The Autokrator Domitian, Caesar and Augustus." On the reverse is a laurel wreath with a Greek inscription inside: "Flavia Neapolis Samariae, year 11" (from the founding of the city). The inscription identifies it as a city of the Flavian emperors of the territory of Samaria. The city territory of Neapolis was considerable, extending from the Jordan River westward to the border with Antipatris. In the north its border was with Sebaste (the biblical city of Samaria), and to the south it bordered on the territory of Jerusalem, then known as Aelia Capitolina. Archaeological finds at Neapolis include a theater of the second century, an amphitheater of the third century and a hippodrome (horse track) of the second–third century, the city wall, a city gate at the foot of Mount Gerizim with a staircase that ascended the mountain, and an extensive cemetery. A Roman temple to Zeus was built on top Mount Gerizim. Neapolis seemed to be the Samaritan capital. From here two revolts of the Samaritans broke out against their Jewish and Christian neighbors in 485 and 529 C.E.

Nebuchadnezzar almost legendary Babylonian king who conquered Judea and exiled the Jews. He is mentioned frequently in extrabiblical early Jewish literature. Although a few of these sources devote significant attention to him, most that mention him do so only in passing. The sources that treat Nebuchadnezzar in detail tend to portray him as a model of the almost omnipotent monarch, as he is depicted in the biblical Book of Daniel.

Perhaps the most extended extrabiblical treatment of Nebuchadnezzar in early Judaism occurs in the book of Judith, which stresses that the Jews' resistance to Nebuchadnezzar was because of his threat, as absolute monarch, to impose worship of himself. Other significant references appear in Baruch 1:11–12; 4 Baruch 7:14, 24, 29; and Eupolemus, fragment 4 (39:4–5). Nebuchadnezzar also figures prominently in the section on Daniel in the Lives of the Prophets (chap. 4), a work that could be Jewish or Christian. This account, although based on Daniel 4, recounts many aggadic details not present there.

Nebuchadnezzar is not mentioned explicitly in the earliest, clearly Christian literature; he does, however, appear in rabbinic commentaries on the Bible.

necromancy a type of divination that works by calling on the dead for insight into the future. Although banned in biblical legislation, the practice continued to flourish. Thus Saul supposedly removed necromancers from the country, yet could easily find one to call up Samuel when needed.

nedaḇah *see* FREE-WILL OFFERING

Nedarim Mishnah tractate on vows. The tractate discusses the language of vows, euphemisms, and language of no or limited effect (chaps. 1–3); binding effects of vows (chaps. 4–8); absolution of vows (chaps. 8–11), for example, by a father for the daughter and by the husband for a wife (chaps. 10–11); and vows not subject to abrogation (chap. 11).

neder (Heb.) vow

neduniah *see* DOWRY

neeman (Heb., trustworthy one) in the Mishnah and later rabbinic literature, a person who follows rabbinic tithing requirements for all produce he grows, receives, sells, or gives away and does not accept hospitality from one who does not follow these rules (M. Demai 2:2). The *neeman* is contrasted with the *ḥaḇer* (associate), who also observes the laws of levitical cleanness.

Nefilim an obscure Hebrew term in Genesis 6:4 that Jewish tradition interpreted to refer to the giants begotten by the sons of God and the daughters of men (cf. also Numb. 13:33). Scholars disagree as to the relationship between the Nefilim and "mighty ones" (Heb.: *gibborim*) in Genesis 6:4. 1 Enoch 7:2 finds three classes of giants in the text, the third group evidently corresponding to "the men of renown" in Genesis 6:4 (the text of 1 Enoch 7:2 is corrupt). The Damascus Document 2:18–19 implies the name Nefilim when it applies the Hebrew verb *nafal* (to fall) to the sin of the giants and their fathers. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Genesis 6:4 identifies the Nefilim as the two angelic chieftains in 1 Enoch 6:4: "Samhazzai and Uziel fell from heaven and were on earth in those days." *See also* GIANTS; SHEMIḤAZAH; WATCHERS.

nega a skin blemish signifying that one is unclean, in line with Leviticus 13–14; *see also* NEGAIM

Negaim Mishnah tractate on the uncleanness signified by the skin ailment described in Leviticus 13–14. The tractate discusses marks of the skin ailment in general and the bright spot (chaps. 1–8),

the boil and the burning (chap. 9), scalls (chap. 10), the bald spot on forehead and temple (chap. 10), garments and houses affected by the same marks (chaps. 11–13), and the process of purification of a person affected by the skin ailment (chap. 14).

Negeb the area of land south of the Judean hill country and northeast of the Sinai peninsula. This area extends in an inverted triangle from modern Beer Sheba and Arad down to Elat. Most, if not all, of the biblical references to the Negeb, however, seem to refer to only the northern area of this larger region around Beer Sheba and Arad (cf. Gen. 12:9, 13:1). The larger area was inhabited from the prehistoric period down through the early Arab period.

From the Persian period until the Byzantine period, the Negeb was primarily under Nabatean control. The question remains, however, just how early the Nabateans undertook extensive development of the Negeb. There are several sections from the Greek historian Herodotus that suggest that extensive development began early in the Persian period. Herodotus cites an admittedly less credible source describing the Nabateans as having constructed irrigation pipes made of ox hides. Herodotus is supplemented by the much more reliable source of Hieronymus of Cardia as told by Diodorus. Hieronymus describes the construction of great reservoirs in the ground for the collection of enormous amounts of rain water. Modern visitors to the Negeb during the rainy season can still see reservoirs from the Hellenistic and earlier periods collecting large amounts of water during the periodic thunderstorms.

The first positive evidence of the presence of the Nabateans in the Negeb is found in the Elusa inscription from the beginning of the first half of the second century B.C.E. Despite their presence in the Negeb, there is little in the way of archaeological building remains until the end of the first century B.C.E. Though puzzling, this fact is consistent with another description of the Nabateans in the Negeb by Hieronymus. He says, "It is their custom neither to sow grain, plant fruit-bearing trees, use wine, nor construct any house."

During the Middle Nabatean (Early Roman) period, the Nabateans were briefly expelled from the Negeb at the beginning of the first century B.C.E. They reconquered the Negeb, however, early in the reign of Obodas III (30–9 B.C.E.). Due to a large tariff imposed on Nabatean spice trade by Herod at this time, it seems that this reconquering might have taken place with the Judean monarch's blessing. In any case, the Nabateans established several new strongholds in the central Negeb region and in general strengthened the existing caravan trade routes.

The Nabatean power in the Negeb declined during the first century C.E., as did the rest of the Nabatean kingdom during the reign of Malichus II (40–70 C.E.). The succeeding monarch, Rabbel II (70–106 C.E.), instigated a period of growth. During this period, agriculture was developed in the Negeb and extensive terracing, which allowed for the collection of rainwater, was begun. This use of terrace farming continued down through the Byzantine and Arab periods, and many of these ancient terrace farms are still visible to the modern visitor.

negligence harmful neglect of responsibility resulting in a loss to another person through negligent lack of care, through loss of goods or animals caused by the dishonesty or lack of attentiveness of a bailee, or through a loss caused by a hired worker's poor workmanship or disregard for instructions of the employer. The most important category concerns accidents caused by lack of care, which are discussed in the first six chapters of M. Baba Kamma through reference to four types of negligence mentioned in scripture: (1) an open pit into which an animal falls and dies (Exod. 21:33–34); (2) a fire that spreads to a neighbor's fields (Exod. 22:5); (3) an ox that causes harm by goring (Exod. 21:28–32, 35–36); and (4) an ox that causes harm by trespassing on another's fields (Exod. 22:4). These primary categories yield derivative categories, for example, a knife or rock left where someone can be injured yields liability under the category of the open pit, and an animal's kicking, biting, or butting yields liability under the category of goring. In this way, the rules for all types of negligence are derived from the original scriptural categories.

Under rabbinic law, an individual is liable for damages only if the result of his actions could have been foreseen—for example, if he knew that his ox was a gorer or if the fire he made was spread by an ordinary wind, which he should have anticipated. But if an ordinary person would not have anticipated the damage—for example, if a fire was spread by an unusually powerful wind—the occurrence is treated not as negligence (*peshiah*) but as a mishap or accident (*ones*), and no liability is incurred. At the same time, an individual always is deemed to be aware of the consequences of his own actions, so that one always is liable for damage he causes directly. Only minors and people who are deaf and mute or mentally incompetent

are exempted from liability under the laws of negligence, since they are deemed incapable of foreseeing the consequences of their actions.

Nehardea Babylonian town, located at the junction of the Euphrates and Malka rivers; seat of an important rabbinical academy. The city is believed to have been settled by Jews as early as the sixth century B.C.E.; in the century prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., it was the collection site for the half-shekel offering and other donations for the Temple, which were transported from there to Jerusalem.

After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., Akiba is said to have gone to Nehardea to intercalate the year, suggesting the importance of the city (B. Yebamot 16:7), which was the seat of the exilarch. Nehardea became particularly significant within rabbinic circles at the end of the Tannaitic period, when Samuel established the reputation of its academy, at which his father had taught, and which was second only to the academy of Rab (who for a time also was at Nehardea) at Sura, a short distance away. After Samuel's death in 254 C.E., Nehardea was destroyed, and its place of prominence was assumed by Pumbedita. Nehardea regained its stature under Naḥman b. Jacob and, later, Dimi and Amemar. It continued throughout the Talmudic period as the site of an important rabbinical academy.

Nehar Pekod town with a Jewish population in Babylonia, in the district of Nehardea. Ḥananiah, the nephew of Joshua b. Ḥananiah, lived there after the Bar Kokhba Revolt and unsuccessfully attempted to establish an academy and a Sanhedrin (B. Berakhot 63a–b, B. Sanhedrin 32b). B. Ḥullin 127a speaks disparagingly of the city's inhabitants, in effect calling them thieves.

Nehemiah **1.** fifth-century-B.C.E. Jewish leader. Reliable information on Nehemiah is confined to the first-person narrative or memoir (Neh. 1:1–2:20, 3:33–7:5, 12:31–43, 13:4–31) and the third-person account in the same book dealing with several of the same incidents (Neh. 3:1–32; 11:1–2; 12:27–30, 44–47; 13:1–3). From these we gather that Nehemiah's mission to Judah occurred in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (445 B.C.E.) and that it lasted twelve years (Neh. 5:14), after which he was recalled to the imperial court and returned to Judah for another period of unknown length (13:6–7). His principal achievements as governor of the province were the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 2–6), the repopulation of the city (Neh. 11), dedication of the completed project (Neh. 12:27–43), rectification of social abuses (Neh. 5), support and smooth functioning of the cult (10:1–38, 12:44–47, 13:10–14), measures to preserve the ethnic identity of the community (13:1–9, 23–31), and enforcement of the Sabbath law (13:15–22). Nehemiah was praised by Sirach (Sir. 49:11–13) and served as a role model for the Maccabees (2 Macc. 1:10–2:18). He is not prominent in rabbinic sources and is sometimes identified with Zerubbabel (e.g., B. Sanhedrin 38a).

2. Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; a student of Akiba. His importance is indicated by B. Sanhedrin 86a's statement that Nehemiah stands behind all anonymous statements in the Tosefta. Nehemiah survived the Bar Kokhba Revolt and, at the end of the Hadrianic persecutions, was central in the renewal of rabbinic study.

Neḥuniah b. Abin *see* ḤUNA B. ABIN

Neḥuniah b. Hakanah a native of Emmaus; a Tannaitic authority at the end of the first century C.E., possibly a student of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. B. Shebuot 26a states that Neḥuniah b. Hakanah was Ishmael's teacher and taught him his hermeneutical principles.

neighbor someone in domestic proximity or, more generally, a member of one's tribe or people. Relationships with one's neighbors are detailed in biblical legislation. One is not, for example, to bear false witness against a neighbor or covet his wife or possessions (Exod. 20:16–17; Deut. 5:20–21). Epitomizing this legislation is Leviticus 19:17–18, "You shall not hate anyone of your kin in your heart, but you shall reason with your neighbor, lest you bear sin because of him. You shall not take vengeance or bear any grudge against the children of your own people, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself . . ." (see also Mark 12:31; Matt. 22:39; Luke 10:27; Rom. 13:8–10; Gal. 5:14; James 2:8). The neighbor is not only another member of Israel but may also be the sojourner, as Leviticus 19:33–34 indicates. Similarly, the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:27–37) suggests that good neighbors are those who, regardless of national origin or enmity, help others. Testament of Isaac 5 discusses punishments of those who mistreat their neighbors and friends.

The rabbis were particularly concerned with the rights of neighbors on adjacent property or in abutting buildings. To prevent damage to a neighbor's property, rabbinic law controls, among other things, the digging of wells at the edge of one's field, the running of businesses or performance of other activities that cause disruptive noise, and the placement of ovens that create a fire hazard (M. Baba Batra 2:1–14). The importance the rabbis

attributed to proper relationships with other people is indicated by the statement attributed to Hillel, which summarizes the entire Torah with the maxim "What is hateful to you, do not do to your neighbor" (B. Shabbat 31b).

Neilah closing service marking the end of Yom Kippur, recited at nightfall, when the fast ends

nekyia (Gr.) a ritual of necromancy; or, a human descent to the world of the dead. The word occurs mainly as a designation for Book 11 of Homer's *Odyssey,* in which Odysseus journeys to the land of the dead to learn his future fate from the shade of Tiresias.

Neofiti, Targum Having been miscataloged in the Vatican Library, Targum Neofiti was rediscovered there in 1957. The manuscript, technically known as Codex Neophyti 1, seems to have been copied in the early sixteenth century. The original targum was probably written sometime between 135 C.E. and the mid-fourth century. Targum Neofiti constitutes a complete, continuous translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch into Aramaic—apparently into the dialect of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. This targum combines a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text with additional material that ranges in length from a word or two to several paragraphs. In general, the additions follow the Palestinian Targum tradition and hence Neofiti can be classed as a Palestinian Targum. The manuscript itself contains later comments in the margins and glosses added between the lines.

Neofiti interlinear glosses the many notations written between the lines of the sixteenth-century codex of Targum Neofiti. These insertions, apparently done in the sixteenth century by several different scribes, usually correct the grammar of the Aramaic. The glosses often agree with the text found in Targum Onkelos.

Neofiti margins comments added into the margins of the sixteenth-century codex of Targum Neofiti. The comments were probably added in the seventeenth century. The different comments often correspond to a reading found in at least one of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch or Targum Onkelos, but some provide readings otherwise unknown.

Neoplatonism *see* PLATONISM

Neo-Pythagoreanism *see* PYTHAGOREANISM

Nero Roman emperor (r. 54–68 C.E.). Nero's questionable claim as emperor led to the spread of stories about his miraculous birth. He arranged the assassination of his mother and, later, his wife. His extravagant lifestyle, vanity, suspicious nature, and sense of power made him unpopular. With the outbreak of the war in Judea, he was forced to put Vespasian in charge of the Roman forces and Mucianus in Syria. There is no evidence that his persecution of the Christians in Rome in 64 included persecution of the Jews.

Nero redivivus (Lat., Nero resurrected) After the death of the Roman emperor Nero in 69 C.E., rumor had it that he had not actually died but was still alive and living secretly in the East. It was only a matter of time, it was said, before he gathered an army among the Parthians, the eastern enemy of Rome, and returned in triumph to take up his throne again. (No actual resurrection was envisaged until after the time of Nero's expected lifespan.) The legend is referred to in several Jewish apocalyptic writings and in Christian writings on the anti-Christ.

Nerva Roman emperor (r. 96–98 C.E.). When Domitian was assassinated without having named a successor, the Senate selected Nerva as the one who could promote its ideals and its interpretation of the constitution. However, he never gained the support of the military or of the Praetorian Guards. In 97 he adopted Trajan as his heir and gave him powers virtually equal to his own. He annulled Domitian's tax that was levied not only on the Jews but also on those who followed the Jewish way of life without formally becoming Jewish. His actions ended the practice of denouncing individuals who were following the Jewish way of life. He also put an end to the charge of impiety leveled against the Jews and recalled those individuals who had been unjustly banished, perhaps even Domitilla who had been exiled by Domitian for being Jewish.

neshekh *see* INTEREST

Nestorians a group of Christians who emerged in the fifth century and flourished in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, especially in Edessa, Nisibis, and Seleucia. Nestorians, whose teachings were mistakenly attributed to the bishop Nestorius, emphasized the separation rather than the unity of the divine and human nature in Jesus Christ. They were accused by the orthodox of also affirming the presence of two persons in Jesus, a charge that seems mistaken. Members of this church wrote in Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic common in Syria, and were influenced by Antiochene theologians like Theodore of Mopsuestia. They developed their own ecclesiastical structures and were the dominant church in the Sassanid Empire, the context in which the Babylonian Jewish community flourished. Over the centuries, their missionaries established communities in India, Turkestan, Manchuria,

Siberia, and China. Communities of Nestorians still exist in Kurdestan and India.

Nestorius (c. 381–451) theologian and bishop of Constantinople (428–431). Embroiled in Christological controversies of the fifth century, he was removed as bishop and condemned as a heretic who affirmed that the human Jesus and divine Christ were two persons. He lived his last twenty years in exile. In retrospect, his teachings seem orthodox and the attacks of his opponents erroneous. The Nestorian churches of Mesopotamia and Persia were named after him, but he did not found them or inspire them by his teaching.

netilat yadayim (Heb.) hand-washing, not for hygienic purposes but to attain ritual cleanness prior to eating a meal

Netopha biblical town in the hills of Judah, near Bethlehem. In the rabbinic literature, Netopha is known as a place of olive production. It is referred to alternatively as Beth Netopha.

new heavens, new earth a phrase that seems to occur first in Isaiah 65:17 in reference to an ideal age, which God would inaugurate by intervening in world affairs. He would redeem his people, destroy their enemies, and renew heaven and earth. The theme becomes especially important in apocalyptic literature with regard to the "age to come."

New Moon When the Temple stood, this was a festival proclaimed by the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem after witnesses testified to observing the new moon. Bonfires were lit on hilltops to signal the event throughout the land. This is discussed in the mishnaic tractate Rosh Hashanah. After the calendar was fixed by calculation in the middle of the fourth century C.E., the new month was announced in the synagogue at the time of the Birkat haḤodesh, the blessing of the month.

New Oil, Festival of a festival known only from the Temple Scroll from Qumran. It occurred fifty days after the Festival of New Wine.

New Testament a collection of writings that forms the second half of the Christian scriptures. Its three sections include twenty-seven books: the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; twenty-one epistles written by, or ascribed to, Paul and others; and the apocalypse of John. These writings gradually gained authority during the second and early third centuries C.E. to the exclusion of other works ascribed to disciples of Jesus. In establishing its biblical canon, the church avoided two alternative possibilities. It rejected the view of Marcion, who denied the authority of the Hebrew Bible, but it insisted that the Hebrew Bible by itself was insufficient because it did not testify explicitly to Jesus. The term "New Testament" or "New Covenant" is first implied by Melito, bishop of Sardis (c. 180 C.E.), who refers to the Jewish canon as "the Old Testament" (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4:26). The distinction asserts the superiority of Christianity over Judaism, employing the language of Jeremiah 31:31 as explicated in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

New Testament and targums *see* TARGUMS AND NEW TESTAMENT

New Wine, Festival of a festival known only from the Temple Scroll from Qumran. It occurred fifty days after the Festival of Weeks. *See also* SHAḄUOT.

Nezikin the fourth division of the Mishnah, devoted to civil law and damages

Nicanor Seleucid general sent by Demetrius I to support the high priest Alcimus against Judas Maccabeus. Judas defeated and killed him at Beth Horon, northwest of Jerusalem, in 161 C.E., thereby gaining control of Judea. This victory is celebrated on Nicanor's Day, on the thirteenth of Adar (March).

Nicolaus of Damascus Greek secretary and confidant of Herod the Great. After Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., Nicolaus composed a world history in 144 books. Although the work was a synchronic history of all nations, as had become common in the Graeco-Roman world, it seems to have been quite informative regarding Jewish history. It has not survived except in fragments but was heavily used by Josephus. Nicolaus was an important source because he evidently had access to court papers and reports not only about Herod and his rule but also about the reigns of the Hasmoneans. Our knowledge about the entire period of Hasmonean rule after Simon and of Herod's kingdom seems ultimately to depend on Nicolaus. Much of what remains of his history has come to us only indirectly through the accounts in Josephus's *The Jewish War* and *Antiquities of the Jews;* nevertheless, Josephus does occasionally quote him directly. We also have part of an encomium (speech of praise) to Augustus Caesar preserved separately, as well as one or two independent fragments on Jewish history. One of these concerns the dispute among Herod's sons before Augustus after Herod's death and gives us a better insight into Nicolaus's actual method of writing.

niddah (Heb.) menstruating woman

Niddah Mishnah tractate devoted to the uncleanness of the menstruating woman set forth in Leviticus 15. The tractate discusses the definition of unclean excretions (chaps. 2–5); rules applicable at various ages (chaps. 5–6); doubts in connection

with unclean excretions (chaps. 6–9); and disputes of the Houses of Shammai on the same topics (chaps. 9–10).

Niger, Pescennius (in full, Gaius Pescennius Niger Justus) Roman official, born in 135 C.E. Of humble birth, he rose through military commands to equestrian status and enrollment, by Commodus, in the Senate. He was consul (190) with Septimius Severus and governor of Syria (191). Following Commodus's murder in December 192, Praetorian Guards first proclaimed Helvius Pertinax and then Didius Julianus emperor, but in June 193 the frontier legions began to put forth their own candidates and Niger was proclaimed emperor by the Syrian army and won support from Asia and Egypt. Meanwhile, Septimius Severus, saluted by the Danubian army as emperor, took control of Rome, and Niger attempted to consolidate his power in the east by taking control of Byzantium, from which he hoped to secure the route between Asia and Europe. Niger was defeated at Perintus, Cyzicus, and Nicaea. Finally, after being routed at Issus, in Cilicia, Niger broke for the Euphrates but was captured and executed in 194.

niggun (Heb., tune) the melody to which the Jewish liturgy is set; often, the melodic motif associated with a particular worship service, for example, the Sabbath niggun

Niḥumai Saḇoraic authority; died in 506 C.E.; also referred to as Riḥumai

Nimrin a location in Syria; the last station for messengers who traveled from the Land of Israel to proclaim the beginning of the new month (Y. Ketuḇot 2:7–8, 26d)

Ninth of Aḇ *see* AḆ, NINTH OF

Nisan seventh month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to March/April. The full moon in Nisan is the first after the vernal equinox and marks the celebration of Passover.

Nisibis the modern town of Nesib in southern Anatolia; under Roman and then Persian rule, a trading city on the route from the Far East to the West. Josephus refers to the city's Jewish population and notes that Nisibis was a way station for pilgrims en route to Jerusalem. In the second century C.E., it became a center of Torah study when Judah b. Batyra attracted numerous scholars to the town, including some who came from the Land of Israel. By the third century, a growing Christian population had reduced the city's centrality within rabbinic circles.

nissuin *see* MARRIAGE

Nittai of Arbel *see* MATTAI OF ARBEL

Nizzana (or Nessana) ancient town of the central Negeb desert, 32 miles southwest of Beer Sheba. The settlement was founded in the second century B.C.E. by the Nabateans. The town apparently was abandoned in the eighth century C.E.

At the eastern end of the acropolis stood a second-century-B.C.E. Nabatean fortress or temple. The structure, 27 by 25 meters in size, was defended by round towers on its southeastern, southwestern, and northwestern sides and by a slope to the south. A court measuring 8 by 8.5 meters stood in the building's center. Rounded buttresses and a supporting wall were added to the foundations when the north church was built (see below).

Most of the acropolis was occupied by a citadel, measuring 85 by 35 meters, built before the middle of the fifth century C.E. Two corner and two middle towers stood on the west side, two corner towers and one middle tower on the south, and one on the east. The main gate was located in the middle southern tower and a secondary gate was in the eastern.

In the fourth century C.E., the north church was constructed upon the foundations of the Hellenistic building and against the northern wall of the citadel. A monumental staircase led from the lower city to a gate in the southern end of the atrium. The atrium consisted of a paved east court with a cistern fed by underground channels, a colonnaded east gallery, and three rooms. Near the eastern end of the south court, two rooms held several burials. Greek inscriptions date the burials to 464 and 475 C.E. and mention Thoamos, a priest, and Paladius, a deacon. Other inscriptions refer to the rooms as a "holy place." Still others in the church mention Saint Stephen and the dedication of the building to saints Sergius and Bacchus.

The sanctuary itself was a long central nave ending in an apse and *bimah* (raised platform) in the east and a baptismal font in the west. The apse was flanked by two odd-shaped rooms. Nearby debris held the remains of a marble chancel screen. A block of limestone at the *bimah* was carved with grapevines and crosses. Crosses also decorated the nave. The entire north wall of the sanctuary served as the south wall of an adjacent chapel with flanking rooms east and west. A north court and gallery were added during the reign of Justinian. Several rooms adjoined the court and gallery on either side, and a well house stood to the north.

The south church was built on a hill south of the acropolis at the beginning of the seventh century C.E. Adjacent to the sanctuary in the north was a small paved atrium with a bench and cistern in the west and a colonnaded narthex on the east. Two

adjacent rooms stood above a 2-meter-deep pit. The sanctuary, measuring 20.8 by 14.1 meters, had three apses, an altar, and a *bimah*. Two rows of six columns divided the sanctuary into a nave and two aisles, all paved with limestone.

South of the sanctuary was a chapel. Two rows of three columns supported the ceiling. A *bimah* and chancel screen stood in front of an apse, behind which was a room. An inscription on a column mentioning Mary, Mother of God, dates between 601 and 602 C.E. There were as many as three churches in the lower city, probably dating to the fifth and sixth centuries. One of these churches has been excavated.

Most important to the site are the Greek and bilingual Greek-Arabic papyri discovered in the north church. Literary papyri include a fragment of Virgil's *Aeneid* with a Greek dictionary to the work, a fragment of the Gospel of John, the Acts of Saint George, the apocryphal letters of Abgar to Christ with Christ's reply, and almost two hundred theological, legal, military, and business documents and fragments, dating from 512 to 689 C.E.

Noah the single righteous human being found on earth when God determined to destroy all living things because of their sin (Gen. 6–9). Preserved on an ark, together with his wife, his sons, and their wives, he became the patriarch of a new humanity, and all the nations are traced back to his three sons (Gen. 10).

The traditions in 1 Enoch that depict the flood as a prototype of the final judgment give a special place to Noah. In 1 Enoch 10:1–3 he is described as an eschatological prophet who receives the message of the coming judgment (cf. Isa. 26:20), but he is also a type of the righteous who will escape destruction in the judgment (cf. 1 Enoch 10:3 and 10:17). His role as patriarch in 10:3 (cf. 84:6) is described in language that is paralleled in the reference to Abraham in 93:5. In the story of Noah's birth in 1 Enoch 106–107 and the Genesis Apocryphon 2, the newborn Noah's radiant appearance leads his father to suspect that he has been conceived by an angelic father, but Enoch interprets Noah's appearance as a portent of his future role as the one who will renew humanity. Another narrative fragment in 1 Enoch 67 provides details about the construction of the ark. According to Jubilees 10 the angels gave Noah information about herbs and medicines that would ward off the illness brought on by the evil spirits that had proceeded from the dead bodies of the giants destroyed in the flood.

The reference to Noah as a "herald of righteousness" in 2 Peter 2:5 indicates knowledge of a tradition that described Noah as a prophet to his generation. Such a tradition is transmitted by Josephus (*Ant.* 1.3.1, sec. 74) and may be attested independently in 1 Clement 9:4. *See also* BIRTH, MIRACULOUS; FLOOD.

Noah, Books of traditions said to stand behind Noachic texts in 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees. These traditions have been identified variously as the fall of the watchers (1 Enoch 6–11), the birth of Noah (1 Enoch 106–107, 1 QapGen 2), the building of the ark (1 Enoch 65–67), other flood traditions (1 Enoch 54–55, 60, 68–69), and Noah's receipt of medical information (Jub. 10:1–16). The existence of a book or books of Noah seems quite possible. Jubilees 10:13 and 21:10 refer to such a book. The complex parallels in 1 Enoch 65–67, 83–84, 106–107, and the Genesis Apocryphon imply older Noachic traditions. However, the precise form, content, and date of such books or traditions cannot be determined with certainty.

Noah, representation of a minor motif in Jewish art, including images of Noah's ark. The ark, which was used to carry humans and animals to safety during the great flood, came to be understood as a symbol for salvation in general in early Jewish and Christian iconography. Noah's ark was one of the earliest representations from the Hebrew Bible that was adopted in both churches and synagogues. One example of a mosaic depicting Noah in the ark is from the synagogue at Jerash (Gerasa), which was converted into a Christian church.

In other instances, Noah in the ark seems to represent salvation in the afterlife. One example is seen on a coin of Apamea in Syria, dated 244 to 248 C.E. Noah is depicted with his wife emerging from a box, which is more in the shape of a sarcophagus than a boat. A dove is also portrayed next to Noah, and another dove flies overhead with an olive branch. In this instance, the symbolism of Noah's ark seems to have been converted to a sarcophagus, thus symbolizing victory over death. This same use of Noah's ark as a box (sarcophagus?) is found in a few synagogues and in the Christian Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome; its depiction in the catacomb is further evidence of its symbolic significance for salvation after death.

Noahides non-Jews who observe the seven laws that apply to the descendants of Noah (namely, all peoples). According to rabbinic authorities, these include the following prohibitions: idolatry, adultery and incest, bloodshed, blasphemy, robbery, social injustice, and eating the flesh of a limb cut from a living animal (T. Abodah Zarah 8:4–8).

nomos (Gr., law, or custom) term that was often used to translate the Hebrew word *torah* in the Septuagint. Although *nomos* overlaps *torah* and the English word "law" in meaning, it also has other connotations. An important additional concept was the idea of "custom" in a particular sense: the Greeks often considered their customs to be "natural law." Thus, obedience to the law meant more than honoring certain written regulations; it included an entire way of life. In Jewish writings in Greek, the term "the law" (*to nomos*) came to mean "Jewish religion."

notarikon (Heb., from Gr.: *notarikon,* shorthand) term used in rabbinic writings to refer to words in which each letter stands for a complete word, so that each word is an abbreviated sentence. Used as an exegetical device, a word from the Bible is interpreted as a phrase or sentence.

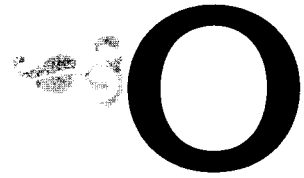
nous (Gr., mind) Although used generically, the word became a technical philosophical term, contrasted with such terms as *aisthēsis* (sense perception), which it was supposed to govern. In Jewish writings, it is found especially in the works of Philo of Alexandria.

numbers, magic *see* GEMATRIA

Numbers, Targum to *see* PALESTINIAN TARGUMS; ONKELOS, TARGUM

Numenius Neo-Pythagorean writer from Apamea, in Syria, in the late second century C.E. Little is known of him apart from the fragments of his writings that have been preserved, but he seems to have influenced a number of important later writers, such as Porphyry. He admired eastern wisdom, including that of the Jews. One of his most famous statements is, "What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic [Greek]?" He also apparently made reference to the Pentateuch and Prophets, giving them an allegorical interpretation, and even seems to quote Genesis 1:2 on one occasion.

nusaḥ (Heb.) the "form" of a prayer. The term refers to either its wording or the musical system to which it is sung.



oath an appeal to God as a witness to the truth of one's statement. Under talmudic law, oaths are admitted as probative evidence in civil but not criminal cases and when other sufficient evidence is unavailable. The oath is used by a defendant to deny a claim against him or her or, in certain cases, as a confirmatory oath made by a plaintiff to support his or her demand for payment from another. Such cases include those of a hired hand who claims not to have been paid, a shopkeeper who claims to have delivered goods and to be owed on account, and a victim of a theft who demands return of the stolen goods (M. Shebuot 7:1). In the absence of other evidence, an oath taken by such a plaintiff is sufficient to yield a judgment against the defendant, requiring him or her to pay the claim. Such a judgment, pronounced on the basis of an oath alone, is overturned if witnesses later come forward and testify that the oath was false. In such a case, any monetary judgment needs to be repaid to the defendant.

An oath generally is imposed only in a case of a valid claim indicating a set amount the defendant owes. Trustees, partners, or agents are an exception to this principle and may be required to take an oath even when no specific allegation has been made (M. Shebuot 7:8). Additionally, a plaintiff may demand that such individuals take an oath regarding all possible claims against them, arising from any matters concerning that same defendant.

Known or suspected liars, gamblers, usurers, and perjurers are disqualified from taking an oath (M. Shebuot 7:4), since their word cannot be trusted anyway. Minors and the deaf, dumb, or mentally incompetent also are excluded from oaths, for they are deemed unable to assess the truth of their own statements. M. Shebuot 6:5 states that oaths are not admitted in cases involving immovable property, slaves, or written deeds. Later talmudic law extended the use of oaths to such property as well.

Obadiah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Octavian *see* AUGUSTUS CAESAR

Odenathus ruler of Palmyra (r. 254–266 C.E.). After Shapur I rejected his offer of friendship in 260, Odenathus's troops harassed Shapur's forces. In 263, they crossed the Euphrates. Although Shapur expelled the Palmyrenes from central Babylonia, they held Mesopotamia until Aurelian destroyed Palmyra in 273. According to Sherira, Papa b. Nazer, who is identified with Odenathus, destroyed Nehardea and forced Samuel's students to establish their academy elsewhere. Nehardea was a center of activity for Jewish merchants, so the Palmyrenes, who lived by commerce and competed with Jewish merchants, would have benefited greatly from its destruction. Odenathus extended his rule over Palestine. Palmyra had a signicant Jewish population, and Christian sources claim that Zenobia, Odenathus's wife, favored Judaism; however, the Jews seemed to have regarded Odenathus as a Roman agent. The Palestinian Jews reviled him and rejoiced over his assassination.

Odes of Solomon *see* SOLOMON, ODES OF

ofanim (sing.: ofan) one of the many orders of angels that make up the celestial hierarchies. The term, which literally means "wheels," is derived from the description of the chariot of God, the Merkabah, in the Book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:15–21, 10:9,16). The interpretation of the chariot's wheels as a class of angels is attested already in the Dead Sea Scrolls: in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QSirShabb) they are said to bless, and they stand in parallel to the cherubim (see also 1 Enoch 61:10). The synagogue prayerbook describes the ofanim and the holy ḥayot as singing the response to the seraphim in the performance of the celestial Kedushah.

Official Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, IMPERIAL

Ohalot Mishnah tractate devoted to the uncleanness that is spread by a tent located over the body of a corpse, in line with Numbers 19. The tractate focuses on diverse modes of imparting uncleanness and sources of uncleanness in general (chaps. 2–3); tents as a medium for spreading corpse-uncleanness (chaps. 3–16); and sources of uncleanness analogous to corpse matter (chap. 16).

ohel (Heb.) tent; *see also* OHALOT

Oil, Festival of New *see* NEW OIL, FESTIVAL OF

oil, use in rabbinic period Olive oil was a primary commodity in Israel in rabbinic times, used for cooking, as a body lotion, for medicinal purposes, and for lamps. Oil was also derived from other animal, mineral, and vegetable sources, such as sesame seeds or nuts. In Babylonia, sesame oil was the most common. A special anointing oil was used for the ritual anointing of the high priest in the Temple (Lev. 8:12). Belief was widespread that the redeemer of Israel also would be anointed with oil (in Hebrew, *mashiaḥ,* the source of the title "messiah"). According to the rabbis, when the Hasmoneans defeated the Hellenizers in the second century B.C.E., they found only enough pure oil for lighting the lamps in the Temple for one day, but it lasted miraculously for eight days. Accordingly, on Hanukkah, Jews celebrated this miracle by lighting oil lamps for eight days. The Mishnah (Shabbat 2) specifies which oil could be used for kindling the Sabbath lamp on Friday evening before sundown. In everyday use, olive oil commonly was perfumed with balsam, or sesame oil was mixed with extract of rose. A special blessing was recited upon using such oils. Anointing oneself with oil was prohibited on the Day of Atonement and the Ninth of Ab.

oil of life the source of life for humanity, whose sin condemns them to death. In the version of the Adam and Eve story in the Apocalypse of Moses and Life of Adam and Eve, the dying Adam sends Eve and Seth in search of the oil of life or oil of mercy that flows from an unnamed tree in paradise (Apoc. Moses 9:2–13:5; Life of Adam and Eve 26:1–42:1). The medicine is forbidden until the time of the resurrection of all flesh. Stories about the quest for this oil flourished in medieval times and are reminiscent of the Grail legends.

olah (Heb., burnt offering) an offering that is wholly burned up upon the altar fires in the Temple in Jerusalem, yielding no share of the sacrifice for either the officiating priest or the person in behalf of whom the offering is presented

Olam haBa *see* AGE TO COME

Olam haZeh *see* AGE, THIS

old age *see* AGE

Old Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, OLD

Old Testament The earliest form of the Old Testament was created by the Christian church by combining the books of the Hebrew Bible with the books of the Apocrypha. When the Protestants broke with the Catholics, they removed the Apocryphal books, thus making the Protestant Old Testament the same as the Hebrew Bible. *See also* NEW TESTAMENT; TANAKH.

Old Testament Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, BIBLICAL

olive leaves *see* LEAVES

olive's bulk (Heb.: *kezayit*) measure of food volume equal to a medium-sized olive. If one eats forbidden food in the volume of an olive's bulk, one incurs punishment; less than that is not culpable.

Omedim baShurah (Heb., standing in rows) a Tannaitic funeral custom, still followed today. Funeral participants arrange themselves in rows, so as to offer condolence to mourners as they pass through.

omer **1.** the first sheaf of barley cut in the harvest, offered on the second day of Passover, at which point the new crops of grain are permitted for use. The omer was offered in the Temple every day for forty-nine days, from the second day of Passover (the 16th of Nisan) until Pentecost; this was observed as a period of mourning.

2. a dry measure, comprising one and four-fifths of a kab

onaah (Heb., overreaching) a rabbinic economic term. In the purchase or sale of an article, the term indicates fraudulently deviating from the market price by at least one-sixth of the article's value.

On Abraham *see* DE ABRAHAMO

On Dreams *see* DE SOMNIIS

On Drunkenness *see* DE EBRIETATE

oneg Shabbat (Heb., Sabbath delight) engaging in activities of rejoicing on the Sabbath, taking plea-

sure in the Sabbath rest; singing, feasting, and relaxing on the Sabbath day

ones (Heb., forced) a rabbinic term for rape. Jewish sources extend the meaning to a circumstance for which a person cannot be held accountable, such as an act forced upon a person by threat of death, violence, or financial ruin, and to an unavoidable deterrent, such as a natural barrier, an illness, or an accident.

On Flight and Finding *see* DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE

On Husbandry *see* DE AGRICULTURA

Onias, Temple of *see* LEONTOPOLIS, TEMPLE AT

Onias II son of the high priest Simon I. As he was young when his father died, his uncle Eleazar and then his grandfather's brother Manasses at first substituted for him. Onias II was high priest around the middle of the third century B.C.E. Little else is known about him. He may have written to the Spartan king Areus (1 Macc. 12:19–23), but no certainty exists. In the legendary tale about the Tobiads, Josephus narrates how Onias refused to pay tribute to Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.E.) out of stinginess, and so Joseph, son of Tobias, stepped in and became tax collector of Phoenicia (*Ant.* 12.4). Scholars have suggested political motives behind the refusal to pay taxes.

Onias III son of the high priest Simon II (Sir. 50:1–21) and the grandson of Onias II; Jewish high priest from 196 to 175 B.C.E. According to 2 Maccabees 3 and 4, Onias (Heb.: Honi or Yohanan) was the pious high priest who sought to dissuade Heliodorus, the emissary of Antiochus III, from robbing the Temple and then interceded with God for Heliodorus's life. He was removed from the high priesthood in 175 B.C.E. by his brother Jason and murdered in 170 B.C.E. by Andronicus, the deputy of the new high priest, Menelaus, at Daphne, near Antioch, in Syria.

Onias IV son of the high priest Onias III. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.62–73; cf. 12.387–88, 20.236), Onias IV fled to Egypt during the Maccabean wars. He requested from King Ptolemy VI Philometer (r. 180–145 B.C.E.) and Queen Cleopatra the authority to build a temple in Egypt, similar to the one in Jerusalem, at the site of an abandoned Egyptian temple in Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome. Permission was granted and a temple and altar were built, with Onias serving as high priest. The date of Onias's migration to Egypt is disputed; some scholars say that he came to Egypt several years before he asked permission to build the temple and was already head of a Jewish military garrison at Leontopolis when the temple was requested. The temple would have been built about 160 B.C.E. or even later. Onias IV and his sons served as generals in the military service of the Ptolemies and played a role in Egyptian political affairs. The Jewish military colony founded by Onias at Leontopolis ("the land of Onias") existed into the Roman period.

On Joseph *see* DE IOSEPHO

Onkelos Jewish proselyte at the end of the first century. He was wealthy and studied with both Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Joshua b. Ḥananiah. The Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3a) credits him with translating the Pentateuch into Aramaic, but this probably constitutes a confusion with the Palestinian Talmud's remarks concerning Aquila, who translated the Pentateuch into Greek (Meg. 1:11, 71c).

Onkelos, Targum As we now have it, this targum was probably composed in the third to the fifth century C.E. in a non-Palestinian (Eastern) form of Aramaic. Scholars think it was based on an earlier targum written in Palestine. Targum Onkelos is quite literal, containing only small amounts of additional material. By the time the Babylonian Talmud was written in the fifth century, Targum Onkelos constituted Babylonian Jewry's official translation of the Torah into Aramaic. As the Babylonian Talmud became authoritative among western Jews in the early Middle Ages, Targum Onkelos replaced the Palestinian Targums as the authoritative targum to the Pentateuch. This authoritative status led to the creation of a *masorah* for the targum to ensure that it would be accurately copied.

On Noah's Work as a Planter *see* DE PLANTATIONE

onomastica lists of names, often with other information, such as etymologies or equivalents in other languages. The term is derived from the Greek word *onoma* (name). Onomastica were sometimes used in exegeses using etymologies for those who were not bilingual, such as those by Philo of Alexandria.

On Providence *see* DE PROVIDENTIA

Onqelos *see* ONKELOS

On Rewards and Punishments *see* DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS

On Sobriety *see* DE SOBRIETATE

On the Change of Names *see* DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM

On the Cherubim *see* DE CHERUBIM

On the Confusion of Tongues *see* DE CONFUSIONE LINGUARUM

On the Contemplative Life *see* DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA

On the Creation of the World *see* DE OPIFICIO MUNDI

On the Decalogue *see* DE DECALOGO

On the Embassy to Gaius *see* DE LEGIATIONE AD GAIUM

On the Eternity of the World *see* DE AETERNITATE MUNDI

On the Giants *see* DE GIGANTIBUS

On the Life of Moses *see* DE VITA MOSIS

On the Migration of Abraham *see* DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI

On the Posterity and Exile of Cain *see* DE POSTERITATE CAINI

On the Preliminary Studies *see* DE CONGRESSU QUAERENDAE ERUDITIONIS GRATIA

On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain *see* DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI

On the Special Laws *see* DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS

On the Virtues *see* DE VIRTUTIBUS

Opf. *see* DE OPIFICIO MUNDI

oppression cruel and violent acts carried out by the powerful against the poor and powerless. That Jews in antiquity suffered such oppression cannot be doubted; however, the nature and extent of the oppression is difficult to determine when it is attested in polemical documents. A prime example of this is 1 Enoch 92–105 (cf. chaps. 6–11). That the author of this text and his sympathizers and followers suffered at the hands of the rich and powerful seems beyond dispute; otherwise the document would be pointless. Nonetheless, many of the specifics are uncertain, and one cannot be sure, for example, whether charges of killing (103:15) are technically justified or whether the author's rhetoric reflects the feeling that certain actions have led indirectly to death. In any case, the experience of oppression and injustice in these chapters is a challenge to the notion of God's power and justice and brings forth counterbalanced assertions that God's great judgment will set right the wrongs that these people perceive that they have experienced. *See also* PERSECUTION.

oracle an inspired utterance of a prophet in the name of a god. The Hebrew prophets delivered oracles, which are preserved in the prophetic books. In the Hellenistic world, oracles were delivered at shrines such as Delphi, and oracle-mongers made collections of oracles for various purposes. There also developed a tradition of literary oracles, which were not delivered under inspiration but composed as poetic works. In Hellenistic and Roman Judaism, however, prophecy declined in importance, and prophetic oracles were no longer collected. Josephus reports the activity of a number of prophets in this period, including one Jesus, son of Ananias, who delivered an oracle of woe prior to the fall of Jerusalem (*War* 6.300–309). Josephus also claims that an "ambiguous oracle," foretelling that a man from Judea would become ruler of the world, played a part in inciting the Jews to revolt against Rome (*War* 6.312). The prophecy found its fulfillment in the Roman commander Vespasian. The main collection of Jewish oracles from the Hellenistic and Roman periods is found in the Sibylline Oracles.

Oral Torah *see* TORAH, ORAL

ordination *see* HANDS, LAYING ON OF

Origen (c. 185–254 C.E.) Christian biblical exegete and theologian. He was born into a Christian family, probably in Alexandria. He received a good education in the Bible as well as in Greek classics. Origen was ordained a priest in Palestine on his way to Athens. The bishop of Alexandria, Demetrius, angered that Origen received ordination without his permission, had him exiled from Egypt and deposed from the priesthood. Origen moved to Caesarea where he had extensive contact with some Jews in the city. Origen comments on Jewish converts to Christianity and Christian converts to Judaism. He complains about Christian women who keep the Jewish Sabbath, frequent ritual baths, and prepare unleavened bread for Passover. Origen devoted considerable energy to studying the Bible. His *Hexapala* contains the whole Hebrew Bible in six columns, with the Hebrew text in Hebrew, the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek, and four well-known Greek versions, noting additions and lacunae in each text. It was designed to provide some knowledge of the Hebrew text to Christians who knew only the Septuagint and thus were at a disadvantage when discussing their interpretations of the Old Testament with Jews. He wrote a considerable number of commentaries to the biblical books, homilies, and brief exegetical notes on a wide range of biblical passages. In addition to these biblical works, Origen composed a large number of theological and philosophical works, often amply quoting scripture, the most famous being his *On First Principles* and *Against Celsus*, the latter being one of the most important apologetic works of early Christianity.

Origen, one of the greatest Christian biblical exegetes of antiquity and apparently the first to study Hebrew, was fascinated by the variant readings of the manuscripts in his attempt to discover the literal meaning of the biblical texts. However, he believed that the Holy Spirit was the author of the Bible, so that the Old Testament was merely a prophecy of Christ in which every detail had to be

explored and exegeted. Addressing himself to Christians, Origen wrote positively about the Jews before Jesus' birth. The Jews had been a nation of philosophers; it was their rejection of Jesus and their failure to accept his teachings that resulted in their loss of wisdom and rejection by God. They did not recognize the truth about Jesus because they did not understand the true spiritual meaning of the Old Testament, which stated that with the appearance of Jesus the ritual law and Jewish control of the Holy Land were abrogated.

Orlah (Heb., uncircumcised) the tenth tractate in the Mishnaic Division of Agriculture (Zeraim), concerned with scripture's prohibition against eating fruit from trees in their first three years of growth (Leviticus 19:23). To allow observance of this commandment, the tractate's three chapters clarify what trees are to be classified as fruit trees, define what produce of such trees comprises their fruit, and indicate whether or not an old tree that is uprooted and replanted is deemed a new growth and thus again subject to the three-year restriction. Finally, several rules discuss conditions under which forbidden fruit, when mixed with permitted fruit, loses its forbidden status and may be eaten.

In their deliberations on these topics, Yabnean authorities are concerned with botanical characteristics of the tree and its fruit. Since a tree that is uprooted and replanted begins to grow anew, Yabneans deem it again to be subject to the three-year restriction. This is the case unless a root had remained in the ground at all times. Yabneans thus disregard the Israelite's own perception and intention, either to be planting the tree as a new growth or simply to be moving an old tree. Ushans, by contrast, judge matters in light of the intention of the individual who plants the tree. They hold that only a tree planted purposely for its fruit is in the first place subject to the restrictions of Orlah; if it is planted as a fence or for lumber, by contrast, it is not classified as a fruit tree at all. Then, even in its first three years of growth, one may eat its fruit.

While the particular laws given here are hardly unexpected, the tractate as a whole deserves note. Concerned primarily with basic matters of definition, the tractate's rules lack a narrow, generative issue such as stands behind the other tractates in the Division of Agriculture. Moreover, these rules on Orlah comprise only half of the tractate, with the rest dedicated to tangentially related matters, concerning the status of mixtures of forbidden and permitted produce. The existence of this tractate attests to the determination of the framers of the Mishnah to cover all topics of importance within scripture's tithing law, in order to facilitate individuals' consumption of their food under the conditions mandated by the Bible. The tractate was created for this purpose and exists despite the fact that its authorities had little of interest to say on its topic.

Orosius, Paulus fifth-century-C.E. historian. Born in Spain, early in his life he moved to Hippo and met Augustine. Augustine sent him to Palestine where he met Jerome and became involved in the Pelagian controversy over free will, original sin, and God's grace. He returned to Hippo and wrote the earliest universal Christian history, which began with the creation of the world and moved to the events of 417. His chronology followed Eusebius and Jerome, while his account of Roman history drew on Livy, Tacitus, Justin, and Eutropius. The history was designed to show that the fall of Rome was not the result of its acceptance of Christianity, as the pagans were claiming.

orphan typically designated in the Bible as a fatherless child (Exod. 22:22; Deut. 24:17; Isa. 1:17; Job 31:21; see also 4 Ezra 2:20; Sib. Or. 2:76, 270–71). Orphans, along with the widow and the sojourner, symbolize those in need of divine protection. Scripture mandates the support of orphans (Deut. 24:17; Isa. 1:17; Job 31:21; see also 4 Ezra 2:20; Sib. Or. 2:76, 270–271), and often their care fell to relatives; for example, Mordecai raised his cousin Esther, and Tobit's grandmother instructed Tobit in the absence of his parents. James 1:27 defines pure religion as, in part, visiting orphans; such visiting is recorded in a heavenly manuscript, according to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah 7:5.

Orphic fragments quotations from alleged Orphic poems, cited by Aristobulus the Exegete. It is generally agreed that these are Jewish pseudepigraphs. They exist in different versions, which can be grouped into a shorter and longer recension. Other than knowing that they existed by the time of Aristobulus, no dating is possible. The main Jewish element is monotheism, though the longer version alludes to the "offshoot of the Chaldees" (probably Abraham), who understood the layout of the cosmos, and the "water-born" one who received the double law (Moses).

Orphism Greek religion or cult named for the legendary figure of Orpheus. Its development is disputed because most of the sources are late ones. According to Orphism, humans originated as follows: the Titans captured Orpheus and devoured him; Zeus struck them with lightning, and the first human arose from the ashes; thus, human nature has elements of both the Titans (evil) and Orpheus

(good). The body was thought to be a detriment to the soul, giving rise to the cliche *sōma/sēma,* that is, "the body (*sōma*) is a tomb (*sēma*) for the soul." Orphism was influential on Plato. Some quotations are found in Jewish writings that are claimed to be Orphic fragments.

Oshayah *see under* HOSHAYA

ossuary container normally made of soft limestone that held the bones of the deceased. Ossuaries seemed to be unique to the Second Temple period and were used only from the last quarter of the first century B.C.E. until the middle of the third century C.E. The development of ossuaries and their use sheds light on Jewish beliefs concerning resurrection in the Herodian period.

Throughout antiquity, it was common for one family to use and reuse a single burial cave for many generations. During the First Temple period, people took the decayed bones of their ancestors and moved them to the rear of the burial cave in order to make room for more recent burials. In the process, the bones inevitably became intermingled. This seems not to have been considered a problem when there was no belief in a physical, bodily resurrection. Early in the Hasmonean Period, a belief in the bodily resurrection developed in Jewish thought (cf. 2 Macc. 7). With this development, there seems to have arisen a concern for keeping the bones of one's ancestors separated. It is in this context that the practice arose of placing these bones in a special container or ossuary.

Ossuaries are known to have been constructed out of a variety of materials, but the most common was soft limestone. Several are known that were hewn from hard limestone, and some were made from clay, especially during the later period. Ossuaries are found throughout Judah, but their usage seems to have been concentrated in Jerusalem.

Ossuaries are known to have different types of decorations, but the meaning of these decorations is debated. Common motifs are geometric shapes, palm trees, and a pyramid-shape structure called a "nephesh." One school holds that these decorations relate Jewish beliefs in the types of things to be found in the afterlife. Others suggest that the ornamentation had no significance apart from aesthetic value. They point out that though almost all of the published ossuaries were decorated or had inscriptions, the majority of the known ossuaries (both published and unpublished) lack decorations. Thus, these scholars argue that the decorations were merely used for ornamental reasons. In further support of this interpretation, it is pointed out that many of the geometric images that in other cultures did hold religious significance have been reproduced by artisans who merely altered the set geometric design to fit the artist's own particular style.

Probably the most famous group of ossuaries are those from the so-called Caiaphas's Tomb. This tomb is situated just south of Jerusalem in the modern suburb of North Talpiot. Several ossuaries discovered in this tomb bear Aramaic inscriptions mentioning both the names Qaifa (and the variant Qafa) and Yehosef. These are remarkably similar to the names of the high priest during the time of Jesus, namely, Caiaphas. The similarity of the names, in addition to the fact that the ossuaries seem to date from the time of Jesus, has led many scholars to conclude that this tomb actually belonged to the high priest during Jesus' day. *See also* OSSUARY DECORATIONS.

ossuary decorations decorative motifs used on the bone boxes manufactured for Jewish reburial practices in the Roman period. A wide variety of decorative motifs are present, but the most common motif features two rosettes in many variations on the long side of the ossuary with some other decorative element between the rosettes. For example, between the rosettes one may see a column, a third rosette, a vine trellis or garland, an amphora or other vessel, a lily, a palm frond, or a doorway (perhaps a Torah shrine). The motifs are usually carefully carved in low relief, revealing that they were realized by a practiced hand, that is, a professional artisan who specialized in the task. On occasion, the decoration is rendered by a decidedly unpracticed hand, which is usually interpreted as the work of the family, who perhaps were not able to afford decorations when they purchased the ossuary. Decorative motifs extend to the lid as well, usually simply repeating the two, sometimes three, rosettes on the body. Other types of decorations include a representation of the masonry of a wall, repeated moldings, and repeated floral motifs. These same decorations are found on coffins and sarcophagi.

Ostia Synagogue Ostia, the port 12 miles from Rome, had a synagogue from the first through fifth centuries C.E. The fourth-century synagogue had three entrance doors on the east and then a central gate with four pillars leading into the prayer room. A curved rear wall had a *bimah* (raised platform) against it, perhaps for the officials to sit on. A permanent apse for the Torah ark was added later on the east wall next to the entrance gate. Other community rooms were next to the prayer room, including a kitchen with an oven and a large room with wide benches around it.

ostracon (from Gr., sherd, or tile; pl., ostraca) the technical term in archaeology for a potsherd bearing an ink-written or incised inscription. The term is also sometimes applied to other inscribed hard materials, like stone or bone. In ancient Greece, voting on the expulsion of a political figure was carried out by means of potsherds (ostraca) on which the voter inscribed the name of the candidate for dismissal, thus the term "ostracism" for the procedure.

Ostraca have been found in excavations throughout the ancient world. Two of the oldest ostraca from Israel are dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.E. and are inscribed in a proto-Canaanite pictographic script. The latest ages in which ostraca have been found date to the end of the Archaeological Period, that is, up to 1700 B.C.E.

Fired pottery is practically indestructible, but the use of broken pottery as a writing material was probably based more on the cheapness and availability of the substance than on a desire for permanence. In the 1930s Marston suggested that ostraca were in fact cheap and durable copies of documents originally inscribed on more expensive materials like papyrus or parchment—a suggestion revived by Yadin some fifty years later.

Sherds were generally squared off before they were inscribed with ink that was applied with a reed stylus. The ink was made from plant-derived carbon. The writing was generally executed by a skilled scribe, but occasionally it was done by an untrained person. Texts vary greatly in length, from a single letter to many lines comprising scores of words. The content is also extremely varied and includes missives, notifications, instructions, lists of names or commodities, receipts, literary texts, writing exercises, and so on. Ostraca have been found as components of well-arranged official or royal archives, as well as in the form of isolated pieces in private contexts.

Ostraca found in the area of ancient Israel described here constitute an important resource for the study of Hebrew script and its development in time. Of the two proto-Canaanite ostraca referred to above, one was found at Shechem in the Judean hills and the other at Gezer in the northern Shephelah (lowland) of Israel. A third proto-Canaanite ostracon is also known from Izbet Sarta, near Aphek of the Sharon. The latter bears an incised inscription of eighty-four letters in repeated alphabetical order and is dated to the twelfth century B.C.E. Among the better known ostraca from Iron Age 2 in ancient Israel (10th–6th cs. B.C.E.) is a group of 102 inscribed potsherds from the royal warehouses at Samaria, which was the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel. Most of the ostraca have short inscriptions of economic and administrative content, all identical in formula. They were written by skilled scribes and refer to settlements and regions in the country, as well as to contents of consignments dispatched to the royal warehouses in the city. These ostraca provide valuable linguistic, paleographic, administrative, and geographical information about the kingdom of Israel in the eighth century B.C.E.

The largest and most varied collection of ostraca from the biblical period found in a single site in ancient Israel comes from Tel Arad. Eighty-eight pieces, mostly dating from the seventh century B.C.E., were unearthed in this pivotal royal fortress in the Judean Negeb. A number of ostraca, discovered in one of the fortress rooms, evidently formed part of the archives of the commandant, Eliashib. The texts concern, *inter alia*, military matters, instructions for sending supplies to various places in the region, lists of commodities for distribution, lists of items stored in the fortress warehouses, and offerings made in the fortress temple.

In the last decade, one Edomite and about thirty Hebrew ostraca were found from the same period in another fortress, Horvat Uza, some 10 kilometers south of Tel Arad. Almost all bear lists of names, but one of them, a large bowl sherd, is inscribed in cursive Hebrew with a composition of rare literary content. The Edomite ostracon is textually the most complete found so far either in Israel or in Edom. This makes it a valuable source of information on Edomite script and language.

The reason that so many ostraca have been found at sites in the eastern Negeb is partly because the semi-arid climate of the region helps to preserve the ink-written inscriptions. Another reason is indicated by a study of all the inscriptions discovered so far in Israel, namely that in this period—the seventh to early sixth centuries B.C.E.—literacy was more widespread in the country than at any other time during the Iron Age.

Another group of ostraca that needs to be mentioned is the one known as the Lachish Letters. These are twenty-one Hebrew documents of important historical content dating from the end of the kingdom of Judah period, the early sixth century B.C.E. Discovered in the 1930s in the gate area of Tel Lachish, they comprise approximately one hundred lines of clear, legible script and provide dramatic testimony concerning the last events in the history of the kingdom.

The Persian period in Israel (5th–4th C. B.C.E.) is likewise rich in ostraca. These are invariably written in Aramaic—the administrative language of the Persian Empire and also the spoken idiom of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The ostraca have been found in most of the occupation strata from this period. Their contents are generally concerned with economic matters: consignment dockets of supplies or the distribution of commodities, storehouse inventories, and receipts. Outside the Land of Israel are the ostraca from the Jewish community in Elephantine in Upper Egypt.

Ostraca from the Roman period, a list of several hundred, part in Hebrew, part in Aramaic, were discovered in the excavations of the Masada fortress in the Judean–Dead Sea wilderness. Many of these bear only a single letter or word, indicating perhaps that they served as coupons for food rations that were distributed to the inhabitants of the fortress.

Ouranos (Gr., heaven) term used as the translation of the Hebrew *shamayim* in the Septuagint. By the Graeco-Roman period, it had come to be used as a substitute for "God." In Greek mythology, Ouranos is a god better known by his Latin name, Uranus, and is the grandfather of Zeus.

Our Targum The Babylonian rabbis called Targum Onkelos "Our Targum," thus indicating the official standing it had among Babylonian Jewry. Its translations of the Pentateuch into Aramaic were considered authoritative, even in matters of *halakhah*.

outer darkness the place of punishment for sinners (Matt. 8:12, 22:13, 25:30). The precise cosmological location is uncertain, but the expression denotes extreme distance from the inhabited world. Darkness is often associated with Sheol, the place of the dead and, later, the place of punishment, where, paradoxically, it coexists with fire (1 Enoch 103:7, 108:14). *See also* HELL.

outsider (Heb.: *aḥer;* pl., *aḥerim*) the "other"; "others"; sage(s) cited anonymously in rabbinic writings; occasionally a pseudonym for Meir; "others say" is cited for a dissenting view in a dispute. A legal saying assigned to "others say" may also stand for the consensus of opinion, hence, the decided law. In the Mishnah, *aḥer* (the other) may refer to the apostate Elisha ben Abbuyah.

Ovid (c. 43 B.C.E.–18 C.E.) Roman poet of the Augustan age. He is most famous for his writings on the subject of love: the *Ars Amatoria* (Art of Love), the love poems *Amores,* and the *Remedia Amoris* (Remedy for Love). There is also a collection of letters. There are only a few references to Jews in his writings. In suggesting places to look for possible female companionship, he twice mentions the seventh day of the Jews. Although he is not explicit, the context suggests that these are times when young women congregate together (perhaps even young unmarried Roman women, attracted by Sabbath day services).

ox a minor motif in Jewish art. The wild ox has been identified in the badly damaged mosaic floor of the synagogue of ancient Yaphia 3 kilometers southwest of ancient Nazareth. The animal in question faces left in a zodiac. It has a small head, is horned, and has cloven hooves. It is marked with a Hebrew word, but only the last three letters survive, *-rym,* therefore not to be read "bull" (*sur*). The excavator thought that each animal in this zodiac represented a tribe and that the wild ox therefore represented Ephraim, which ends with the three letters found.

P

Pagan Martyrs, Acts of *see* ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

Pahat-Moab in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the ancestor of a large Judean clan that returned with Zerubbabel from the Babylonian exile; at Nehemiah 10:15 (14), one of the chiefs who placed his seal on Nehemiah's covenant. The name means "governor of Moab."

paideia (Gr., education; from *pais/paidos,* child) The theory of education was much debated in classical Greece, with many philosophical writings on the subject. Not much is known of Jewish education in the Graeco-Roman period; however, in the works of such writers as Philo of Alexandria, *paideia* is an important term. Philo himself evidently had an education that included a good deal of Greek literature and culture; nevertheless, he regarded education as primarily progress of the soul, interpreting his Jewish tradition in Platonic terms.

pairs *see* ZUGOT

pakid an official title used in the Community Rule of the Dead Sea Scrolls, meaning "officer in charge" of the "Many" (a technical term for the members of the Qumran sect). In 1QS 6:14 the *pakid* is responsible for the admission of new members to the sect, whom he examines for their fitness to join the Community. The *pakid* may possibly be the same person or officer as the *mebaker,* (the overseer) or the *maskil* (the master).

Palestinian Jewish Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, JEWISH PALESTINIAN

Palestinian Talmud *see* YERUSHALMI

Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch The targums belonging under the rubric of Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch are: Targum Neofiti, the fragments of non-Onkelos continuous targums from the Cairo Geniza, the Fragmentary Targums, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, and the Tosefta targums. The criterion that unites them under this rubric is that their nontranslation material—the additions—derives from the same source. Only Pseudo-Jonathan (which includes this source) derives a significant amount of its text from other sources. The Palestinian Targums can be divided into two stages by both their use of the source and their dialectal differences. The first stage consists of Targum Neofiti and the fragments of continuous targums from the Cairo Geniza. Both combined a literal translation with the additional material. They were written in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic between the early second and the mid-fourth centuries. By the seventh century, the use of the highly literal Targum Onkelos moved from Babylonia into the west, where Onkelos became the dominant targum among Jewry in Palestine and the eastern Mediterranean region. This inaugurated the second stage of the Palestinian Targums, which reacted in different ways to Targum Onkelos's new importance. The Fragmentary Targums excerpted nonliteral material from the Palestinian Targums of stage one, thus providing interpretive material to be used alongside the literal Onkelos targum. Pseudo-Jonathan reacted differently. It combined the Palestinian Targum source with Targum Onkelos's translation and a large amount of new additional material in an attempt to link Onkelos's authoritative standing with Palestinian

traditions. The Tosefta targums provided a third reaction. They recast some of the larger additions of the Palestinian Targum source into a Targum Onkelos–like language and inserted them into Onkelos texts. The Palestinian Targums of stage two thus managed to accommodate themselves to Targum Onkelos's dominance and remained part of the interpretive tradition over the centuries. The targums of the first stage fell before Onkelos's competition and were lost, to be recovered only in modern times.

Palestinian Targum to the Prophets a translation of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic, done in Palestine in the first few centuries of the common era. There is some evidence that there may once have been a Palestinian Targum to the Prophets that contained large units of material added into the translation. The evidence is that some manuscripts of the known Targum to the Prophets preserve such additional material in their margins. Similarly, medieval scholars such as Rashi and Kimḥi cite prophetic traditions in Aramaic designated as Targum Yerushalmi (i.e., Palestinian Targum) as do some manuscripts such as Codex Reuchlinianus. The best explanation for this material is that they once belonged to a complete Palestinian Targum to the Prophets, but during the early middle ages when the more literal Jonathan Targum to the Prophets became the dominant targum in the West, the aggadic material was extracted to preserve it alongside the newly authoritative translation, while the Palestinian Targum itself was lost.

palm a hardy tree found in Elim (Num. 33:9) and especially in Jericho, the "city of palms" (Deut. 34:3; Judg. 1:16, 3:13; 2 Chron. 28:15). The palm produces edible dates as well as leaves used for mats, baskets, and roofs. The leaves also provided a decorative motif in Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 6:29, 32, 35). In the Roman period, the region around Jericho was famous for its lucrative palm groves. John 12:13 explictly notes that palm branches were carried by those who greeted Jesus as he entered Jerusalem (the origin of Palm Sunday). *See also* LULAB; PALM TREE, REPRESENTATION OF.

palm branch *see* LULAB

palm tree, representation of a motif in Jewish art. The earliest Jewish context in which the palm tree appears is on the largest denomination of coins struck by the tetrarch Herod Antipas in 38 C.E. at Tiberius. On these coins, the palm tree is depicted with seven branches and two clusters of dates.

With the outbreak of the First Revolt in 66 C.E., new Jewish coins appeared. On coins of the fourth year (69 C.E.), one type depicts a palm tree with seven or nine branches flanked by two baskets of dates. The inscription reads "for the redemption of Israel." On Roman issues called "Judea Capta," which were issued after the collapse of the First Revolt, Rome used the palm tree as the symbol for Israel. On one side of the palm tree sits a mourning female captive. On the other side stands a captive male wrapped in a cloak with his hands tied behind his back. These coins are inscribed "Judea," "Judaea Capta," "Judaea Devicta" (conquered), and so forth. A generation later, at the Jewish city of Sepphoris, coins were struck under the emperor Trajan (r. 98–117 C.E.) that depict a palm tree with fruit.

The next occasion of the minting of Jewish coins is during the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–135 C.E. The symbols on these coins include the palm tree. Certain small bronzes have a palm tree with seven branches on one side and two clusters of dates and a grape leaf on the other side.

Aside from coins, the palm tree appears as a Jewish symbol on ossuaries, on lamps, in tomb art, and on molded glass vessels of the Byzantine period. The palm tree is also well represented in synagogue art. For example, on the synagogue at Capernaum, palm trees with fruit are carved in high relief on lintels. A piece of gold glass (a glass disc with a picture engraved on gold foil embedded permanently in it) from Rome apparently shows the tent of meeting, surrounded by a curtain, with palm trees growing outside.

Palmyra ancient city located between Syria and Babylonia. In the first century B.C.E. it controlled the trade between Syria and Babylonia and policed the caravans that traveled from the Euphrates to Damascus and Emesa. It was probably annexed to Rome in 17 C.E., but it was not made a Roman colony until the early third century C.E. Under Zenobia and Ordenathus, Palmyra controlled Syria, Palestine, and parts of Babylonia, and it probably destroyed Nehardea, a center of Jewish merchant activity, at this time. Marcus Aurelian captured it in 273, and the Jews seem to have rejoiced at its fall from power.

Paneas city in the north of the Land of Israel; the modern Banias; identical with Caesarea-Philippi, referred to by Greek authors. Rabbinic sources know Paneas as the location of a cave deemed to be the source of the Jordan and, according to the Jerusalem Targum, sacred to Pan. *See also* CAESAREA-PHILIPPI.

Paneas, Battle of After several losses to the Ptolemaic forces in previous years, the Seleucid ruler

Antiochus III in 200 B.C.E. defeated the forces of Ptolemy V Epiphanes at Paneas (also spelled Panias; called Caesarea-Philippi in the Roman period), located north of Galilee. As a result of this battle, the Seleucids gained control of Palestine.

Panemos the name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Sivan (May/June) and sometimes to the month Tammuz (June/July).

Papias Tannaitic authority active in the late first and early second centuries C.E.. In manuscripts and editions, his name sometimes is confused with that of Papos b. Judah.

Pappa Babylonian amora active in the early to mid-fourth century C.E.; the son of Ḥanan; generally referred to without the patronymic. A student of Abayye and Raba, Pappa founded the academy at Naresh, which he headed for nineteen years (B. Taanit 9a). A child of privilege, he was involved in a number of business ventures (see, e.g., B. Gittin 73a; B. Pesaḥim 113a). His legal opinions often come at the conclusion of talmudic arguments and are introduced by editorial language. He therefore is thought to have been involved in the editing of the Babylonian Talmud.

Pappa b. Ḥanan *see* PAPPA

Pappai **1.** fourth-century-C.E. Babylonian amora; a student of Raba and the son-in-law of Isaac Nappaḥa. Along with his role as head of an academy, Pappai was a wealthy landowner.

2. fourth-century C.E. Palestinian amora; a student of Joshua of Sikhnin. He is known primarily for his several recorded exegetical comments.

Pappos b. Judah Tannaitic authority of the late first and early second centuries C.E. He was imprisoned with Akiba during the Hadrianic persecutions (B. Berakhot 61b).

papyri All Jewish papyri were found in the Judean Desert, where the dry and stable weather kept the papyri in reasonable condition. The papyri belong to a period between the first century B.C.E. and second century C.E. They were found in caves that were used by fugitives of the First and Second Revolt and can be divided into two main groups: (1) private archives of wealthy families; and (2) administrative and strategic orders of Bar Kosiba, the leader of the Second Revolt.

Among the first group we can ascribe fragments that deal mainly with purchasing goods, lands, or property. Most of them are title deeds; some are marriage or divorce contracts. To this group belongs the archive of Babata, a Jewish woman who collected her private documents from 93 to 132 C.E. The documents were written mainly in Greek, Aramaic, and Nabatean.

The second group are letters that were written by Simon Bar Kosiba or his clerks. Some of the letters deal with the movement of forces and supplies, others with religious matters, and some deal with direct orders from the commander to his officers and soldiers. The papyri provide for the first time the commander's name and reveal much about his attitude toward his people and his world.

parables (Heb.: *mashal;* Gr.: *parabole*) instructional narratives, metaphors, or similes, which appear throughout Mediterranean and Egyptian literature of antiquity. Like the Buddhist *koan,* they are enigmatic; like jokes, they lose their impact if they are not grasped without explanation. Several with political import appear in Hebrew narrative, including the Parable of Jotham (Judg. 9:8–15); Nathan's Parable of the Ewe-Lamb (2 Sam. 12:1–4), and Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (5:1–4). The Parables (or Similitudes) of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) recount the seer's tour of the cosmos and heavenly throneroom and his description of the eschatological judgment and judge.

The parables attributed to Jesus in the synoptic Gospels use mundane images to prompt new perceptions of daily life and to describe the "Kingdom of God." Among the more famous are two unique to Luke: the Good Samaritan (10:29–37) and the Prodigal Son (15:11–32). Gospel tradition claims that the parables were intended to fulfill prophecy (Matt. 13:34–35, citing Ps. 78:2) as well as to confound the listener (Matt. 13:10–17, citing Isa. 6:9–10). Indeed, parables can evoke a multiplicity of interpretations. Some prompt allegorical readings (Matt. 13:18–23 and Mark 4:14–20 provide such an interpretation of the Sower, but the correspondence between elements in the parable and elements in daily life is inconsistent); others refocus priorities (e.g., the Pearl of Great Price, Matt. 13:45–46); still others question one's present worldview without providing an alternative (e.g., the Unjust Steward, Luke 15:1–8). Several of the parables of the Gospel of Thomas recapitulate synoptic versions; however, they lack the synoptics' allegorical explications.

In the rabbinic literature, parables most frequently appear in exegetical contexts. The parable sheds light on God's actions, described in a biblical verse, by comparing them to the actions of an earthly king. Through parables, the rabbis depicted God as a three dimensional figure, a king who like

other kings judged his subjects, argued with the members of his court, fought and killed his enemies, and worked to assure justice for all people. While using images intelligible to a nation familiar with the ways of earthly kings, the rabbinic parables ultimately define the unique power and place of God who, as the king of kings, created and rules over the entire world.

paradise the home of the first human beings (Gen. 2–3) and the place of intermediate rest or eternal bliss for the righteous. *Paradeisos* is a Greek loan word from a Persian expression denoting a walled park or garden. The Septuagint translates the Hebrew *gan eden* (garden of delight, or garden of Eden) as *paradeisos tēs tryphēs* (garden of delight). Later usage converts *paradeisos* into a technical term or proper noun, "Paradise" or "The Garden." The idea that this garden was created before the world is reflected in the Life of Adam and Eve 25–28, where Adam, cast out of the garden, is taken up to the garden's polar opposite, "the paradise of righteousness," where God is enthroned. 2 Corinthians 12:2–4, with its reference to the praise of the angelic choruses, suggests that paradise is the location of God's throne and places it in the third heaven.

In many Jewish and Christian texts, paradise has eschatological functions. According to 2 Esdras 7:36, the entries to hell and the paradise of delight stand opposite one another, and Revelation 2:7 places the tree of life in "the paradise of God" (cf. 1 Enoch 25:1–6). The present existence and significance of paradise are indicated in Luke 23:43, where Jesus promises the dying thief that they will be together "today" in paradise. 2 Enoch 8–10 locates paradise, the place prepared for the suffering righteous, in the third heaven, evidently opposite the place of torment (cf. 2 Esdras 7:36). Testament of Levi 18:10–11 promises that the righteous will return to paradise. *See also* EDEN.

Parah Mishnah tractate devoted to the preparation of purification water described in Numbers 19, through the burning of a red cow and the mixture of its ashes with running water. The red cow is defined (chaps. 1–2); the rite is described in a narrative (chap. 3); and the conduct of the rite is then set forth in laws (chap. 4). Subsequent chapters discuss the purity of utensils used in the rite (chap. 5); mixing the ash and the water (chap. 6); drawing the water (Chaps. 6–8); water used for the rite (chaps. 8–9); uncleanness and the purification rite (chaps. 9–11); hyssop used for sprinkling the purification water (chaps. 11–12); and the rules of sprinkling the water (chap. 12).

Paraleipomena Jeremiou *see* JEREMIAH, PARALEIPOMENA OF

paralysis found in the scriptures and later Jewish literature as (1) a characteristic of imperfect humans and animals; (2) a metaphor for fear and uncertainty; and (3) an evil that will be overcome when God fulfills his purpose for the creation. Lame and handicapped animals are not to be presented as offerings to God (Lev. 21:18; Deut. 15:21). Drooping hands and paralyzed knees are caused by wives who do not make their husbands happy (Sir. 25:23). When God brings his fierce judgment on the evil nations of the world, they will be overcome with paralysis (Jer. 46:16, 50:16, 16, 43; Ezek. 7:27). But the signs of God's renewal of the creation will include the transformation of the crippled and the lame so that they can walk (Isa. 35:3–6). The early Christians claimed that this began to happen when Jesus and his followers healed paralytics (Matt. 9:2; Luke 5:18, 7:1–10, 13:10–17; Acts 3:10).

pareve neutral, being neither dairy products (milk, cheese, and the like) nor meat

Paris Targum *see* FRAGMENTARY TARGUMS

parokhet (Heb., curtain) often refers to the veils that in the Second Temple demarcated the Holy of Holies (M. Shekalim 8:4–5; M. Yoma 5:1), as well as other special areas. B. Ketubot 106a states that thirteen such curtains were found in the Temple.

parousia (Gr., presence, or appearance) in a religious context, often used in reference to a hidden divinity's making itself felt. In Jewish writings, it is used especially of the eschatological advent of God; in Christian writings, it refers to the return or manifestation of Christ.

Parthians a people of southwest Asia in what is today part of Iran. The people whom the Greeks and Romans called Parthians were originally seminomads who filled the political vacuum in Mesopotamia after the defeat of the Achaemenids (Persians) by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C.E. The founder of the Parthian dynasty was Arsaces (hence the name Arsacids for the subsequent ruling family), who defeated the Seleucid satrap in 247 B.C.E. The Parthians were not Persians but adopted the Persian ways and organized their territory into satrapies. They became a powerful force in the east, driving the Seleucids out of Mesopotamia and invading Syria more than once. Therefore they had a common enemy with the Jews in the second century B.C.E. In subsequent centuries the Parthians, who had made Ecbatana their capital, were a strong military presence in the Middle East, controlling the trade routes and frustrating Rome's expansionist desires. The fact that a

large colony of Babylonian Jews lived peacefully within their territory meant that good relations were maintained with the Jews in Palestine. Thus when the young Herod the Great sought to establish himself in Palestine under the aegis of the Romans, the ousted branch of the Hasmoneans was able to call on Parthian support against him. This was gladly forthcoming; a Parthian army invaded Palestine in 40 B.C.E. and Antigonus II, grandson of Alexander Jannaeus, was enthroned as king in Jerusalem. With Roman support Herod was able to oust Antigonus by 37 B.C.E. and claim the kingdom that the Roman Senate had conferred on him three years earlier. Herod was quick to establish good relations, however, appointing a Babylonian Jew, Hananel, as high priest. In the period between the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the fall of the Arsacids in 230 C.E. there are indications within the rabbinic corpus that Jews repeatedly supported the Parthians in resisting the efforts of various Roman emperors against the Parthians, especially those under Hadrian, Trajan, and Caracalla.

partnership joint ownership, especially of land. Laws regulating these are addressed in the Talmud division Nezikin. Rabbinic authorities declared that capital investment may be treated like a business partnership (Aram.: *iska*) to avoid the charge of usurious lending against the investing party. This serves as the basis for later rabbinic authorities to allow most commercial and banking transactions.

Parush (pl., Perushim) separatist, abstainer; *see also* PHARISEE

Passover Chronicle an anonymous Byzantine world chronicle extending from Creation to c. 630 C.E. It is generally dated to the seventh century C.E. Its name comes from the Christian Easter cycle rather than the Jewish Passover; Greek Christianity uses the word *pascha* (Passover) for Easter. It makes use of a variety of sources, including the Hebrew Bible and some Jewish writings, and contains a number of midrashic elements. For example, the kings of Chaldea are said to be the *nefilim* who were the progeny of the fallen angels and women. This probably represents an interpretation of 1 Enoch.

Passover Narrative *see* HAGGADAH OF PASSOVER

Passover Seder (Heb.: *seder shel pesaḥ*) meal eaten at home on the eves of the first and second days of Passover, commemorating the Exodus from Egypt; *see also* HAGGADAH OF PASSOVER

Paternus Clementianus, Claudius *see* CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS

patience, human *see* ENDURANCE

patience of God the view that God is patient, long-suffering, and slow to anger. God's patience is a divine attribute that is attested in almost every layer of biblical and extrabiblical Jewish tradition. In the Bible, the usual expression is "slow to anger," normally occurring as part of the formula [God is] gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love" (Exod. 34:6 et pass.).

The notion of God's patience occurs frequently in intertestamental literature, where it is often invoked in a prayer or encomium to God, as in Prayer of Azariah 1:19, the Wisdom of Solomon 15:1, and the Prayer of Manasseh 7. Ben Sira explains that God's patience is a consequence of the ephemeral nature of human life (18:11) and warns that humans should not try to take advantage of this attribute (5:4). 2 Maccabees 6:14 claims that God shows patience longer for other nations than for Israel. Eschatological descriptions of the day of judgment hold that this day is to take place either when God's long suffering is truly manifest (2 Bar. 24:2) or when God's patience is "withdrawn" (4 Ezra 7:33).

God's patience is also an important theme in rabbinic literature. The tractate Yoma in the Babylonian Talmud (69b) states that God's long suffering toward the ungodly and his hesitancy to destroy them is one expression of his greatness (cf. Deut 10:17). In Kohelet Rabbah on 7:15, Rab Yoshiyya enumerates some of the reasons for God's patience toward the ungodly: so that they might repent, keep the commandments, and beget righteous children.

Rab Ḥanina, in tractate Taanit of the Jerusalem Talmud (65b), opposes the notion that God's long suffering expresses indulgence, stressing that God will eventually receive his recompense. In Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah 24 (135), God's patience is held up as a model for the behavior of humans toward one another.

In early Christian literature, the patience of God is usually evoked together with a warning of the negative consequences that will result if a person does not repent (Rom. 2:4, 9:22; 1 Pet. 3:20; 2 Pet. 3:9–15).

patriarch (Heb.: *nasi*) Roman-recognized Jewish ruler of the Jewish community in the Land of Israel, beginning after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. and continuing to the abrogation of government authorization by the Romans in 429 C.E.

Patricius leader of a Jewish revolt against Gallus Caesar in 351 C.E. Mentioned only by non-Jewish sources, the revolt began in Sepphoris. After the

revolt's initial success, the inhabitants of Tiberias and Lydda joined in. Aurelius Victor states that the rebels established "a kind of kingdom." The disturbance remained in the Galilee and did not affect Jerusalem. While the rebels attacked Hellenes and Samaritans, they did not trouble the Christians. The revolt may have reflected economic tensions, for Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Lydda were Jewish industrial centers. The Romans easily defeated the rebels near Acre, sacking Sepphoris and destroying many villages.

patrios politeia (Gr., ancestral constitution) term often used in Greek debates as a slogan of those advocating a return to the old values in the Greek world. It has been suggested that when Hecataeus described the Jewish state of his own time, he used such a model.

Paulinus prefect of Egypt, 73 C.E. Vespasian had ordered that the Jewish sanctuary in Leontopolis be demolished because he feared that it would become a center for anti-Roman activity in Egypt at the time that the Jews of Palestine were revolting against Rome. Lupus merely closed the entrance to the Temple itself but allowed access to the area around it. In the summer of 73, Paulinus took further action; however, he also avoided demolishing the sanctuary. He prevented access to the Temple's precinct and he stripped the Temple itself of its internal furnishings and treasures.

Paul the Apostle *see* SAUL OF TARSUS

Paulus Alexandrian citizen. The longest extant chapter of the Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs is entitled "Acta Pauli et Antonini." It describes Hadrian's presiding over a disputation between Jews and Greeks from Alexandria. Paulus and Antoninus were the leaders of the Greeks. One of the issues brought to the emperor dealt with a theatrical pantomime of a king. Although the text is poorly preserved at this point, Paulus has an edict of Lupus read, which orders that the character be brought forth "for him to make fun of." Some have speculated that the Greeks had staged a farce ridiculing the messianic nature of the Jewish revolt in North Africa in 115–117 C.E.

peace *see* SHALOM

Peace Blessing *see* BIRKAT SHALOM

peace offering votive offering in the Temple, yielding meat for the priest and the person who presents the offering

peacock a minor symbol in Jewish art thought by some to represent immortality. It appears in the art of synagogues, lamps, and in tombs. In ancient Greece there were two usages for images of peacocks. The first was purely decorative without symbolic meaning. The second arose out of the identification of the peacock as the bird symbolizing the empress, as the eagle symbolized the emperor. With the connection to the empress, the peacock came to be identified with the goddess Hera, or Juno. This identification was combined with an Indian tradition that those who ate the flesh of a golden peacock would neither grow old nor die, and the peacock came to represent immortality in general by the second century C.E.

It is still somewhat of a mystery as to how and why this pagan symbol for immortality came to be adopted by Jews. Nonetheless, placement of peacocks in synagogues from Isfiya in Palestine and the Hamman-Lif in North Africa show that the bird did come to play a prominent symbolic role of immortality for Jews. The same holds true for Jewish burials, where peacocks were not uncommon. One particularly clear use was the flanking of a menorah by two peacocks on a tombstone from Priene in southern Turkey. It is also interesting that peacocks were adopted by early Christians.

peah (Heb.) the corner of the field, to be left for the poor, in accordance with Leviticus 19:9, 23:22

Peah Mishnah tractate on the rules of gifts to the poor. The tractate discusses the corner of the field (chaps. 1–4); gleanings to be left for the poor (chaps. 4–5); the forgotten sheaf (chaps. 5–7); grape gleanings and the defective grape cluster to be left for the poor (chap. 7); and general rules governing gifts to the poor and poor man's tithe (Deut. 14:28–29; chap. 8), covering when the poor may glean, claims of the poor to produce, and the minimum requirement of poor man's tithe.

peasants term from agrarian, aristocratic society, referring to farmers who own or rent small plots of land but who lack significant political, financial, and social power and influence. In ancient society, peasants made up about 90 percent of the population. They usually lived at or close to a subsistance level, though some might acquire larger holdings. In the Near East they most often occupied small villages or towns from which they walked to their plots of land. They paid taxes to the government or rent to the landowner in the form of produce. Thus, their surplus produce supported the governmental, military, bureaucratic, and educational activities of the upper classes. For the most part, peasants were illiterate or had limited literacy and lived according to customs, traditions, and laws deeply rooted in local society.

Pella city on the Jordan River, 8 miles below Beth Shean; known as early as the nineteenth century B.C.E. from Egyptian Execration texts, under the

name Pi-hzi-lim. It is not mentioned after the thirteenth century B.C.E. until the Hellenistic period, when it first appears under the name Pella. The city was destroyed by Alexander Yannai (Josephus, *Ant.* 13:397) and rebuilt by Pompey. During Titus's siege of Jerusalem, that city's Christian community moved to Pella.

Pentateuch the first five books of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. They are occasionally referred to as the Torah. They were written around the time of the Babylonian exile, probably between the seventh and fifth centuries B.C.E. These five books were the earliest to be canonized. They have formed the central texts for synagogue worship for two millennia. *See also* TANAKH; TORAH.

Pentateuch, Samaritan the five books of Moses that form the entire canon of the Samaritans. It is written in the Samaritan script, a form of the old, or paleo-Hebrew script used in Israel during the monarchy. Its text type has similarities to both the traditional Jewish, or Masoretic, text and the Septuagint but is generally classified in its own right as a third text type. Its differences from the other texts are important ones to textual critics, though the layman reading a translation of most passages would notice few if any differences. The main differences concern conflated passages, such as Exodus 9:6. In the Samaritan version, this verse repeats virtually the entirety of verses 1–5 to show that all happened exactly as predicted.

The Samaritan Pentateuch seems to be derived from an earlier text type that some label the "Old Palestinian," now known from some of the Qumran manuscripts. At some point, however, a few verses in the Samaritan Pentateuch were changed to bring them into line with Samaritan theology (especially Exod. 20:17, 24; Lev. 26:31; Deut. 5:21, 11:30, 27:4). The changes relate mainly to Gerizim and the place that God would choose when Israel came into the land.

Pentecost *see* SHABUOT

peot (Heb., corners) Leviticus 19:27 forbids removing hair at corners of the head, meaning not to cut earlocks.

Peqiin (or Pekiin) small Galilean village in Upper Galilee west of Meiron. The ancient name of the village was likely Baca. Several carved stones have been found in the village that are surely from an ancient synagogue. One stone depicts in low relief a frieze of a grapevine with grapes. The second may be from an arch. In low relief one sees a seven-branched menorah about 27 centimeters high with an etrog and lulab to the left and an incense shovel and shofar, or ram's horn, to the right. The menorah stands on three legs. A third stone depicts the facade of a Torah shrine carved in relief on a stone about 46 by 30 centimeters. The shrine shows two spiral-fluted columns with a double-leaf, paneled door between the columns. Above the door is a shell in the bottom center of the pediment. The pediment is decorated with a rope molding at the bottom and repeated design (egg and dart) on the top. The ancient synagogue has not been located or excavated.

perfect *see* BLAMELESS

Peripatetics a philosophical school founded by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) that focused mainly on literary criticism and moralistic discourse. Aristotle himself inquired into most areas of study—logic, metaphysics, ethics, biology, physics, rhetoric, and drama—but the later Peripatetic school was much narrower in its interests, though it continued Aristotle's emphasis on an empirical approach. This was partly because Aristotle's main writings were lost for a period of time, and their rediscovery led to a revival. Although not as popular as Platonism and Stoicism, the Peripatetic school influenced those philosophical traditions. Aristobulus the Exegete is said to have belonged to this school.

Peritios the name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Tebet (December/January) and sometimes to the month of Shevat (January/February).

Peroz Sassanid ruler (r. 459–484 C.E.) He fought the Hephthalites and dealt with revolts in Iberia and Armenia. While he quelled the revolts, he was killed in his second war against the Hephthalites. Later Jewish sources refer to persecutions under Peroz, and the Talmud calls him "Peroz the Wicked." He forbade the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, closed schools, abolished the Jewish court system, and executed leading rabbis and the exilarch. Some sources claim that he closed synagogues and seized Jewish children. Hamza Isfahani claims that in 468 he ordered the killing of half the Jews of Isfanhan because they had flayed two magi alive.

persecution affliction for reasons of religion or race. In antiquity the persecutor of the Jews par excellence was Antiochus IV. Evidently in response to a revolt that was related to their piety for the Torah, Antiochus proscribed observance of the Torah, forced Jews to violate its commandments, for example, by participating in pagan rituals and eating forbidden foods, and threatened with death persons who refused to comply and those who

possessed copies of the Torah. No event in Israelite history except the exile spawned the volume of literature that witnesses to these events (Daniel; the Testament of Moses; 1, 2, and 4 Maccabees; 1 Enoch 85–90; and Jubilees). The motto of pious Jews in this period was, in effect, "We would rather die than transgress the laws of our forebears" (1 Macc. 2; 2 Macc. 7; Test. Moses 9). Reaction to the persecution took the alternative forms of passive resistance (Test. Moses 9; 2 Macc. 7), refusal to defend oneself on the Sabbath (1 Macc. 2:29–38), and militant action against the Syrians (1 Macc. 2–9; 1 Enoch 90:9–13). Those who eschewed militant activity awaited divine vindication (Test. Moses 10; Dan. 11–12; 2 Macc. 7).

There is also some evidence that, on occasion, Jewish authorities persecuted other Jews, although the details are not always clear. The Qumran commentary on Habakkuk describes a confrontation between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 11:4–8), and Alexander Jannaeus is said to have crucified a whole multitude of his enemies (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.14.2, sec. 380). The apostle Paul refers to punishment "at the hands of the Jews" (2 Cor. 11:24), presumably because of his convictions, though the details are uncertain. The Gospel of Mark also alludes to some such punishment, although the extent of such activity cannot be determined (Mark 13:9).

Such texts as Mark 13:9, 1 Peter, Revelation, perhaps Hebrews 10:32–39, and the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan indicate that Christians also suffered for their faith at the hands of Gentiles and gentile leaders during the closing years of the first century, although the extent of such persecution during this period has often been exaggerated. *See also* ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES; OPPRESSION.

Persia Indo-European empire bordering on the western border of India and the eastern frontier of Rome, extending from the Tigris-Euphrates to India and into central Asia. The empire was governed in biblical times by successive dynasties: a Persian dynasty from the province of Fars, in the southwestern corner of present-day Iran; the Parthian dynasty, from the province of Parthia, in the northeast of the empire; and the Sassanids, another Persian dynasty from Fars.

Persian period the period from 539 B.C.E. to 332 B.C.E., when Palestine was under the rule of the Persian Empire. In 539 B.C.E. when Babylon fell to Cyrus, the Achaemenid king of Persia (r. 559–530 B.C.E.), Persia was raised to the position of world empire, which encompassed the whole Near East. In contrast to the Assyrians and Babylonians, however, who had based their rule on large-scale deportations of peoples and a reign of fear, Cyrus from the outset adopted a much more lenient policy, which included resettling exiles in their homelands, reconstructing their temples, and in general presenting himself to the conquered as a liberator. This policy gained him the good will of almost the entire ancient world.

Within the framework of this policy, Cyrus issued a proclamation to the Jewish exiles in Babylon urging them to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple there. The first Jews to return from Babylon were headed by Sheshbazzar, "the prince of Judah" (apparently Shenazzar, the son of Jehoiachin, the former king of Judah).

Cyrus was succeeded by his son, Cambyses II (r. 530–522 B.C.E.), whose chief accomplishment was the conquest of Egypt and its annexation into the Achaemenid kingdom in 525 B.C.E. He gathered his troops in Acco (Strabo, XVI.2.25; Diodorus Siculus, XV.41.3) and achieved victory with the help of Arabian-Qedarite tribes, who supplied the Persian army with water during their advance across the Sinai Desert. In the spring of 522 B.C.E., when Cambyses was still in Egypt, a revolt broke out in Persia. The king set out to suppress it but died on the way home.

The death of Cambyses was followed by a series of revolts in Persia and a power struggle for the throne, which was finally won by Darius I (r. 522–486 B.C.E.), also a member of the Achaemenid royal family. Darius extended the empire to hitherto unknown frontiers by annexing parts of India and eastern Europe. During the rest of his reign, he waged wars mainly on the western border, in Anatolia and Greece. In 512 B.C.E. he crossed the Bosphorus and conquered Thrace.

Of major importance for the future of the Persian Empire was the rebellion of the Greek cities of Anatolia and Cyprus in 499 B.C.E. Although it was put down harshly, it brought about a major confrontation between the Persians and the Athenians. The hostilities continued over a long period of time and ended in the complete routing of the Persian army at the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.E. This was the Persians' first serious defeat.

In the early days of Darius's reign, there was a steady increase in the stream of people returning to Palestine from the Babylonian exile. Some historians consider that one of the reasons for the great numbers of returning exiles was the great turmoil in Babylon caused by the revolts of Nebuchadnezzar III (522 B.C.E.) and Nebuchadnezzar IV (521 B.C.E.), which were suppressed with great cruelty,

and by the economic crisis which followed in their wake. The repatriates may also have been encouraged by Darius's new imperial organization. It can be assumed that Judah was made an independent state (*medinah*) for the short period during which Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel and the grandson of Jehoachin, served as governor (*pehah*) of the province by Darius's appointment. In any event, the Bible records that 42,360 persons returned to Judah from Babylon in those days.

Zerubbabel began to rebuild the Temple and developed commercial relations with the Phoenicians, who supplied him, as they had Solomon, with cedars of Lebanon, through the port of Jaffa, for the construction of the Temple. For some unknown reason, the governor, the last of the Davidic line, disappeared suddenly, only a short time after construction work began. How the Jewish community was governed thereafter is unknown.

In 480 B.C.E. Xerxes, Darius's son and heir, undertook an expedition against the Greeks and suffered major defeats in the famous battles of Salamis and Mycale. The Greek campaign ended when the Persian fleet was totally destroyed in the battle of Eurymedon. The Persians were evidently driven out of the area of the Aegean Sea.

In Palestine, conditions changed when Artaxerxes attained the throne. A new wave of Jews from Babylon left to resettle in Palestine. This time they were headed by a strong religious and political leadership. According to the Bible, Ezra the priest and scribe came from Babylon in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes (458 B.C.E.). Artaxerxes appointed him to repair the Temple and to establish the laws of the Torah as the religious and social authority of the Jewish community. Some time later, Artaxerxes accepted the appeal of a court official, Nehemiah, the son of Hacaliah, and appointed him governor of Jerusalem. It appears that Nehemiah at this time also reestablished the state of Judah as an independent political unit.

By these and other actions, Ezra and Nehemiah laid the foundation for the future way of life of the Jewish people. They also, however, provoked the final division between the Jews and the Samaritans, the latter abandoning the center at Jerusalem and establishing a separate temple on Mount Gerizim.

On the death of Artaxerxes I, a crisis arose within the empire. It ended when Darius II seized the throne (423–404 B.C.E.). Artaxerxes II Memnon (r. 404–358 B.C.E.) succeeded to the throne after the death of Darius II. His rule was challenged by his younger brother, Cyrus, who raised an army and marched to Babylon. They met in the battle at Cunaxa, where Cyrus was killed. This war is described vividly in the Anabasis of the Athenian writer Xenophon.

During the reign of Artaxerxes II, the process of the disintegration of the Persian Empire began. During the war between the two brothers, the Egyptians again rose in rebellion, headed by Pharaoh Armyrteus (r. 404–399 B.C.E.) of the twenty-eighth dynasty from Sais. This time they succeeded in throwing off the Persian yoke for some sixty years (until 343 B.C.E.).

Shortly after their successful rebellion, the Egyptians, aided by the Athenians and Cypriots, set out on an expedition against the Persians. The route of their campaign was through the Sinai desert and the coastal plain of Palestine. It appears that they gradually occupied this territory. In 385 B.C.E., when Abrocamus was the satrap of Abar Nahara, peace was concluded with Athens and the Athenians withdrew their armies. Abrocamus expelled the Egyptians and Cypriots from Phoenicia and Palestine by 380 B.C.E.

One year later, Pharnabazus, satrap of Cilicia, began mustering mercenaries in Acco for a fresh attack on Egypt. By 375 B.C.E. he had assembled three hundred ships, about twelve thousand Greek mercenaries, and a large number of native soldiers. Even before it engaged in its first battle, logistic problems and disease had decimated the force and it was thoroughly routed by the Egyptians (Isaeus Nicostrat, 7).

From 366 to 360 B.C.E. the whole of the Persian Empire was endangered by what is generally known as the revolt of the satraps. In 360 B.C.E., when Pharaoh Tachos came to the throne, he assembled a large Egyptian army as well as Greek mercenaries and renewed the Egyptian occupation of the coastal plain of Palestine and Phoenicia. Persian rule, however, was gradually restored to Abar Nahara, as one by one the rebels surrendered or were captured.

In 358 B.C.E. Artaxerxes died and the throne was inherited by Artaxerxes III Ochus, who reigned until 336 B.C.E. After putting down the satraps' revolt, the new king set out to conquer Egypt. His failure was the signal for the rebellion of the towns of Phoenicia led by Tennes, king of Sidon, with the aid of Pharaoh Nectanebo II (r. 359–341 B.C.E.).

At the beginning of 345 B.C.E. Artaxerxes assembled a huge army in Babylon and marched against Sidon. The inhabitants of the town made preparations for a lengthy siege, but their leaders betrayed them to the enemy and the whole town was razed to the ground (Diodorus, XVI.45.1–9). In 332 B.C.E.

the entire Persian Empire fell into the hands of Alexander the Great and the Macedonian armies, thus starting the Hellenistic age.

Administrative organization. During the Persian period. Palestine was included in the territory of the satrapy of Abar Nahara (Ezra 4:10, 11), a term derived from the Assyrian administration (ebir-Nari), established in the days of Esarhaddon or even much earlier (compare 1 Kings 4:24). Pseudo-Scylax refers to the area as Coele Syria, which is a translation of the Aramaic term Kol Suria, an early name for the interior of Syria. At that time the country was already divided into designated political units.

It has been suggested that Palestine was divided at that time into three types of political entities: (1) national states, that is, units whose borders coincide with the various ethnic elements dwelling in the country, such as Judah and Samaria, Megiddo, Ashdod, and the Edomite province around Hebron, as well as Ammon and Moab; (2) the Phoenician commercial cities along the coast; and (3) the tribal system of the Arabs. M. Avi-Yonah was of the opinion that Acco and Gaza were ruled directly by the Persians.

While the existence of national states (*medinoth*), headed by governors (*pahot*), is certain from both written as well as archaeological sources, it appears that the Arab settlement was basically tribal, while that of the Phoenicians was urban. Nevertheless, it is difficult from the standpoint of the Persian satrapal organization to accept Avi-Yonah's proposal that free Phoenician cities existed in Palestine, which were under self rule. The king of Sidon, for example, was himself known to be governed directly by a resident Persian satrap (Diodorus, XVI.41:5). His palace was excavated and found to be built in a pure Archaemenid style and he had his own Persian garrison troops. If the king of Sidon was under direct Persian control, the entire concept that the coastal cities in Palestine enjoyed political independence under the supervision of this king becomes doubtful. It does seem as though these cities did possess commercial freedom. Moreover, in another contemporary source, the inscription on the saracophaeous of Eshmunazar II, king of Sidon from the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.E., the region indicated coincides perfectly with the boundaries of the Assyrian-Persian province of Dor.

The same seems to have been the case in the southern region of Palestine, the area personified in the Bible by Geshem the Arabian. In recent excavations, a number of military fortresses have been unearthed, for example, at Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Fara (south), Beersheba, Arad, Kadesh-Barnea and Tell el-Kheleifeh. Ostraca found at some of these sites indicate the presence of garrison troops. Two ostraca from Arad even designate the unit by name, "degel" (standard), which is the name of a Persian military unit also mentioned in Elephantine Papyri. This entire area was probably under the direct rule of a Persian governor.

In summary, Palestine in the Persian period was apparently organized into a number of provinces or states (*medinoth*). Each unit was ruled by a dynasty of governors (*pahot*), generally of a local family: Jews in Judah, Samaritans in Samaria, and Arabs in the south. These governors had small courts, imitating those of the satraps, and they stood at the head of small administrative organizations. They were probably in charge of small military garrisons and were allowed to keep official stamps of the state in their possession. They also seem to have been permitted to strike the small silver coins, which are now known as "Palestinian coins." Thus far, the inscriptions of four of the provinces are clearly legible: Samaria, Judah, Ashdod and Gaza.

Archaeological research. The study of the material culture of Palestine in the Persian period has been of great value in understanding the transition of the country's culture from its age-old eastern tradition to the new, western Greek concept. It reveals that the country was divided into two regions at the beginning of the Persian period: one in the mountainous area of Judea and Transjordan (and to a lesser extent, also Samaria), and the other in the Galilee and the coastal area. The border between these two cultural areas is at times very sharp, almost like a border dividing two countries.

An analysis of the culture of these two regions demonstrates that the mountain culture remained basically eastern in character. It is made up of local cultures which continue the Israelite tradition and eastern influences (Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian and Egyptian). In the coastal culture, on the other hand, which is basically western in nature, eastern Greek, Cypriot, and Athenian elements can be observed. It is therefore probable that the Greek material culture considerably preceded the Macedonian conquest. At the same time, there is no doubt that this was exclusively an external conquest, that is to say, Greek cultural products were used without acquiring the significance they had in their native land. They were adapted to local traditions and customs. It appears that the main bearers of this new culture in Palestine were the Phoenicians and only in the Hellenistic period the Greek soldiers and settlers.

In any case, by the third century B.C.E., the entire country became completely Hellenized. The most important contribution to this final step had been made by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, in whose time many new towns had been built or rebuilt, both on the coast as well as in the internal parts of the country, along the Greek polis concept. The entire local administration and the internal division had been changed into the Greek-Hellenistic one, modeled first on the Egyptian-Ptolemaic system.

Pesaḥ *see* HAGGADAH OF PASSOVER

Pesaḥim Mishnah tractate devoted to Passover. The tractate discusses preparation for Passover, such as removing leaven and avoiding that which ferments (chaps. 1–4); slaying and eating the Passover offering on the night of the fourteenth of Nisan (chaps. 5–9); and the Passover Seder (chap. 10).

peshat (Heb.) the literal meaning of a passage of scripture or a rabbinic text, in contrast to *derash,* a homiletical interpretation. In the Talmud itself, *peshat* refers to the interpretation recognized as authoritative. Current usage derives from Rashi, the first exegete carefully to distinguish literal from homiletical meaning.

pesher (pl., *pesharim;* Heb., interpretation) a specific method of biblical interpretation characteristic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The *pesher* has a distinctive form: a citation of a biblical passage, followed by some form of the word *pesher,* and concluding with an interpretation concerning people and events connected with the Qumran Community. The Qumran sect believed its tradition of interpretation to be inspired, based on the special revelation given to the Teacher of Righteousness. The outstanding characteristic of this interpretation is its historical-eschatological nature, related to the sect's belief that it was at the center of events leading to the eschaton.

There are three types of *pesharim:* continuous, thematic, and isolated. Continuous *pesharim* are running commentaries on whole biblical books, mostly prophetic; examples are the Habakkuk Commentary and Nahum Commentary. These *pesharim* often contain allusions to people and events in the community's life that are useful for reconstructing a history of the sect. Thematic *pesharim*—for example, the Florilegium and the Pesher on Melkhzedek—are collections of interpretations of biblical passages gathered around a common theme. These texts are helpful in reconstructing the ideas of the sect. Finally, the isolated *pesher* occurs within another, larger work, and the biblical passage chosen depends on the context of the larger work. For example, the Damascus Document contains *pesharim* on Zechariah 13:7 and Amos 5:26–27. These isolated *pesharim* are used to illustrate a specific point within the larger document. *See also* DAMASCUS DOCUMENT; FLORI LEGIUM; HABAKKUK COMMENTARY; NAHUM COMMENTARY.

Pesher to Habakkuk *see* HABAKKUK COMMENTARY

Peshita a translation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) into Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic. The Peshita was used by Syriac-speaking Christians, primarily in Syria, but in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean region as well. The origins of the Peshita are a matter of controversy, but translations of some books were in circulation by the early fourth century C.E. (both Ephrem and Aphrahat refer to them). The earliest manuscripts date from the fifth century, while the earliest complete manuscript is the Ambrosianus from the seventh century. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have debated the relationship between the Peshita and Jewish traditions and targums. While different books of the Peshita (especially those of the Pentateuch) reveal some acquaintance with Jewish traditions and translations, the exact nature of the shared material and its place in the Peshita's manuscript development remain unclear.

Pesikta deRaḇ Kahana Midrash compilation of twenty-eight *piskaot* (explications of propositions). Each *piska* refers to a base verse, which generates the *piska*'s unifying theme and proposition. The compilation is organized around the synagogue liturgy and expounds the readings of scripture for various holy days or special Sabbaths. Like Leviticus Rabbah, its closest companion and model, Pesikta deRaḇ Kahana formulates propositions, which are demonstrated over and over again through the discussion of specific verses of scripture. In many cases, a single verse stands at the head, which sets the tone; then all the other verses that are read and expounded are brought into relationship with that verse—and with the message of the holy occasion on which that verse is read in synagogue worship. Thus, the various verses of scripture are chosen on account of their affinity with a liturgical occasion of the synagogue, which is identical to a holy day, and the organizing text, which has told our authorship what topic it wishes to take up and therefore also what verses of scripture (if any) prove suitable to that topic and its exposition, is the life of synagogue prayer on special occasions. In the pages of Pesikta deRaḇ Kahana, therefore, scripture speaks to an occasion in the liturgical life of the worshiping community of Israel.

Pesikta deRaḇ Kahana follows the synagogal lections from early spring through fall, in the Western

calendar, from late February or early March through late September or early October, a period of twenty-seven weeks, approximately half of the solar year and somewhat more than half of the lunar year. On the surface, the basic building block is the theme of a given lectionary Sabbath—that is, a Sabbath distinguished by a particular lection or portion of scripture that is read in the synagogue, besides the everyday cycle of scripture readings—and not the theme dictated by a given passage of scripture, let alone the exposition of the language or proposition of such a scriptural verse. The topical program of the document may be defined very simply: expositions of themes dictated by special Sabbaths or festivals and their lections. The single definitive trait of Pesikta deRab Kahana derives from its fundamental principle of organization and topical selection, for the document's framers have chosen as the program of their twenty-eight *piskaot* the interplay of an occasion and a lection for that occasion. There is, then, a three-dimensional construction, made up of (1) the occasion, (2) the base verse, and (3) the intersecting verse, which now sheds light on both the base verse and the occasion. In other words, the framers draw together lessons for various liturgical moments of the synagogue, and they identify a verse of the Pentateuch pertinent to each moment. They then undertake to explain that verse by appealing to some other verse, one not found in the Pentateuch. Many of the *piskaot* refer to a key verse, the base verse. The base verse generates the unifying theme and proposition of the *piska*. The compilers make their way through the liturgical year, beginning in December, with Hanukkah, the first liturgical event after the holy season of Tishrei, then moving on to the Sabbaths prior to Passover and ending with the conclusion of the penitential season (the Days of Awe) of Tishrei, the month corresponding to September–October.

Pesikta Rabbati compilation of twenty-eight *piskaot* (explications of propositions) in the model of Leviticus Rabbah and Pesikta deRab Kahana, formed by imitation, without real comprehension, of the intersecting verse–base verse form and the exegetical form. Each syllogism is presented in a cogent and systematic way. Each *piska* contains an implicit proposition, and that proposition emerges from the intersection of an external verse with the base verse that recurs through the *piska*, and then is restated by the systematic dissection of the components of the base verse, each of which is shown to say the same thing as all the others. Pesikta Rabbati goes over precisely the same liturgical calendar as Pesikta deRab Kahana, in pretty much the same way. While Pesikta deRab Kahana exhibits remarkably coherent discourse, in which a single implicit premise comes to diverse expression, Pesikta Rabbati does not. It is not so much a propositional statement as a collage, with discrete items linked to a common and shared theme.

Petra (Gr., rock) city located about 80 kilometers south of the Dead Sea; the Nabatean capital from the first half of the second century B.C.E. until the annexation of Nabatea in 106 C.E. by the emperor Trajan. From that point on, the city served as the capital of the Province of Arabia and as a major trading post. It was damaged by a severe earthquake in 363 C.E., and it became less important when the Province of Arabia was divided in two. Petra then became the capital of the southern province (Palaestina Tertia).

Though there are signs of habitation at Petra from prehistoric times through the Iron Age, Petra is known for its Nabatean heritage. Literary sources and various small finds, consisting mainly of pottery, point to the beginning of a Nabatean occupation since the Early Nabatean period (Hellenistic period). Only several buildings have been identified with this early period. The important finds include several incense altars, some small figurines, coins, and Nabatean painted pottery. In general, however, the finds are not as extensive as from the Middle Nabatean period.

Most of the extant architectural remains at Petra come from the Middle Nabatean (Roman I) period which ran from the first quarter of the first century B.C.E. to the middle of the first century C.E. The principal discoveries include houses, a theater, a colonnaded street, a monumental gateway, a bathhouse, and several temples.

One of the oddities about Petra is that few "normal" houses have been found. Petra seems to have been a royal dwelling with few signs of dwelling places for the common people and attendants who must have been present. It seems that the majority of these servants dwelled in neighboring Gaia to the east or in tents. There are limited signs of houses beginning at the end of the first century B.C.E. These were mostly erected with ashlar and contained plastered walls that might have been incorporated into the defense systems. These houses only cover a limited area, though, so they leave many unanswered questions about how the people of Petra actually lived.

The theater was located to the south of the town above the southern bank of the Wadi Musa. The seats of the theater were cut into sandstone and

consisted of three tiers. The stage is really more of a *scaena frons* with three entrances than a conventional building. Though the structure is labeled a theater, scholars debate whether its function was for entertainment or a cultic purpose. The presence of seats cut into the sandstone makes it similar to other Graeco-Roman theaters used for entertainment, but an entertainment center so far from the city is unusual. Some scholars posit that the theater structure, therefore, was used for cultic or funerary practices. The theater seems to have been destroyed by an earthquake in 363 B.C.E.

The colonnaded street served as the main street of Petra and bisected the town. The street ran along the southern bank of the Wadi Musa and was approximately 6 meters wide and was steeply sloped. In many places the pedestals which flanked both sides of the streets were preserved and many were found in situ.

At the westernmost end of the colonnaded street, a monumental gateway was found. Though this gateway was located at the end of the street, it seems that it was built after the street because excavations show that during its construction part of the street had to be removed and then was later repaired. The gateway itself consists of four piers that form three openings. The outer two openings are 2 meters wide and the central opening is 3.5 meters wide. On the western side of the gateway there are four columns on high pedestals, while on the eastern side there are half columns on top of half pedestals. The arch that must have completed the top of the gateway was not preserved. The entrance was flanked by images of deities and floral reliefs. Next to the gatehouse there is a bathhouse. A parallel structure at Seeia suggests that this bathhouse was sacred and served a cultic function.

The Qaṣr Bint Farum Temple is located to the west of the gatehouse. It was situated upon a high podium (36 m × 36 m), and on the inside, the roof has a height of about 23 meters at its highest point. A pair of columns decorate the facade of the temple, and the vaulted entranceway contains another four columns. Like other Nabatean buildings, the temple contained walls that have a rubble core set in mortar. Wooden beams were also added, presumably to add strength in case of an earthquake. The placement of the tripartite gate and an inscription of Aretas IV that was found in a forecourt of the temple suggest an early date. The Northern Temple (or the Temple of the Winged Lions) is located about 100 meters north of the *via sacra* area. The site, originally identified as a gymnasium, is spectacularly decorated and many human and animal bones were found inside. This temple has been dated to the first century C.E.

Some of the most famous finds from Petra are the tombs. There are basically two types: shaft tombs that were cut into horizontal rock platforms, and tombs dug into the vertical rock walls of the canyons surrounding the wadi. Petra is perhaps most famous for this second type of tomb, which transformed the natural cliffs surrounding the city into spectacular monuments. To construct these tombs, the facade of the cliff was first smoothed, and then this smooth facade was carved, often with much ornamentation. Some of the more famous tombs include the Khaznet Farun, which is a two-storied monument. The lower story contains six pillars and is detached from the rock by a large incision. The upper story contains three pavilions. Another famous tomb is the Ed-Deir, which also contains six pillars in the lower story and three pavilions in the upper story. Impressive, but less spectacular tombs include the Pylon tombs, the stepped tombs, the Proto-Hegr tombs, the Hegr tomb, and others.

Petronius, Publius governor of Syria, appointed by the Roman emperor Gaius in 39 C.E.; he remained in office until 41 or 42. After Jamnian Jews destroyed an altar to the emperor, Gaius ordered a statue of himself made in Sidon and set up in the Jerusalem Temple. Petronius, knowing that this would provoke conflict, temporized and finally advised the emperor to rescind his order. The emperor's order to Petronius to commit suicide was abrogated by the emperor's assassination.

Pharisee (from Heb.: *parush,* separatist) member of an ancient Judaic sect teaching that the oral Torah was revealed at Sinai along with the written Torah and was preserved among prophets and sages down to the Pharisaic party. The Pharisees espoused prophetic ideals and translated them to the everyday life of Jewry through legislation. The Pharisees' distinctive beliefs, according to Josephus, were (1) immortality of the soul, (2) existence of angels, (3) divine providence, (4) freedom of will, (5) resurrection of the dead, and (6) oral Torah. Their distinctive practices, according to the Mishnah and certain passages in the Gospels, of Mark and Matthew, were observation of ritual purity even at home, not only in the Temple; faithful giving of tithes and offerings from food; and careful observance of the holiness of the Sabbath day. The Pharisees formed a Judaic religious system, defined by practices and laws that either were interpreted and obeyed by the group in a way dif-

ferent from that of other groups or from that of common society at large, on the one hand, or were observed only by the group, on the other. In the latter category are the purity laws, which play so large a role in the Pharisaic corpus.

One primary mark of Pharisaic commitment was the observance of the laws of ritual purity outside of the Temple (everyone observed them inside the Temple). Eating one's secular, that is, unconsecrated, food in a state of ritual purity as if one were a Temple priest in the cult was one of the two significations of party membership. The manifold circumstances of everyday life required the multiplication of concrete rules. Representative of the other category may be the laws of tithing and other agricultural taboos. Pharisees clearly regarded the keeping of the agricultural rules as a primary religious duty. The agricultural laws, just like the purity rules, in the end affected table fellowship, namely, what one might eat. Since food that had not been properly grown or tithed could not be eaten, and since the staple of the diet was agricultural products and not meat, the centrality of the agricultural rules is in no small degree due to precisely the same consideration: what may one eat, and under what circumstances? When one reviews the substance of the laws, one finds that they pertain either directly or ultimately to table fellowship, involving preparation of food; ritual purity (either purity rules directly relating to food or purity rules indirectly important on account of the need to keep food ritually clean); and agricultural rules pertaining to the proper growing, tithing, and preparation of agricultural produce for table use. All agricultural laws concern producing or preparing food for consumption, ensuring either that tithes and offerings have been set aside as the law requires or that the conditions for the nurture of the crops have conformed to the biblical taboos. The taboo against milk with meat is applied to chicken and cheese. The laws of ritual cleanness apply in the main to the preservation of the ritual cleanness of food, of people involved in preparing it, and of objects used in its preparation. Secondary considerations include the ritual pool. These matters took on practical importance in the lives of Pharisees in regard to the daily preparation of food. They took effect in the lives of all Jews only in connection with visiting the Temple. And they governed the lives of the priests in the cult itself. Laws regarding the Sabbath and festivals furthermore pertain in large measure to the preparation and preservation of food on festivals and the Sabbath. The ritual of table fellowship also included blessings and rules of conduct at meals.

Pharsalus, Battle of Julius Caesar, aided by Mark Antony, defeated Pompey and his eastern allies at Pharsalus, in Thessaly, in 48 B.C.E. Pompey fled to Egypt and was assassinated by his own men. His partisans and sons fought against Caesar until Caesar's own assassination in 44 B.C.E.

Phasael son of Antipater the Idumean; brother of Herod the Great. He was made governor of Jerusalem by his father, Antipater, in the mid-40s B.C.E. and was appointed tetrarch by Mark Antony in 42 B.C.E., after his victory at Philippi. He was captured by deceit by the Parthians when they invaded in 40 B.C.E.; he committed suicide while in captivity.

Pheroras son of Antipater the Idumean; brother of Herod the Great. He was made tetrarch of Peraea by Herod the Great with the permission of Augustus Caesar in 20 B.C.E. Pheroras supported Herod's son Antipater in his successful plots to have his half-brothers, Alexander and Aristobulus, executed and in his unsuccessful attempt to succeed Herod. In 5 B.C.E. Pheroras died of poisoning.

Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon) ancient city located in present-day Amman, Jordan. Archaeological data show that Philadelphia has been settled since the Neolithic period. Inhabitation continued throughout the Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron ages. During the Iron Age (and probably during the earlier periods as well), the city was called Rabbath-Ammon and served as the capital of the Ammonite kingdom. It is referred to in the Hebrew Bible in association with the battle the Israelites fought against Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 3:11) and as the place where King David sent Uriah the Hittite to his death (2 Sam. 11:14–21). Archaeologically, the Iron Age city produced two important inscriptions from the ninth and seventh centuries, respectively.

During the Hellenistic period, the city was renamed Philadelphia in honor of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the Greek ruler of Egypt (r. 285–247 B.C.E.). In 218 B.C.E., it was captured by Antiochus the Great, and the city remained a part of the Nabatean kingdom until c. 63 B.C.E., when the Roman ruler Pompey conquered the region. In 106 B.C.E. the city was transferred to the Roman province of Arabia, and it continued to be prosperous throughout the second century C.E.

Roman Philadelphia consisted of two separate entities: the citadel (or upper city) and the lower city. The remains of the citadel have not been well preserved because of modern and medieval construction. In fact, the citadel is situated in the center

of modern Amman. Archaeological investigations have permitted a general, if sketchy, reconstruction of the history of the citadel. The citadel served as the defense center of the city from the Bronze Age through the Iron Age. During the Roman Period, the fortifications also appear to have been impressive. Parts of a Roman wall were found surrounding the entire upper city, and there was a major wall separating the acropolis from the lower city. At the northernmost part of the citadel, there is evidence of two large towers built with ashlar masonry.

One of the principal parts of the acropolis during the Roman period was the Temple of Hercules. Today only part of the podium, the bases of several columns, and some architectural decorations are extant, but the remains and earlier descriptions of the temple suggest that it consisted of a cella surrounded by a row of columns. The temple was located at the southeastern part of the citadel on what was considered a sacred rock, suggested by a fragmentary inscription mentioning the Ammonite deity Milkom.

Several archaeological trenches dug on the citadel point toward domestic occupation in the upper city throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but modern buildings prevent extensive investigations into the specifics of domestic life. The occupation in the acropolis seems to have been intense during the Byzantine-Umayyad period (6th-7th cs. C.E.). A Byzantine church and an Umayyad palace are among the chief discoveries.

The lower city was extremely well preserved up until the beginning of the twentieth century, and even today many parts of the city are extant. Architecturally, the lower city is constructed along two colonnaded streets. One runs along the southern foot of the acropolis, while the other runs along the western end of the citadel. Today, modern Amman covers these two colonnaded streets, but they were visible and documented in the early part of the twentieth century.

One of the principal discoveries still extant in the lower city is the large theater, which was situated south of the colonnaded street on the southern side of the citadel. The rows for the seats were built in a partly natural depression on a hillside. The seats of the theater themselves are distinguished from what is found at Petra. They are built of stone instead of being hewn out of rock. There is also another small theater facing west that was built adjacent to the larger one. The small theater, unlike the larger one, was built on a level surface.

Other important discoveries in the lower city include the propylaeum and the nymphaeum. The proplyaeum was located just north of the colonnaded street and south of the acropolis wall. The building contained three square doorways, and its pillars were decorated with Corinthian capitals. Investigations have shown that visitors to the cultic area in the acropolis of the upper city would have passed through the propylaeum and gone up a series of stairs to the acropolis. Unfortunately, none of the stairs are extant.

The nymphaeum was located in the western part of the lower city and faced north. It was composed of a central wall with a series of connected niches. The building had a facade two stories high and should be compared with nymphaea from Gerase, Beth Shean, Side, and Aspendos.

Another important archaeological feature of ancient Philadelphia is its tombs. Burial tombs were discovered from the earliest periods of occupation and provide valuable clues to life during the entire history of Philadelphia. From the Nabatean period, an important tomb dating from the first century B.C.E. was discovered near the base of Jebel Amman. It was originally a Late Bronze Age tomb, which was reused during the Nabatean period. Principal finds include two Hellenistic lamps and one Herodian lamp, a *terra sigillata* bowl, several Nabatean bowls, and glass bottles. Just a few meters from this grave, a Roman burial cave was found with three sarcophagi, lamps, and pottery characteristic of the second century C.E. Two other Roman burial caves have been discovered in various parts of ancient Philadelphia that produced a large amount of pottery and jewelry, as well as several sarcophagi. One of these caves contained two decorated sarcophagi with designs of garlands and rosettes. Bones belonging to a male and a female were found inside each of the sarcophagi, and four lamps and a juglet were found on the floor adjacent to the sarcophagi. In addition, silver and bronze jewelry was found inside the sarcophagus with the female's bones. These items are extremely important in helping scholars understand burial customs during the Nabatean period.

philanthropia (Gr., love of mankind) a technical term used in reference to those who performed acts of charity or public works; a trait normally expected of rulers. It is important in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, who puts it alongside justice in establishing social relations.

philanthropy (Heb.: *tzedakah*) charity; literally, righteousness manifested in charity. Acts of righteousness in general were defined as help to the poor in particular; funds for the poor were called "funds for righteousness." The poor had a right to

support, and everyone owed them proper assistance, with dignity and respect. A poor person could demand support in the language, "Acquire merit through me," meaning, carry out an act of righteousness through which you will personally be recognized as having done what the law does not require but does reward—an act of grace.

philhellene (Gr., lover of [things] Greek) a title given to certain Oriental individuals or rulers because of their favor toward Greek culture. These included the Hasmonean ruler Aristobulus I, according to Josephus.

Philip, son of Herod son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. After his father's death, he was appointed by Augustus as tetrarch of Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Panias, and Ituraea in 4 B.C.E. He married Salome, daughter of Herod son of Herod, and Herodias, granddaughter of Herod. (The Gospel of Mark [6:17] mistakenly identifies him, instead of Herod son of Herod, as the first husband of Herodias.) He rebuilt Panias as Caesarea Philippi and Bethsaida as Julias. His rule was generally peaceful until his death in 34 C.E.

Philip of Macedon (382–336 B.C.E.) Macedonian king (r. 359–336 B.C.E.); father of Alexander the Great. He united upper Macedonia with lower Macedonia, and then through skillful diplomacy and new military tactics conquered the surrounding areas south and east of Macedonia, eventually defeating the Athenians at Chaeronea in 338 B.C.E. After his death his son Alexander led a united Greece in a war that led to the demise of the Persian Empire and the ascendancy of a Hellenistic empire.

Philippi, Battle of In 42 B.C.E. at Philippi, Mark Antony and Octavian defeated Cassius and Brutus, two of the assassins of Julius Caesar, who had gathered an army in the east and were challenging the Roman Senate's condemnation of their act. Both conspirators committed suicide. Antipater and Herod the Great had supported Cassius, but after the Battle of Philippi, Herod appeared before Antony in Asia Minor and won his favor. Herod and his brother Phasael were subsequently appointed tetrarchs over Jewish territory.

Philo (15 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, often referred to as Philo of Alexandria or Philo Judaeus. He is the most important representative of Hellenistic Judaism, the Greek-speaking and Greek-influenced variety of Judaism that flourished in Alexandria from 200 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. Philo was born into a wealthy and distinguished Alexandrian family. His brother Alexander was alabarch, a leading Jewish official. His nephew Tiberius Julius Alexander apostasized from the Jewish religion and became governor of Egypt. The Jewish historian Josephus tells us that Philo was "held in the highest honor" in the Jewish community and was "not unskilled in philosophy." The only event in his life that is known is his leadership of an embassy of Alexandrian Jews who appeared before the emperor Gaius Caligula in 39 C.E. to protest against anti-Jewish mob violence in their city. Vivid descriptions of this event and its social context are given in Philo's treatises *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*. The background to Philo's writings and thought is at all times the precarious situation of the Jewish community in Alexandria, sandwiched between the educated Greek upper class and the volatile native Egyptian population.

Nearly fifty works written by Philo are still extant. The majority of these concentrate on the interpretation of the Law of Moses (or Pentateuch), as found in the Septuagint translation (Philo knew no Hebrew). These treatises can be divided into three lengthy series: (1) the Allegorical Commentary; (2) the Exposition of the Law; and (3) Questions and Answers. In the Allegorical Commentary, Philo gives a very detailed and complex exegesis of Genesis 1–17. Through the use of the exegetical technique of allegory, he interprets the early history of humankind and the wanderings of the patriarch Abraham in terms of the moral life and religious quest of the soul. The Exposition of the Law is a more varied work, containing biographies of the patriarchs and an explanation of the Decalogue and the other ordinances of the Mosaic law, with emphasis on both literal observance and symbolic interpretation. The third series, imperfectly preserved in an Armenian translation, poses questions and gives answers on the text of Genesis and Exodus; most of the (usually) short chapters contain literal followed by figurative (or allegorical) exegesis. Philo also wrote a number of purely philosophical treatises and some apologetic works in defense of Judaism. In one of these he mentions a Jewish community of male Therapeutae and female Therapeutrides, who led an ascetic life of contemplation in the countryside outside Alexandria. (The community may have been related to that of the Essenes.) The church historian Eusebius later misinterpreted these ascetics as early Christians.

Philo's thought is centered on scripture, which he interprets in a consistently philosophical manner, exploiting his considerable knowledge of Greek philosophy. By means of allegorical and symbolic interpretation Moses is presented as the

lawgiver, prophet, and philosopher par excellence, who is the source of all later philosophy. For this reason, Philo concentrates on the Pentateuch and seldom refers to the rest of the Bible. His apologetic motives are clear: in his Alexandrian context Philo is eager to show that Jewish culture is not inferior to Hellenism. In practice, however, it emerges that his thought is heavily influenced by Greek philosophical ideas. His greatest debt is to Plato and to the interpretation of Plato's thought known as Middle Platonism. Stoic and Pythagorean ideas are also used, but are placed in a Platonist framework and used to expound scriptural texts.

The focus of Philo's thought is primarily theological. God as revealed in the Bible is identified with Being (derived from the divine self-disclosure in Exod. 3:14). In his essence, He is nameless and unknowable. Humans can only know *that* He is, not *what* He is. Highly influential is Philo's doctrine of the divine Logos, which builds upon Hellenistic Jewish concepts. The Logos can be thought of as the aspect of God that stands in relation to created reality, and thus makes the divine being known to humankind. But Philo often talks about the Logos as if it were an entity that had a separate existence from God himself, that is a divine hypostasis, or self-subsistent entity. Philo is the first author to give an extended commentary on the Mosaic account of the Creation, whose interpretation he regards as fundamental to a deeper understanding of the law. The goal of human existence is to gain knowledge of and communion with God, to be gained through contemplation of both the created order and study of the law. Through contemplation, the soul can reach a state of "sober intoxication" (a phrase first found in Philo) and ultimately attain to an immortal, nonmaterial existence.

Despite his strong concern for the fate of the Jewish people, eschatology in Philo is primarily personal rather than nationalistic or apocalyptic. This is consistent with a marked tendency toward universalism in his thought. Although the source of the highest wisdom is the divine revelation through Moses, Philo allows for the possibility that some glimpses of the truth can be gained independently, for example, in the efforts of the Greek philosophers. He insists, however, that the whole world would stand to gain from a deeper acquaintance with the Jewish law.

Philo is important in the history of Judaism because he exemplifies a striking variety of prerabbinic Judaism, whose concern with the problem of assimilation to a dominant (Hellenistic) culture is remarkably parallel to the situation of many Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and the catastrophe that struck the Jewish community in Alexandria in 115–117 C.E., this form of Judaism died out. The rabbis wholly ignored Philo's writings, either because they disapproved of his views or because they were not interested in philosophy. His works survived on account of their popularity in the Christian tradition, where they were eagerly read by Clement, Origen, Ambrose, and other patristic authors. In medieval manuscripts, Philo is sometimes called "the Bishop." In Jewish circles, Philo was rediscovered by Azariah dei Rossi in the sixteenth century, and since then has regained his rightful place in Jewish thought.

philo-Judaism a coined word meaning "friend/lover of Judaism." Some Graeco-Roman writers, especially in the early Greek period, show considerable sympathy for and even admiration of the Jews. They include such writers as Hecataeus of Abdera and Numenius. *See also* JUDAISM IN GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES.

Philo of Byblos (c. 65–140 C.E.) Greek writer from Phoenicia. In his *History of Phoenicia,* he claims to be quoting from the ancient writer Sanchuniathon. Evaluating this claim is difficult because his work is known only from fairly extensive quotations in Eusebius, but the portion of the text that is extant contains an important description of many aspects of Canaanite religion. On the other hand, the work itself is clearly Hellenistic, showing the influence of Greek myth and legend. Thus, the contribution—and even the existence—of Sanchuniathon is uncertain.

philoroman (Gr., lover of [things] Roman) term used in reference to Eastern individuals and rulers who sought to ingratiate themselves with the Romans. For example, Agrippa I included the word *philokaisar* (friend of Caesar) on some of his coins.

philos (Gr., lover [of something], or friend) Like the English word, the term could be used generically; however, it also had a technical connotation with reference to the Friends of the king, that is, advisers and officials of the court. The related word *philia* means "love" or "friendship," and the root *philo* is also frequently found as an element in Greek names.

philosophy The encounter of Jews and Judaism with Greek philosophy began in the Hellenistic period, in the course of which the number of Jews living in the Graeco-Roman world greatly increased. The relationship of Jews to the Greek philosophical tradition must be understood within the larger context of Jews trying to interpret their

own cultural and religious traditions while living in the larger Graeco-Roman world. There was almost always an apologetic motive involved. Jews tried to show that their own beliefs and traditions were compatible with the best Greek philosophy and indeed were superior to it. In fact, it was alleged, the Greeks even derived their philosophy indirectly from Moses.

Sometimes this was reflected in the use by Jewish writers of popular Greek philosophical ethics (e.g., Sybilline Oracles, Pseudo-Phocylides, 4 Maccabees). At other times Jewish writers tried to provide a deeper, more philosophical understanding of their beliefs and traditions. The two Greek philosophical schools most congenial for this effort were Stoicism and Middle Platonism (the Platonic tradition between 80 B.C.E. and 220 C.E.). This effort began as early as the middle of the second century B.C.E. with Aristobulus and the Letter of Aristeas. Aristobulus, although sometimes referred to as a Peripatetic, was rather more eclectic. He tried to show, through the use of an allegorical style of interpretation rooted primarily in Stoicism, that the apparent anthropomorphisms in the Bible (speaking of God's "hands," "feet," or "voice") were actually ways of using the language of appearances to point to deeper realities. Similarly, the Letter of Aristeas tried to show that the various purity regulations of the Mosaic law were primarily intended to point to deeper ethical truths.

The two most important works of Greek-speaking Judaism to deal with the Greek philosophical tradition were the Wisdom of Solomon and the works of Philo of Alexandria. The Wisdom of Solomon probably comes from Alexandria and was written in the first century B.C.E. While showing a wide knowledge of Greek philosophical ideas, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon tried to integrate them into a context that demonstrated the superiority of Jewish beliefs and traditions as well as of the history of Israel. The most sustained effort to interpret Judaism in a way that showed both its compatibility with and its superiority to the best of Greek philosophy is found in the works of Philo of Alexandria, who wrote in the first half of the first century C.E. Although influenced by both Stoicism and emerging Middle Platonism, the worldview of Philo's interpretations was that of Middle Platonism. This affected his conception of reality as divided into the intelligible and the sensible worlds, his view of the Logos of God as a kind of intermediate reality between God and the created world, and his view of the goal of the human soul as the achievement of a "likeness to God." Given the complexity of his biblical interpretations, Philo may have been part of an already developed tradition of interpretation, which he both carried on and significantly developed. The interpretations of Philo became immensely influential on early Christian writers beginning with Clement of Alexandria in the late second century C.E. *See also* PHILO; SOLOMON, WISDOM OF.

Philo the Elder writer known only in fragments from Eusebius, who took them in turn from Alexander Polyhistor. Only twenty-four lines in all are preserved, and these are often in obscure Greek with rare words. A further problem is that of textual corruption. This has made the understanding of the poem very difficult; however, recent study suggests that the author had a Greek education and followed Hellenistic epic models. Two of the fragments concern Abraham and one concerns Joseph. Only one work seems to be in question, though, with the title *On Jerusalem*. Although it has been suggested that the author was a Samaritan, this seems unlikely in view of the mention of Jerusalem. The Jewish identity of the author is reasonably certain. Three of the fragments concern the water system of Jerusalem. These may be of significance for archaeology, since they seem to show the existence of a double pool. If this is identical with the double pool of Bethesda, Philo would help to date its construction. The obscurity of the language makes it difficult to be certain, however. His praise of Abraham and Joseph seems extravagant, but was wholly in keeping with the literary conventions of the age.

Phineas Israelite priest; son of Eleazar the son of Aaron (Exod. 6:25). His zeal in killing an Israelite man and a Moabite woman engaged in sexual intercourse stayed the wrath of God against Israel and established a covenant of "perpetual priesthood" (Num. 25). Winning one's priestly credentials through zeal against idolaters and promiscuous sinners occurs elsewhere in the Bible and Jewish literature (Exod. 32:25–29; Jub. 30), and the tradition that Elijah was Phineas redivivus (LAB 48) may derive from a perceived connection between Numbers 25 and 1 Kings 18:40. The story in Numbers 25 serves as an archetype for 1 Maccabees 2:23–26, which legitimatizes the Hasmonean high priesthood on the basis of a similar action by Mattathias, which, it is implied, began the process of turning back God's wrath against hellenizing Israel (1 Macc. 1:64).

phoboumenoi tou theou *see* GOD-FEARERS

Phocas emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (r. 602–610 C.E.). Apparently, in 610 he ordered the

Jews in Antioch, Palestine, and Alexandria to be forcibly baptized; however, he does not seem to have baptized the Jews of Europe. It appears that baptism became a political matter and a sign of fidelity to the emperor. He engaged in the last war between Rome and Persia. By 609, the main Persian army was advancing on Antioch. At the same time, a revolt broke out in Constantinople, which led to Phocas's being deposed and executed.

Phocylides, Pseudo- author of a Greek didactic poem from the late Second Temple period (ca. 100 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), attributed to a Greek poet from Miletus of the sixth century B.C.E. The poem was popular in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, but its authenticity became suspect in the seventeenth century and it is now generally recognized as a Jewish composition.

The poem consists of 230 hexameter verses in the Ionic dialect, purporting to convey "counsels of God with his holy judgments." These counsels, often inspired by the Decalogue and the admonitions of wisdom and prophetic literature, inculcate fundamental values such as sexual restraint, honesty, and honor of God and parents. The poem exhorts the listener to justice, mercy, self-control, and moderation, and warns against vices such as greed and envy. Beyond such general admonitions, it gives special attention to the importance of labor and diligence (ll. 153–74), appropriate sexual behavior and the management of domestic affairs (ll. 175–227). Embedded within the moral instruction is a reflection on human destiny that affirms the immortality of the soul (ll. 97–115).

The purpose of the poem has been variously described. The absence of any polemic against idolatry is striking, as are the numerous parallels to Greek gnomic wisdom. The poem clearly attempts to effect some accommodation with Hellenic culture. It may have been an educational exercise, although a more serious apologetic purpose is likely. The poem in fact illustrates a claim frequent in Jewish apologetic literature of the Hellenistic period, that the best in Greek culture was compatible with the Torah.

phoenix mythic bird in antiquity believed to live to a great age and to generate from its corpse a worm that grew into a new phoenix. According to 3 Baruch 6:2–12, the phoenix flies alongside the sun, protecting the earth from its heat.

phoros (Gr., tax, or tribute) term often used generically for all sorts of taxes; however, it also had the connotation of "tribute," which implied foreign subjugation. Judea paid tribute when under Persian, Seleucid, and early Roman rule.

phrōnēsis (Gr., practical wisdom) one of the four cardinal virtues widely referred to in the Graeco-Roman world. Philosophical wisdom was highly prized in learned circles, but this was usually called *sophia*. *Phrōnēsis* had more to do with practical or administrative skills.

phylactery *see* TEFILLIN

physician The Hebrew word translated as "physician" derives from the verb meaning "to heal." The first reference to physicians in the Bible, in Genesis 50:1–14, has nothing to do with healing, however. Those physicians, in the service of Joseph, are ordered by him to embalm the body of his father, Jacob, so that it can be carried back for burial in Canaan. The operation takes forty days, and the body is subsequently taken there. Two other biblical passages depict physicians in a directly negative way: Job denounces his friends who offer him useless advice, calling them "worthless physicians" who "whitewash with lies"; and in 2 Chronicles 16:11–14, Asa, the king of Judah, is criticized for his futile turning to physicians for help, instead of looking to the Lord to heal him. He soon dies and is buried in a tomb in the city of David.

In the prophetic Book of Jeremiah, the prophet asks why the health of God's people has not been restored: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?" (8:22). He compares the futility of Egypt's attempt to withstand defeat at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon with having "used many medicines in vain" (46:11). In Jeremiah 51:8 the prediction of the destruction of Babylon mentions the useless attempt to heal "her wound."

However, in the Hellenistic period (Sir. 38:1–15) there is a call to honor physicians, since the ability to heal comes from God, who created medicines and who works through physicians. Ben Sira describes the medicinal benefits of various trees. Success lies in the hands of the physician when he prays to the Lord for success in diagnosis and prescription so that human life may be preserved. This development in Judaism clearly reflects the rise of medicine under Hippocrates, who formulated a theory of the medicinal value of natural substances. Ben Sira, however, considers the ultimate source of healing to be God, who works through medicines and physicians. In his description of the Essenes, Josephus (*War* 2.136) tells us that they study ancient writings to foster the welfare of body and soul, and their study includes investigation of the medicinal properties of roots and stones. In describing the Therapeutae (which means "healers"), Philo of Alexandria reports that they cure the soul as well as the body, and that through worship

they are attuned to the natural laws immanent in the created order and are thus able to effect cures.

Like the Hellenistic writers, Talmudic rabbis generally viewed physicians favorably. Their ability to heal was held to derive from God (B. Berakhot 59a; B. Baba Kamma 85a), and the herbs they use as medicines were said to grow through divine command (Gen. Rabbah Parashah 10). Sages were admonished to live only in towns served by a physician (B. Sanhedrin 17b). Doctors had an important role in the rabbinic court, serving as expert witnesses (B. Sanhedrin 78a; B. Gittin 12b) and determining the number of lashes a convicted criminal could withstand as punishment (B. Makkot 22b). Physicians were paid according to their skill, the best of them collecting large fees. An injured person had the right to quick and appropriate medical attention, paid for by the one who had caused the injury. For this purpose, a physician willing to work for free could be rejected as worthless (B. Baba Kamma 85a). The Talmud contains numerous references to specific medical procedures and methods.

Alongside this positive perspective, rabbinic writings reveal a very negative attitude towards physicians. This was possibly a result of the rudimentary nature of the physician's art and the likelihood that, even with the best medical attention, many patients did not recover. Thus even the best of physicians is said to be doomed to Gehenna (M. Kiddushin 4:14; see also Abot deRabbi Nathan 36); one should avoid living in a town of which the head is a physician (B. Pesahim 113a); and physicians' abilities are compared unfavorably to those of sages (B. Ketubot 74b).

physiognomy the alleged art of determining character from physical appearances. Although such pseudoscientific theories as phrenology (determining character from bumps on the head) are recent developments, the idea that one's physical appearance is a clue to character is an ancient one. Greek writings as early as Aristotle suggest a connection between climate and both physical and mental characteristics. A physiognomic text from Cave 4 of Qumran uses the shape of the thighs, fingers, toes, and so on as a clue to how much the person shares in the "realm of light" and the "realm of darkness."

physis (Gr., nature) term that became very important in philosophical discussion in the Graeco-Roman world. It surfaces in such Jewish writers as Philo of Alexandria and Josephus. Part of the debate centered on the question of which things occurred "by nature" and which by mere "convention." Those things that were only convention had no particular authority and could be rejected. Very important were those things "by nature," however, which in Jewish texts took on the imperative of divine authority.

piety an attitude and a mode of life that recognize the divine's purity and power, as reflected in the order of the universe and, for Jews, as seen in precepts of the law of Moses. The messianic king whose coming is announced by the prophet Isaiah (9:1–7; 11:1–5) will have the wisdom and understanding to fulfill his role through the "Spirit of the Lord," which will "rest upon him" (11:2). This is described as "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety." "Piety" is then linked with "the fear of the Lord."

In the Septuagint, the term "pious" is rare in the writings of the prophets, although Isaiah 26:7 reports that "the way of the pious is smooth" and Isaiah 33:5–6 says that "the holy God who dwells in the heights will fill Zion with justice and righteousness," which is to be "conveyed by the law", through which will come "the treasures of our salvation: wisdom, knowledge, and piety toward God." It is in the wisdom traditions of Israel that the term "pious" is widely used. Proverbs 1:7 in the Greek version adds to the declaration "Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" the assertions that "understanding is good for all who perform wisdom" and that "piety toward God is the beginning of perception."

In Sirach there is a close link between wisdom and piety. What God grants to the pious will endure and have lasting success (Sir. 11:17). The pious are the beneficiaries of divine rewards (11:22), and He rewards good deeds done to the pious (12:2, 4). However, the pious are to have no close relationships with the impious (13:17), and the latter will not get away with their acts of thievery (16:13) and their false oaths (23:7–12). The pious patience will be rewarded, and their discourse is always wise, while that of fools keeps changing like the phases of the moon. Those who take delight in the mishaps that befall the pious will be caught in a trap and consumed with pain until they die (27:29). Gossip and slander will bring disaster on the unwise, but will never gain control over the pious (28:22). Just as good is the opposite of evil, and life is the opposite of death, so the sinner is the opposite of the pious (33:14). The readers of Sirach are urged to maintain close association with the pious, "whom you know keep the commandments" (37:12). It is to them that God has granted true wisdom (43:33). Similarly, following a

report of King Josiah's reforming of Israel's worship of God (2 Kings 23), in 1 Esdras 1:23 Josiah's uprightness in the sight of the Lord is said to be the result of his heart being "full of piety."

The Letter of Aristeas, written in the second century B.C.E. to show the compatibility of the Jewish scriptures and (Hellenistic) philosophy and to claim divine approval for the translation of the Bible into Greek, describes a conversation between the king of Egypt who had commissioned the translation and the Jewish translators. The king asks, "What is the essence of piety?" to which the man questioned replies: "The realization that God is continually at work in everything and is omniscient, and that man cannot hide from him an unjust deed or evil action. For as God does good to the whole world, so you by imitating him would be without offense" (210). That perception matches well with the statement of the Roman Stoic philosopher Epictetus, who lived in the late first and early second century C.E.: "In piety toward the gods . . . the chief element is this: to have correct opinions about them, as existing and as administering the universe well and justly, and to have set yourself to obey them and to accept everything that happens, and to follow it voluntarily in the belief that it is being carried out by the highest intelligence" (Encheiridion 31). Epictetus goes on to say that one should never blame the gods for difficulties or apparent disasters, but anyone who takes care to "control both desires and aversions" is also being "careful about piety." At the same time, the pious individual should be bringing offerings to the gods.

Philo of Alexandria, whose interpretations of the Bible are shaped largely by Greek philosophy (Platonic and Stoic), declares that only fools are unmoved by fear of the gods. He asserts (in *On the Unchangeableness of God* 69), "I observe that all the exhortations to piety in the law refer either to our loving or fearing the One who is. So for those whose conception of the One who is involves no such factor as human parts or passions, but who choose instead to love him, they honor him in a manner suitable to God and for his sake alone. It is others who fear God."

In his *Against Apion* (II.16), Josephus praises Moses who, in spite of his spectacular successes in leading his people and their dependence upon him and obedience to him, refused to seize power as a monarch. Instead he felt obligated to live a life of piety and to provide an abundance of good laws for his people. This was the most effective way of showing his own virtue and of guaranteeing the welfare of those whose leader he had become. He was convinced that God was his leader and counselor and that it was God who had guided all that he did and thought. What was essential was that this perception be communicated to the entire community. Josephus sees piety to be based on a personal relationship with God and expressed in terms of the laws that are to shape the life of God's people.

By far the most extensive treatment of piety appears in the Fourth Book of Maccabees. Probably written in the first half of the first century C.E., its author announces at the outset that the "philosophical subject" that he proposes to discuss is whether "pious reason" is the absolute master of the passions (1:1). The greatest of the virtues is "intelligence." Reason is master over the passions opposing gluttony and lust, but reason can also overcome the passions hindering justice and courage (1:4). Conformity to the law, even if it could be proved not to be of divine origin, is so strong that nothing can undermine Jews' commitment to the piety that is in accord with the law (5:16–18) and that enables them to "reverence highly the only living God" (5:24). That commitment will not wane as old age comes (5:31). No amount of argument will divert the author from his commitment to "true piety" (5:38). Even under torture, Eleazar refuses to change his position and asserts that the children of Abraham must be ready to "die nobly for the sake of piety" (6:22). It is "pious reason" that is master of the passions" (6:31), and it was Eleazar's rational powers that enable him to "steer the ship of piety on the sea of the passions" (7:1), guided as it was "by the rudder of piety" (7:3). It was piety alone that enabled this old man to despise the fatal torments he experienced, and younger men follow his example by remaining faithful until death for the sake of their piety (9:6–7). Only in this way can they fight for true religion (9:24). In spite of excruciating torture, they remain true to their "ancestral religion" (9:29). The sons all refuse to obey the king's order for them to defile themselves. As he is being tortured, the sixth son declares that he is suffering for the sake of piety, and that religious knowledge is unconquerable (10:20–21). The youngest son asserts that by their noble deaths his martyred brothers have fulfilled their piety toward God (12:14).

A hymnlike passage (4 Macc. 13:1–27) declares that it is "pious reason" that has enabled them to remain true to their commitment. These brothers, with their common origins in one family, grew and gained strength from a common nurture and disci-

pline in the law; sharing the same virtues and growing up in the common life of righteousness, they loved one another and shared a zeal for goodness that served to confirm their common commitment to true piety. Through this piety they were able to endure the suffering and death they all experienced. Their unity in life and death was for the sake of piety (14:4). Their mother, who had watched the ghastly deaths of her seven sons, loved piety more than the lives of her offspring or her own life. This piety preserves the faithful to eternal life according to God's word (15:1–3), and the mother's fear of God (15:8) kept her from yielding to the king's command that she and her sons abandon their purity in accord with the law (15:13). It was pious reason that gave her the courage to persevere (15:23) and that subdued all her fiery emotions (16:4).

Use of the word piety in the New Testament is limited to some references in the Book of Acts and in later letters attributed to Paul and Peter. For example, there is mention of a Gentile who believed in the God of Israel (Acts 10:2, 7) and Paul refers to the Athenians' worshiping a God they do not know (Acts 17:3). In later letters attributed to Paul, piety refers to the Christian religion in general: "The mystery of our piety" (1 Tim. 3:16) describes the career of Jesus as the Christ. Piety is to be one of the moral qualities that are the goal of members of the community (1 Tim. 6:11). In 2 Timothy 3:12 there is a warning that all who seek to live lives of piety will be persecuted. Titus 1:1 declares the effort in Paul's name to "further the faith of God's elect and their knowledge of the truth which accords with piety." The Hellenistic abstract notion of piety clearly influenced Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman period.

In the rabbinic literature, piety is defined by a complex of religious, social, and human qualities understood to represent exacting adherence to the terms of God's covenant with the Jewish people, as defined by rabbinic law and theology. Beyond simply going to the house of study, the pious person consistently practiced what he learned there (M. Abot 5:14). Without expectation of a worldly reward, such a person gave all that he had for the benefit of others (M. Abot 5:10). Judah the Patriarch defined piety with the maxim: "What is the straight path a person should choose for himself? Whatever is an ornament to the one who follows it, and an ornament in the view of others. Be meticulous in a small religious duty as in a large one, for you do not know what sort of reward is coming for any of the various religious duties. And reckon the cost of carrying out a religious duty against the reward for doing it, and the reward for committing a transgression against the cost for doing it. And keep your eye on three things, so you will not come into the clutches of transgression: Know what is above you: an eye that sees, and an ear that hears, and all your actions are written down in a book" (M. Abot 2:1).

Perfect piety was the goal of rabbinic learning and practice, and a number of rabbinic masters are referred to with the appellation "the pious." The rabbis however were clear that, because of human nature, achieving absolute piety was nearly impossible. They interpreted the use of the word "iniquity" in Psalm 51:5 ("Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me") to indicate that even the most pious person could not exist without a certain sinful side to his nature (Lev. Rabbah 14:5).

pig *see* PORK

Piga *see* PUGA

pikuah nefesh (Heb., saving a life) in rabbinic Judaism, the concept that saving an imperiled individual—either oneself or someone else—supersedes all other obligations. Death or martyrdom is to be preferred only as an alternative to committing murder, idolatry, or an unlawful sexual act (B. Sanhedrin 74a–b).

Pilate, Pontius prefect of Judea (26–36 C.E.). According to Philo, the first-century Jewish philosopher, who says he is quoting a letter of Agrippa I, Pilate was unbending, harsh, greedy, and cruel. Josephus, the Jewish historian, relates three confrontations between Pilate and the Jewish population of Judea that support that view. Soon after Pilate took office he had his legions bring their military standards, which included images of the emperor Tiberius, into Jerusalem. This practice was offensive to the people and had been avoided by his predecessors. The leaders and people protested to him in Caesarea and continued their protests even when threatened with death. Finally, Pilate backed down. Later he used funds from the Temple treasury to build an aqueduct to Jerusalem. Faced with a protesting mob in Jerusalem, he had his soldiers (in disguise) mingle with the crowd and club them into submission at a prearranged signal. Late in his term of office Pilate mounted votive shields carrying the name of Tiberius on Herod's palace, his residence when in Jerusalem. The people and leaders of Jerusalem sent a petition to Tiberius, who ordered them removed to the Temple of Augusta in Caesarea. In addition, the Gospel of Luke alludes to an incident involving "Galileans

whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices" (13:1). The New Testament accounts of Pilate's sentencing of Jesus to execution by crucifixion for suspicion of sedition fit well with what other sources say about him. Pilate was finally recalled to Rome by Tiberius because he had routed a group of Samaritans and executed their leaders when they gathered at Mount Gerizim in the hope that a prophet would produce the Temple vessels. Pilate did not arrive in Rome until after Tiberius's death in 37, and the final disposition of the charges against him is not known.

pilgrimage (Heb.: *aliyah laregel*) making trips to Jerusalem on the pilgrim festivals, which were Tabernacles, Passover, and Pentecost. The piety of Israel in the Land of Israel entailed pilgrimages to the Temple on festivals in celebration of nature and in commemoration of historical events. Specifically, the encounter with God and the yearning for salvation at the end of time came to a climax in the coincidence of those turnings in the natural year, spring and fall, identified at the natural year's beginning and end and explained in all forms of Judaism as celebrations of great events in the life of historical Israel. At these intense moments of heightened reality during the natural year, scripture required a pilgrimage to the Temple. Accordingly, in theory at least, "all Israel," or as many as could make it, assembled in the holy place, the Temple in Jerusalem. They then together celebrated the passage of the natural year, on the one hand, and the past and future of the people, on the other. In the dimension of the future, of course, messianic hopes were associated with the pilgrim festivals, particularly Tabernacles and Passover. The pilgrim festivals, joined in sectarian doctrine to the moment at which the Messiah would come (Christ at Passover; in the sages' later writings, the Messiah at Tabernacles), drew the nation to the Temple in Jerusalem.

These festivals found their first definition in scripture. Passover came in the spring. Tabernacles came in the fall. The festal season began at Passover, on the fifteenth of Nisan (the month corresponding to April). That marks the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The festival continued for seven days, with a further festival coming fifty days after the beginning of the first. This second festival was Pentecost (Heb.: Shabuot). The corresponding high point of the year in the autumn, Tabernacles (Heb.: Sukkot), came to its climax on the first full moon after the autumnal equinox—the fifteenth of Tishrei, that is, the first full moon after September 21. However, the holy season began two weeks earlier, on the eve of the first of Tishrei, and ended a week later, on the twenty-first of Tishrei. The opening of the holy season of autumn, the first of Tishrei, with the celebration of the New Year, followed by the Day of Atonement on the tenth of Tishrei, marked (as is still the case) a penitential season of repentance, fasting, and charity. Pilgrim festivals thus celebrated in particular the sun's movement around the earth relative to that of the moon (and thus the seasons of the land). Especially important were dramatic shifts in the pattern of the rains in the Holy Land itself. The fall festival marked the beginning of the autumnal and winter rains, on which the life of the Holy Land depended. The spring festival marked the end of the rainy season. Scripture identified the Passover with the liberation of Israel from Egypt and the beginning of the life of the people. As indicated, the autumnal season focused upon the moral condition of individuals and of the people as a whole. In the pilgrim festivals the affairs of the individual, the people, and the natural and supernatural world all reached a climax in a massive and impressive celebration in the cult.

While the Mishnah and Talmud speak of the obligation to make the festival pilgrimage, to offer the required sacrifices, and to make a freewill offering, a variety of classes of individuals are exempted (see M. Ḥagigah 1:1; B. Pesaḥim 8b), giving the overall impression that the trip was viewed as an important religious responsibility but not an absolute requirement. Accordingly, while some reports describe participation by whole towns or by large numbers of people from many cities (Josephus, *War* 2.515; Acts 2:1–10; B. Megillah 26a; B. Pesaḥim 64b), it was hardly the case that everyone in the diaspora or even in the Land of Israel went.

The practice of pilgrimages to Jerusalem continued after the Temple's destruction in 70 C.E. The Talmud reports the sadness of those who saw Jerusalem's ruins and speaks of those who abstained from wine and meat on that occasion (see, e.g., B. Moed Katan 26a; B. Shebuot 20a).

pillars in Jerusalem a reference to James, Cephas (Peter), and John as the leaders of the Christian community in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:9). The metaphor derives from the broader image of the church as a building and specifically as God's temple (cf. also Rev. 3:12), and it is related to Peter's prominent function as "the rock" on which Jesus is said to have built his church (Matt. 16:16–19).

pilpul dialectical reasoning in study of oral law

Pinḥas *see* PINḤAS B. ḤAMA

Pinḥas b. Ḥama Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; a member of a priestly family; referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud and Genesis Rabbah as R. Pinḥas, without the patronymic. He was a contemporary of Yose, with whom he appears in dispute, and teacher to Ḥananiah, who transmits many of his legal statements.

Pinḥas b. Yair Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E., known for his piety and ability to work miracles; a son-in-law of Simeon b. Yoḥai. Pinḥas is cited primarily in exegetical comments and is recalled for his activities in redeeming captives, from which work even natural disasters did not stop him (B. Ḥullin 7a–b).

pirka (Aram., period) used in the talmudic literature in reference to study sessions (e.g., B. Pesaḥim 100a) or lectures held in different locations at fixed periods (e.g., B. Ketubot 62a). The latter allowed individuals to study rabbinic lore without leaving home.

Pirke Abot *see* ABOT

pit (Heb.: *bor* and *shaḥat,* from verb *shuaḥ*) commonly used in the Bible and the Qumran scrolls as a metonymy for the grave, or Sheol, or the place of eternal damnation. The noun *shaḥat* is perhaps used with an eye toward the Hebrew verb *shaḥat,* "to destroy."

piyyut *see* SYNAGOGUE POETRY

Plant. *see* DE PLANTATIONE

platform (Heb.: *dukhan*) place in the Temple on which Levites sang psalms while the animal sacrifices were offered and priests stood to recite the priestly benediction. In synagogue liturgy, *dukhan* gained the sense of the act of bestowing.

Platonism philosophical school founded by Plato (429–347 B.C.E.) and referred to as the Academy, which taught the reality, not of the material world of sense perception, but of the invisible world of forms, accessible to logic. The school continued formally until Justinian closed it in the sixth century C.E., though its influence continues to the present day. According to Platonism's teachings, the goal of life was that the soul would become free from being reborn into the material world (*metempsychosis*). Not long after Plato's death, Platonism became dominated by Skepticism, which emphasized the human mind's inability to determine truth and reality. However, in the Roman period this was succeeded by Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism, which returned to the central core of the Old Academy (original Platonism), though these later developments also included significant influence from Stoicism. A distinction between Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism is not clearly established among scholars, and although it is agreed that Philo of Alexandria was significantly influenced by Platonism, some (but not all) consider him an important representative of Middle Platonism.

pleasure (Heb.: *ratzon;* Gr.: *eudokia*) the special favor or delight that God bestows on the chosen. An especially important text is Isaiah 42:1, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my chosen one, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him." 1 Enoch 49:3–4 applies the text to the chosen one or "son of man," who is also God's anointed one (48:10). Mark 1:11 uses this language with reference to Jesus, who is depicted as Messiah and servant. At Qumran "the chosen of his good pleasure" and "the sons of your good pleasure" are technical expressions for members of the Dead Sea community (1QS 8:6; 1QH 11:9). In Luke 2:14 the plural expression denotes God's people who will be blessed through the birth of Jesus the Messiah. *See also* CHOSEN ONE; CHOSEN ONES.

Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 C.E.) Roman writer. His father was wealthy enough to educate Pliny and to allow him to embark upon an equestrian career at about the age of twenty-three. He served for the next twelve years with troops on the Rhine. He had no official posts under Nero, but returned to prominence when Vespasian became emperor. He served in Germany with Titus and held a number of procuratorships. At this time he wrote his *Natural History,* which he dedicated to Titus. He died observing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. The *Natural History* contains a paragraph on the Essenes in his discussion of Judea.

Plotina wife of the emperor Trajan (r. 98–117 C.E.). A papyrus fragment, probably fictional, records that she sided with the Jews over the Alexandrians when they sought Trajan's aid in solving a dispute. There is no other evidence that Plotina favored the Jews or of a dispute in Alexandria between Jews and Greeks during Trajan's reign.

Plutarch (c. 45–125 C.E.) Greek writer and priest of Delphi. He was unusual in living and working on mainland Greece, which had become a backwater, more or less, in the Greek cultural world. Plutarch's two main writings are the *Parallel Lives,* in which he compares the lives of the major figures of Greek and Roman history, and the *Moralia,* which consists of treatises on all sorts of subjects, from literary criticism to moral and ethical conduct to philosophy and religion. It is especially in the *Moralia* that he makes several important references to Jews. One of these is a description of the Sukkot celebrations in the Jerusalem Temple, but from the point of view of an outside observer and nonpar-

ticipant. In some of his symposium literature, he discusses the Jewish concept of God. He also identifies Judaism with the worship of Dionysus, as did some other writers. The value of Plutarch is that he gives the perspective of a trained and curious observer, interested in philosophical inquiry, but not necessarily a Jewish sympathizer. Although he considered Judaism a superstition, he felt the same about other non-Greek religions.

pneuma (Gr., spirit, or wind) term that can refer to the physical wind, but which often means the individual spirit or life of a person. It can also be used in reference to God's spirit. In the Septuagint, it is the usual translation of the Hebrew *ruaḥ*.

poetry Much of our understanding of the forms and conventions of Hebrew poetry has been developed from the study of the poetry in the Bible, especially the older poems (Exod. 15, Judg. 5, Hab. 3) and poems composed over many centuries and collected in the biblical psalter. However, religious poetry continued to be written throughout the Second Temple period, and we are able to see elements of both continuity and change in terms of style, topics, forms, and usage.

Many of these poetic compositions are preserved in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and thus often are available only in translation into Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and other languages. Although a close study of poetic forms is more difficult in translation, many of the features of parallelism, balance, repetition, strophic divisions, and imagery are still recoverable. There are a variety of types: hymnic songs of praise, modeled very closely on biblical psalms (the Songs of the Three Jews), victory songs (Jdt. 16), wisdom poems (Bar. 3:9–4:4, Sir. 24), poems of consolation (Bar. 4:5–5:8), lamentations (1 Macc. 1:36–40; 2:7–13; the lament of Seila; LAB 40.5–7), and euologies (1 Macc. 3:3–9; 14:4–15). Some of the poetry of the New Testament, particularly the Magnificat and the Benedictus in Luke 1, was translated from a Semitic original or at least written in a very Semiticized Greek and exhibits many of the same features.

From the Dead Sea Scrolls, we now have a much larger corpus of poetry in Hebrew and Aramaic. Although many manuscripts are too fragmentary to recover the poetic structures with any certainty, the Thanksgiving Scroll from Cave 1 at Qumran preserved over thirty poems, some of them virtually complete. Although sometimes these have been evaluated solely in terms of the conventions of the biblical psalms and found wanting, recent scholarship has been more sensitive to the way that these poems reflect different and developing poetic conventions. Certainly the basic poetic line tends to be longer than in the biblical psalms, often nine to thirteen syllables; sometimes there is a "double line" that cannot be divided into shorter cola because of its grammatical structure. There is parallelism, but it is quite fluid, with more complex patterning spread over a series of bicola and tricola (two- or three-line units); sometimes, however, the parallelism is internal within a line. Tricola are very frequent, but exhibit considerable variation; the second and third lines can be synonymous, or both infinitive clauses. A distinctive feature is the way nouns, infinitives, and prepositional phrases are used in a listlike fashion; this is not so much a prosaic feature but points to similar usage in later Hekhalot poetry. Most of the poems can be divided into strophes, although the precise points of division are not always certain; often new units are indicated by the personal pronoun (first or second person), an interrogative, the conjunction *ki*, or the repetition of similar language or grammatical structure at the beginning and at the end to form an inclusio. The vocabulary of the Hodayot is rich, with a surprising number of words not attested in the biblical psalter. Images are complex and often developed over an extended series of cola or a whole strophe. Although in only one case is there an extended quotation from a biblical psalm, the poems "sound biblical" because of the extensive reuse of biblical metaphors and standardized phrases; these are not mechanically quoted but rather reworked in a fresh and creative way.

Our corpus of poetry in Aramaic is much smaller and the conventions still less well understood. One of the most interesting examples is the lengthy poem in Genesis Apocryphon 20:2–8a, which describes Sarah's beauty in a style reminiscent of the Song of Songs and later Arabic *wasf* poetry.

poetry in Greek Although Jews are not known for their poetry in Greek, Jewish authors did write some poetic works, and part of these survive. A number of the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers produced poetry, including Ezekiel the Tragedian, Philo the Elder, and Theodotus. Also extant are anonymous verses ascribed to Homer, Sophocles, Pythagoras, Orpheus, and Menander. These are known only in isolated verses and fragments, but we also have complete poems in Pseudo-Phocylides, some of the Sibylline Oracles, and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Poimandres a writing in the Hermetica, a collection of late Egyptian religious writings in Greek. Poimandres is a Gnostic writing with many Jewish traditions (e.g., literary dependence on 2 Enoch

has been argued) and is thought by some to be an example of Jewish Gnosticism.

polis (Gr., city) In ancient Greece, the polis was a city-state, comprising a major city, along with its territory and smaller towns and villages. There were only a few thousand citizens, with the bulk of the population made up of slaves or foreign noncitizens. The citizens governed the city-state, though there was not a uniform system of government. Sparta, for example, was governed by a dual kingship. Athens, though, was famous for a democatic form of government in which the citizens met in a large assembly to vote on laws and policies. Some cities had a representative council (*boulē*) or perhaps a council of elders (*gerousia*). In the Hellenistic period, Greek cities were founded all over the ancient Near East. Unlike the kingdoms of classical Greece, they were not autonymous entities but were ultimately under the control of the ruling power; however, they did have certain rights of self-government and were treated as semi-autonomous. The form of government varied, though many followed the Athenian model. At the heart of each city was the gymnasium. Noncitizens were not allowed a part in the government, though ethnic communities might be allowed to form a *politeuma* (governing body). *See also* HELLENISTIC REFORM.

politeuma the governing structure of ethnic and other communities in Greek cities. Though the Greek city (polis) was self-governing, this privilege applied only to citizens. In most Greek cities, there were relatively few citizens. Many of the inhabitants were slaves or temporary residents; most cities, however, also had a large population of permanent residents who were not citizens. In many cities, large resident ethnic communities had arisen. Because of their common background and customs, such communities were often allowed to organize into a *politeuma,* which was a semi-autonomous body within the city. It could elect or appoint its own officials and have its own form of government. It could enforce its own laws (within certain limits) on the members of the community and hold sessions of its own courts to try offenders. Naturally, the members of the *politeuma* had to obey the laws of the city as well, and laws could not be passed that conflicted with the city laws. The officials of the community could also be held accountable to the city government for actions of the community. Otherwise, the *politeuma* had a good deal of independence.

political theory, rabbinic the set of rules about who may legitimately do what to whom. The Mishnah sets forth a view of power and of the disposition of power in society that is fundamentally political. But the political theory of Judaism works out an essentially theological problem, which is the distribution of responsibility and power. What makes matters political is that the system treats violence as legitimate when exercised by proper authority. Indeed, it specifies who may impose his will through coercion. That defines within the framework of the faith a political structure and system that are integral to its religious plan for the social order. To the sages of Judaism, represented by the Mishnah, the separation of power in the form of legitimate violence from power in other forms, supernatural ones, for instance, proves implausible. To them, as in the Graeco-Roman philosophical tradition in political theory, politics forms a component of the social order. Power is not to be separated from other critical elements of that same order. Politics and power cannot be treated as an independent topic of inquiry, for in antiquity, what we say about politics forms a chapter in a larger statement within our theory of the social order. Politics, then, is subordinated, contingent, instrumental. Treating politics as limited to the use of violence to achieve one's will proves a distinctively modern reading of matters. The task undertaken by the political myth of Judaism is not only to make power specific and particular to cases. It is especially a labor of differentiation of power, indicating what agency or person has the power to precipitate the working of politics as legitimate violence at all. When, therefore, one understands the differentiating force of myth that imparts to politics its activity and dynamism, one shall grasp what everywhere animates the structures of the politics and propels the system. Appealing to a myth of taxonomy, the system accomplishes its tasks by explaining why this and not that, by telling as its foundation story a myth of classification for the application of legitimate violence. The myth appeals in the end to the critical bases for the taxonomy, among institutions, of a generalized power to coerce. The encompassing framework of rules, institutions, and sanctions is explained and validated by appeal to the myth of God's shared rule. That dominion, exercised by God and his surrogates on earth, is focused partly in the royal palace, partly in the Temple, and partly in the court. The issue here is the differentiation of power, which is to say, which part falls where and why? The political myth of Judaism explains who exercises legitimate violence and under what conditions, and furthermore specifies the source for differentiation. The Judaic political myth comes to expression in its details of differentiation.

Pollion Pharisee and teacher of Samaias. He advised the people of Jerusalem to admit Herod the Great and the Roman general Sosius in 37 B.C.E. Because Herod favored him, he and his disciples were exempted from the oath of loyalty in 20 B.C.E. He is often identified with the rabbinic figure Abtalion.

Polybius (c. 200–120 B.C.E.) Greek historian. In 168, he was one of the Greek persons of eminence taken to Rome as a hostage. He spent many years there under the patronage of the Scipio family and came to admire the Romans and their rise to power. His *Histories* give the story of Rome's ascent to become the most important power in the Mediterranean. In doing so, the work provides important background for Jewish history during the Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and early Maccabean periods. Although the extant history says little about Palestine directly, it does make explicit references to Judea when it mentions the taking of Jerusalem by Antiochus III in 200 B.C.E. and Antiochus IV's plundering of the Temple. Polybius is considered one of the best historians of antiquity, perhaps second only to Thucydides. Unfortunately, only books 1–5 (covering c. 250–215 B.C.E.) are complete, with the rest known only to a lesser or greater extent in a medieval epitome (summary) and fragments; however, in antiquity when the entire work was still known, it served as an important source for other writers, such as Livy.

polygamy *see* MONOGAMY AND POLYGAMY

pomegranate a motif in ancient Jewish art, perhaps connected with the biblical view that the pomegranate is a symbol for the fertility of the land (Num. 13:23). The pomegranate played a role in the biblical period, and it continued to be used on coins, glass, sarcophagi, ossuaries, in synagogue art, and in tomb art. For example, on bronze coins of John Hyrcanus I (135 B.C.E.), one sees on the reverse double cornucopias with a pomegranate between horns. The pomegranate was used again on silver coins of the First Revolt (66–74 C.E.). On the reverse one sees within the inscription "Jerusalem the Holy" (or "Jerusalem is Holy") three pomegranates on one branch. In Jewish art that features the agricultural richness of the land, pomegranates are likely to be found. For example, the pomegranate appears frequently on the friezes of the synagogue at Capernaum, but also on a fragment of the marble screen from the synagogue of Hammath-Tiberias. The pomegranate is found in the repeated design of the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Hammath-Gader across the Jordan, but also in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Beth Alpha near Beth Shean. The pomegranate is a feature of the mosaic floor from Isfiya on Mount Carmel. In tomb art, including sarcophagi, the pomegranate is prominent, though not always modeled realistically.

Pompeius Falco *see* FALCO, QUINTUS POMPEIUS

Pompeius Longinus *see* LONGINUS, GNAEUS POMPEIUS

Pompeius Trogus Greek historian who flourished in the early first century C.E. His *Histories* formed a world history from earliest times to Augustus. Unfortunately, his work as such has survived only in fragments. What we know of it comes primarily from an epitome (abridged version) by the Roman writer Justinus, who wrote around the third century C.E. The work helps to fill in our knowledge of Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid history and thus serves as background to the history of Judea during these periods. Only a few passages give direct references to Judea or Judaism. He shows a detailed knowledge of some parts of the Pentateuch, along with a good deal of muddle. He makes Abraham a king of Damascus, followed by Israel, who had ten sons. One of these sons, Joseph, was sold into Egypt, where he became the first to establish the science of interpreting dreams. His son was Moses, but he was expelled along with many who had leprous and other diseases. Moses led the expelled to his ancestral home, Damascus. The Sabbath arose as a celebration for surviving seven days without food in the desert. Pompeius also mentions the Dead Sea and some of the natural products of Palestine.

Pompey (106–48 B.C.E.) Roman general and member of first triumvirate (60 B.C.E.). Gnaeus Pompey, known as "The Great," came to prominence through military prowess in the turbulent period of the late Republic in Rome. After assisting Crassus in bringing the slave war to an end, he had himself appointed consul and in 67 extracted from the Senate extraordinary powers against the pirates who had infested the Mediterranean and damaged Roman trade links with the East. He was victorious within a period of three months. After defeating Mithridates, king of Pontus, he organized his territories into the provinces of Bithynia-Pontus and Syria. At this point he was invited to intervene in the affairs of the Jews in order to settle the dispute between two rival Hasmonean claimants. In 63 B.C.E. he captured Jerusalem, entered the Temple there, but did not rob it of its treasures as Antiochus IV had done a century earlier. He then settled the Jewish question by dismantling the Hasmonean state, appointing Hyrcanus as high priest and ethnarch, and restoring independence to the Greek cities of Palestine. Pompey joined Caesar

and Crassus as a member of the first triumvirate in 60 B.C.E. that marked the transition from republican to imperial rule, but after the death of Crassus in 53, he became embroiled in a struggle for sole power. He was defeated by Caesar at Pharsalis in Greece in 48 B.C.E. and died soon afterwards in Egypt. Pompey was an able general, who after his early years of flouting the Senate's position because of his military prowess adopted a constitutional stance against Caesar's ambitions.

Pontius Pilate *see* PILATE, PONTIUS

poor those lacking food, shelter, and/or sufficient land for farming, as well as those suffering social injustice (e.g., Isa 32:7; Amos, pass.). The existence of the poor is permanent (Deut. 15:11, paraphrased in Mark 14:7, Matt. 26:11, and John 12:8, where Jesus defends the woman who spent money on anointing him rather than on the poor), as are the commands to improve their lot. Only if the people obey their God and follow all the commandments will there be no poor (Deut. 16:4–5). Not only are the poor protected by heaven (Isa. 29:19; Ps. 10, 12, 68; Ps. Sol. 5, 15), those with greater assets are required to aid them (Exod. 23:11; Lev. 19:9–10; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.21; Philo, *Virt.* 17). The poor's care is also mandated by 2 Enoch 63; Pseudo-Phocylides 10; Testament of Jacob 7 and throughout the Testament of Job. Ahikar claims there is nothing more bitter than poverty (105; also Sentences of Syriac Menander 427–432). However, some wisdom literature attributes poverty to the failure to heed instruction and to laziness (Prov. 13:18, 20:13). The Gospel of Luke places particular emphasis on responsibility to the poor (4:18–21 and 7:22 citing Isa. 61:1; see also Matt. 11:5). Paul seeks from his Gentile congregations a collection for the "poor," i.e., the church members, in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26; Gal. 2:10; 2 Cor. 8–9; also Cor. 16:1-4). The Testament of Isaac 14 offers instructions for how the poor are to mourn. The designation "poor" applies also to those who abandon social prestige for religious asceticism or who lack spiritual goods. "Congregation of the poor" appears in the Qumran Scrolls (e.g., 4QpPs37 3:10). Matthew 5:3 speaks of the "poor in spirit." The Jewish-Christian Ebionites likely took their name from the Hebrew *ebionim* (the poor).

In Judaism, support of the poor is viewed as an act of religious righteousness (*tzedakah*), incumbent upon all people of means. Judaism recognizes that God, as ultimate owner of the land, is entitled to a portion of all that the land produces. According to scripture, God designates parts of his share for the poor, the widow, the orphan, the Levite, and the stranger. Accordingly, in providing for the poor, Israelites not only carry out the will of God but actually act on behalf of God, distributing God's share of the earth's produce to those God designated for its benefit.

The fundamental rabbinic elements of support for the poor derive from scripture, which assigns to the poor that which grows in the corner of a field (*peah;* Lev. 19:9, 23:22), gleanings (*leket;* Lev. 19:9, 23:22), forgotten sheaves (*shikḥah;* Deut. 24:19), a tithe in each third year (*maaser ani;* Deut. 14:28–29), separated grapes (*peret;* Lev. 19:10), defective clusters (*olelot;* Lev. 19:10; Deut. 24:21), and all of the produce of the Sabbatical year (Exod. 23:11). The Mishnah tractate Peah details the rule for distribution of that which grows in the corner of the field, gleanings, and forgotten sheaves. The Mishnah's central principle is that the farmer may play no active role in identifying which specific produce is to be set aside for the poor. Rather, this happens accidentally, when the farmer leaves some grain unharvested, drops a few stalks in the field, or forgets to collect some of his sheaves. Since in rabbinic Judaism, that which happens unintentionally is associated with the will of God, the Mishnah's view of the payment of poor-offerings suggests its recognition of the poor's direct claim upon God for support.

Already in Talmudic times, the development of a cash economy and the inaccessibility of farmland to most poor people necessitated a type of support for the poor not clearly defined by scripture. Responding to this need, Talmudic Judaism developed an intricate system of charity and expected all members of the community actively to ensure that the poor were fed and clothed. Charity was collected and dispersed through a community chest, to which all people of means were expected to contribute and from which anyone in need could take. Anonymous gifts were deemed particularly meritorious (B. Ketubot 67b), and emphasis was upon providing a means for the poor to return to self-support (B. Shabbat 63b).

poor man's tithe a tenth of the crop, to be distributed among the local poor in the third and sixth years of the Sabbatical cycle

pork As pork was a highly prized food in the Mediterranean world, the Jews' refusal to eat it came to symbolize their sense of separation from the gentile world. So the martyr Eleazar was asked to eat pork and, on his refusal, was executed (2 Macc. 6:18; 4 Macc. 5:2). To defile the Temple at Jerusalem, swine and other unclean beasts were offered in sacrifice (1 Macc. 1:47). Pigs are used as

a code word for the unclean world in Mark 6:11–13 and Luke 15:15. Attempts by Gentiles to explain why Jews do not eat pork are found in Plutarch's *Dinner Conversations* 4.5. *See also* FOOD TABOOS.

porneia (Gr., fornication) term specifically applied to prostituion but also used broadly for any kind of unlawful sexual activity. It was usually the generic word, whereas other terms were used for more specific sexual misdeeds (e.g., *moicheia* for adultery).

Porphyry Greek writer and Neoplatonist philosopher from Tyre in the third century C.E. One of his writings was an attack on Christianity, called *Against the Christians;* unfortunately, it is known only from quotations, especially in the commentary on Daniel by Jerome. Here his ideas are particularly interesting because he anticipated modern biblical criticism by arguing that Daniel 7–12 was actually written in the second century B.C.E., not the sixth. Despite his opposition to Christianity, he makes a number of positive references to Jews and Judaism. He regards Judaism not only as superior to Christianity but also as one of the ancient religions (along with those of the Phoenicians, Assyrians, and Egyptians) with a correct view of God. He justifies the Jewish abstention from pork on the ground that many different peoples have food taboos. Other laws of the Pentateuch about animals are also quoted with approval, such as not taking both parent birds and their offspring. In one long passage, he paraphrases Josephus at length on the Essenes, evidently seeing them as a fascinating philosophical group, much as Josephus did.

portents signs or phenomena that were interpreted as indications of the future, usually of disaster. It was a common belief in antiquity that God would send such signs to herald coming troubles. It was common for even the most sober historian to mention them as, for example, before the fall of the Temple.

Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–50 B.C.E.) Greek writer and polymath. His works, preserved only in fragments, mention Jews directly only a couple of times, once in reference to bitumen collection from the Dead Sea. Josephus accuses Posidonius of anti-Semitic views, seeming to imply that the story of Apion about a Greek imprisoned in the Temple in preparation for human sacrifice came from him, but the fragmentary nature of the text makes it difficult to be certain about his real views. He also wrote a history, which has perished but which Josephus may have used, either directly or indirectly.

Post. *see* DE POSTERITATE CAINI

pottery objects made of clay, usually turned on a wheel, and fired in a kiln. The most important archaeological evidence for indicating dating, trade and commerce, and regional patterns of interaction of people depends on the controlled recovery and study of pottery found on an archaeological site. The reason for this lies in a series of truisms well known to professional archaeologists, but little understood by nonpractitioners of field work.

Pottery is made of clay, almost always during the biblical period formed on a wheel, which, when fired in a kiln, retains its visual qualities and shape permanently. Fired clay, then, is virtually indestructible. Its manufacture or use on a site leaves a permanent record as either whole vessel forms, usually found only in shipwrecks, tombs, cisterns, and upon the floors of buildings that experienced the kind of instantaneous destruction represented by fire or earthquake, or as broken shards. Examination of the various whole-vessel forms in any given age make the study of even broken and partial pottery pieces (sherds) identifiable and, therefore, of paramount scientific importance.

It is mostly the small broken pieces of a pot that are recovered in excavations of sites and structures. The most important pieces of a broken vessel are the rims, handles, and bases because these are the indicators that enable the archaeologist to "read" the pottery, that is, to recognize and classify the vessel type and date. It is the very uselessness of a broken vessel to ancient peoples that makes ceramic evidence the most reliable dating and commerce indicator in assessing a site's history. Coins had an inherent, continuing value based on the metal in the coin. The value of ancient coinage was based on the amount of metal in the coin itself and not in any modern concept of the "promise" of a mint or government to "redeem" a coin for an agreed upon amount of real money. Thus inhabitants, subsequent "campers" on a site, and later treasure hunters search out and remove most of this kind of evidence from an archaeological site long before the professionals arrive to excavate scientifically and record carefully all evidence on the site.

Types of pottery. Pottery is classified according to two differing types, based on the quality of the clay used to manufacture a pot and on its function in the daily life of its users: crude ware and fine ware. As the names suggest, crude ware is made from roughly prepared clays with a high content of gritty particles and is used in the kitchen (cook pots, casseroles, pitchers, jugs and jars) and for large storage and shipping amphorae. Fine ware is made from carefully prepared, well-fired clays and is used to manufacture the fancy black and red,

slipped tableware so loved by Mediterranean peoples throughout the entire historical period under consideration.

Crude ware vessel forms tend to continue the same shapes and types for long periods of time, often up to a hundred years. This is due to several factors. Local cuisines remain stable and require storage and cooking in the same kinds of vessels. People learn to cook from their primary families and want the same kinds of utensils which were employed when they learned to cook. The easily recognizable standardized shapes of large storage and shipping vessels termed amphorae served to advertise both the type of contents (wine, fish sauce, oil) and frequently the place and company of manufacture. In a famous Roman literary banquet scene called *Trimalchio's Feast,* the guests at the party realize that their host has served them an inexpensive wine and kept the best wine for himself when they see the shape of the amphora from which their host's wine is drawn. The long continuance of crude ware vessel forms diminishes somewhat their value for precise dating when such vessels and their shards are found with no dateable coins.

Fine ware pottery shapes, however, change more quickly, since these kind of dishes are less determined by daily function and are more subject to changing fashion. Thus, the recovery of fine ware forms can aid in giving more chronological precision to excavation, since the longest most shapes perdure is c. fifty years (with many characteristic shapes and types in use for only around twenty-five years). In Israel, despite occasional false reports to the contrary, such as the alleged find of fine ware manufacturing kilns from the Herodian period at the northern Negeb site of Oboda, all fine wares are imported from outside the country. Most came from Greece, Italy, Gaul (France), Egypt, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and North Africa (primarily Carthage), depending on what archaeological period is under excavation. The sole exception to this is probably Judaean, locally manufactured fine ware of the Byzantine period called "Judaean sigillata." Precisely because fine tableware is imported, it serves as evidence of trade links between sites in Israel and other Mediterranean areas.

Moreover, the Institute of Archeometry of the Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem has perfected over the last twenty years a process involving the neutron activation of sherd samples found on sites. By breaking the shard down under neutron bombardment into its trace elements, it is possible to match the trace elements of the clay in the shard with the "print" of clay beds in Israel, to locate the sources of the clay, and also to classify the pots into "pottery families."

Such new "families" of clays and pottery types have enabled researchers like D. Adan-Bayewitz to track the sales routes of itinerant pottery peddlers in Roman Galilee. While clay bed "prints" are not available for the entire Mediterranean, we do know what clays are "foreign" to Israel. Thus, we know at least when we are dealing with pottery that has come from outside the country.

Whether one is considering crude or fine ware pottery, however, the shapes or forms of individual vessel types do evolve over time. It is this kind of variance in shape that enables the archaeologist to trace the evolution, and hence, the chronological sequence of a particular kind of pot. For example, the rims of cooking pots become progressively higher or lower over time, or the bodies become more globular or squat. Lips of vessels tend to evert and droop over time or to gradually lift. Handles that were once functional can, over time, become small, vestigial lumps of clay that appear exactly where a handle would have been placed on an earlier vessel of the same type.

In the light of the crucial importance of pottery for determining the chronological horizons and sequencing of a site, it is necessary when using an archaeological report to make sure that the pottery found in excavation has been catalogued, described and studied in the publication, and that section drawings (profiles) of the individual sherds or pots have been published. Otherwise, readers are dependent solely on the word of the excavator, whose dating results cannot be checked by comparing pottery from one site to that recovered from the same time period on other sites.

Some indicator vessels for the Persian through the Byzantine periods. The least published and studied pottery of all the periods is that of the Persian period. Discussions even continue among scholars as to whether this period should better be seen as the very end of the Iron Age. Hence, it is sometimes called Iron III. One of the sure signs of a Persian occupation on a site is the large white, slipped bowl which appears on sites the length and breadth of the country. In the 1977 excavations of the synagogue of Gush Halav, the excavators were stunned to discover that this much-surveyed, single-period site was in reality a tel with a long occupational history, thanks to the presence of this Persian-period form among the late Roman-period shards. Recent study of the

Persian-period sites across the entire country has also revealed a pervasive early contact between Israel and Greece. To date, not a single Persian-period site has been excavated on which some examples of pottery imported from Greece has not been found. Thus, the beginning of extensive trade and commerce between Israel and the Hellenic world, which historians reserved to the period after Alexander the Great's Conquests, has now been pushed back several centuries in time.

The Hellenistic period saw the introduction of a series of black-slipped and red-slipped fine ware dishes manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean. Earlier attributions of these dishes to local imitations of western pottery have now been set aside. Tel Anafah and Samaria-Sebastia have produced the best published collections of such pottery. Also, among the favorites of the Hellenistic age were imported amphorae from Rhodes and Kos and large, rounded, high-rimmed cookers with large handles attached from lip to shoulder.

The Herodian period saw, as one could expect from the close ties established between the house of Herod and the emperors at Rome, an influx of western "terra sigillata," which means signed earth. This designation was made by the potter's stamp or name on the bottom of plates, cups, and dishes. Such high-gloss and beautifully manufactured red ware was imported from Italy primarily, as were the numerous large wine amphorae imported from the countryside around Rome. Caesarea Maritima has produced the best corpus of these latter vessels. The large ovoid storage jar with ring handles right at the break between the shoulder and the wall of the vessel were common in Judaea and were the hiding vessels for the Qumran scrolls.

By the time of the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 C.E.), imported fine pottery ceased to be a factor on sites in Palestine. Local wares, except for a small dribble of fine wares in seaports like Caesarea Maritima, supplied the need for cups, bowls, and juglets. The sites of Capernaum and Meiron provide the best examples of preferred vessels for the second and third centuries. Cooking pots with everted and grooved rims and jars with everted rims open the period, but in these early deposits, we see the first examples of what is the best indicator of Galilean manufacture and occupation—the Galilean bowl. This exterior-ridged, open bowl continued in use and development in the Galilee and parts of the Golan for nearly two hundred years. Though the rim development and precise datings of this had been known for over a decade, thanks to careful recovery in excavations of shards with coins, it was not until the 1980 excavations at Naburiya that examples preserved from rim to base were first discovered.

Pottery from the Byzantine period, roughly from the late-third to mid-fourth centuries (c. 640 C.E.), represents the best archaeological look at Israel's trade links with the wider Mediterranean world and at its own highly developed, locally made, regional ceramic products.

Imported pottery to the end of antiquity. After nearly a century and a half hiatus of imported fine wares, in the closing decades of the third century and the opening of the fourth, imported red ware bowls begin to appear on sites in the interior of the country. Small North African bowls lead the way, followed in the middle of the century by Cypriot red slip ware bowls, so termed because of visual similarity to much earlier products made in Cyprus, although the manufacturing place of these has not yet been found. By the opening decade of the fifth century, the third kind of late fine ware appears on sites across the country. This type will become the predominant imported pottery for the whole north of Israel until the Arab conquest. It is called Phocaean red slip ware, formerly "late Roman C ware.

These three imported fine wares are found in all regions of the country, but differences in distribution allow us to draw some conclusions about trade influences. In the north the predominance of Phocaean ware indicates extensive trade links to Asia Minor. In the northern Negev, the predominance of African red slip ware indicates primary trade with North Africa, which was interrupted in the fifth and early sixth centuries by the Vandal conquest of North Africa. Also, the predominance in the Negeb of red ware manufactured in Egypt and its appearance in only small numbers at seaports like Caesarea Maritima underscores that region's trade links to the south.

Regional crude ware pottery. If imported pottery helps us track the differences in international trading patterns for the various regions of the country, the advances that have been made in understanding regional pottery tastes help us to trace the independence and complexity of the various regions and subregions of the Holy Land. The surest way to know the place of manufacture of a pot is to find the kiln site that made it. By no means have all the regional kilns operating in late antiquity yet been found. At this stage of discovery and research, we do know that each region probably had its own preferred pottery factory or facto-

ries. In the north, the Galilean bowl was a locally distributed, hence manufactured, product. The extensive excavations in Jerusalem and environs indicate local Judaean production of both crude and fine ware vessels, Judaean sigillata. A storage and shipping amphora found all over the south and erroneously known as the Gaza jar was made in Ashkalon. The large, bag-shaped, black-ribbed northern amphora, decorated with paint dribbling down it, was probably made and used in the north coastal plain. The brittle red-brown cookers of the Golan region must have been locally manufactured. The soft, flaky, brown amphorae found throughout the Negev must have been produced in or near one of those desert cities.

Thus, the scientific recovery and publication of pottery constitutes one of the most important pieces in reconstructing the history, commerce, and daily life of people in ancient Israel.

powers, of God *see* DYNAMEIS

praefectus *see* PREFECT

Praem. *see* DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS

praetor Roman chief magistrate with a rank just below that of consul. Originally, the praetors were mainly concerned with military affairs, but as time passed they took on the function of judges in judicial matters. The power of the office declined during the early Roman Empire.

prayer words of address to God. In the broadest sense, prayer includes any type of address (praise, thanksgiving, blessing, lament, petition) whether in prose or poetry, by the individual or the community, in spontaneous one-time-occasion words or in set predetermined formulas. However, often a distinction is made between formal poetic texts that were originally rooted in the Temple and cultic realm (particularly the collection of 150 psalms in the Psalter) and prayers that are compositions in prose, almost always containing an element of petition. It is the latter that will be the focus here.

The Hebrew Bible provides the precedence for both the practice of prayer in all times, places, and situations of need, and for examples of various forms of prayer. About one hundred prose prayers are found, ranging from the simple direct petitions ("Lord, heal her," Num. 12:13), to longer more formally developed prayers combining elements of praise and petition (1 Kings 8:22–53; 1 Chron. 29:10–19), and extended prayers of historical remembrance and repentance (Neh. 9; Ezra. 9).

The literature of the Graeco-Roman period continues and expands this tradition, with the composition of many new prayers in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic. In addition, there are numerous references to people praying, even when the exact words are not given (e.g., the prayer of the scribe in Ecclus. 39:5, 6; prayer before battle in 1 Macc. 5:33 and 2 Macc. 10:26–27; the custom of prayer three times a day in Dan. 6:10). Biblical models are followed for how a prayer should be structured, though there is a notable increase in prayers that begin with blessing formularies.

In almost every narrative work from this period, the main character prays at crucial moments in the action; examples include the prayers of all the leading characters in the Book of Tobit (3:2–6, 11–15; 8:5–6, 15–17; 11:14–15), Judith (9:1–14, and 13:4–5 and 7, which continue the biblical pattern of the short petition), the priests Simon and Eleazar (3 Macc. 2:2–20, 6:2–15), and the convert Asenath (Joseph and Asenath 12–14, 21:11–21). These prayers provide a religious and pietistic dimension to the narrative and often serve as vehicles for the author's theological views.

In addition, prayers were added to biblical works that lacked them, for example, the prayers of Mordecai (13:8–18) and Esther (14:1–19) preserved in the Greek version of Esther, and the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children added to Dan 3:23. The Prayer of Manasseh fills in the missing prayer of penitence which is only referred to in 2 Chronicles 33:10–13, 18–19. In works that retell the biblical stories with expansions, amplifications, and additions, prayers are often added. For example, in retelling the biblical story from Adam to Saul, the Book of Biblical Antiquities adds some twenty-five short prose prayers and four psalms; Genesis Apocryphon adds the prayer of Abraham when Sarah is taken from him (20:12–16); Jubilees adds prayers of Moses (1:19–21), Noah (10:3–6), and Abraham (12:19–21, 22:6–9).

In addition to these literary prayers, most scholars have presumed that some type of set, formal prayer was part of the developing institution of the synagogue in the pre-70 period, though no such collections of prayers had survived. Recently, in Cave 4 at Qumran, various collections of set prayers have been recovered, though all are in a very fragmentary form. There are prayers for morning and evening of each day of the month (4Q503), prayers for each day of the week (4Q504–6), and prayers for feasts (specifically the Day of Atonement and First Fruit, 4Q507–9). On the basis of the language, the very early date of some of the copies, as well as the calendar presumed in the daily prayers, these should not necessarily be seen as composed specifically by the Qumran Community, but may give us a glimpse

into patterns of prayer that were developing more widely in Second Temple Judaism. The prayers are short, with opening and concluding formulas ("Remember, O Lord," "Blessed is the God of Israel"); that is, we can see the beginnings of certain features of later synagogal prayer, but there is little standardization at this stage.

Prayer of Manasseh *see* MANASSEH, PRAYER OF

Prayer of Nabonidus *see* NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF

prayer shawl (Heb.: *tallit*) four-cornered cloth with fringes (Num. 15:38) worn by adult males in the morning service

preaching delivering a sermon; urging acceptance or abandonment of an idea or course of action. The terms that came to be associated with preaching in later Judaism and early Christianity are used in the older scriptural traditions to refer to messages communicated by human sources or messages from God that are, or are thought to be, good news. Sometimes the communication is about a past event and at other times it predicts the future. But in each case, what is at stake is the fate of either a leader of God's people or of one of their enemies or even of the people as a whole. In the older Semitic and Greek sources, the term is used for the proclamation of a military victory. But in the historical books, the proclamation involves the divine action behind human events, reports of which can be heard by some as bad news and by others as good news. For example, in 1 Samuel 3:8–9, the report of the killings of Israel's first king, Saul, and his sons is heard by the Philistines as good news. The messengers who thought that David would consider the report of the deaths of Saul and his sons as good news were, in fact, killed by David, who was deeply grieved by the news. Similarly, the Cushite who thinks that David will be happy to hear the news of the death of his rebellious son, Absalom, finds that the king is overcome with grief. When, however, David has messengers proclaim that Solomon is to be anointed by the priests to succeed him as king, the news is welcomed by the people, whose rejoicing resounds as a roar through the city of Jerusalem (1 Kings 1:32–48). The Samaritan lepers who planned to defect to the Aramaeans who were besieging Samaria find that they had all fled when God had caused them to hear the sounds of chariots, horses, and a great army (2 Kings 7). The lepers then report this "good news" to the Samaritans (7:9).

In the Prophets, however, the message that God sends through these chosen instruments is regarded as not merely providing information but also as assuring that what God has spoken concerning his purpose for his people will surely come to pass. In Joel 2 the prophet portrays God conveying his message to the world as an army chief would do: "Blow the trumpet in Zion . . . Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble" (2:1), and when "the Lord utters his voice . . . numberless are those who obey his commands" (2:11). They all will know "that I the Lord, am your God, and there is no other" (2:27). When Jeremiah is commissioned by God to speak to the people of Judah, he is told "You shall speak whatever I command you" (Jer. 1:7). The message to be proclaimed by the prophet is often tragic, as when he announces that the city of Jerusalem will fall to the Babylonians and only those inhabitants who surrender to them will survive (Jer. 21:8–10). It is the false prophets who preach peace (Jer. 28), but Babylon's ultimate doom as the work of God is also proclaimed (Jer. 51:6–10).

The prophetic tradition and the psalms from the period during and after Israel's return from exile in Babylon proclaim the glorious future of the people of God. God's preservation of his people and his deliverance of them from the powers of evil are announced (Ps. 40:9). The armies of the enemies of Israel are to be defeated (Ps. 68:11). This message of the divine restoration of God's people is to be told, not only to God's people, but among the nations of the world (Isa. 40:9). At the same time, the rulers of those nations hostile to Israel will be brought under divine judgment, but God's people will rejoice at the deliverance that God will achieve in their behalf (Isa. 41:27). The chief bearer and instrument of this good news will be a messenger anointed by God to bring assurance of divine justice for the poor and oppressed and of vengeance on those who oppose God's purpose (Isa. 61:1–3). The news proclaimed in this prophetic tradition is of judgment on the rulers of the nations and of deliverance for God's people (Isa. 41:27). Messengers are to bring good news of peace and liberation through God's establishment of his rule in the world. These events will be seen by all the nations of the world (Isa. 52:7–10).

In his *Antiquities,* Josephus tells of the good news about the fall of Jericho to the Israelites (5.24), of the message to Manoah's wife that her son (Samson) will defeat the Philistines (5.277), of Herod Agrippa's joy at the news of the death of the emperor Tiberius (18.229), and of the Roman general Vespasian's hearing the good news of his having been acclaimed as emperor by the people of Rome (4.656). In the first-century-B.C.E. Psalms of Solomon, Solomon hears the message that God is

watching over Jerusalem and Israel and that throngs will gather there to praise God (11:2). Josephus also notes that human messengers should be swift in bringing good news, just as Hermes, the messenger among the Greek gods, is.

Rabbinic sermons took the form of homilies, sometimes offered in synagogues but more frequently given in the school or in other private settings, including funerals, weddings, rabbinical ordination ceremonies, or other occasions. The rabbinic literature refers to a meturgeman (translator) or amora (speaker, lecturer), who would stand at the side of the preacher and repeat his words so that the gathered audience could hear (see, e.g., B. Ḥagigah 14a, B. Moed Katan 21a). Homilies focused upon the interpretation of scriptural passages, with a special interest, presumably, in the lectionary selection appropriate to the particular week. Some modern scholars have argued that rabbinic Midrash actually preserves the texts of sermons that were given orally in synagogues or the schools. The technical complexity and scholarly construction of these texts makes it almost certain, however, that they are literary creation not originally intended for oral delivery.

While Philo and Paul speak of preaching in the synagogue, rabbinic texts reveal little about how common such preaching was. The Torah, read in Hebrew, was simultaneously translated into Aramaic, and this periphrastic translation may have served as a rudimentary homily as well. But especially in the first centuries, synagogues were not under rabbinical control, and the rabbinic sermon does not appear to have been a fixed element of the worship service.

predestination determinism; the belief that all or some occurrences are fixed or defined by God (or the gods) before they happen. The Hebrew Bible offers no systematic presentation of this belief or the consequences of it. Several passages and motifs do, however, serve as the bases for later developments of such thinking. The story of the ten plagues in Egypt refers repeatedly to the pharaoh's stubbornness in refusing to release Israel and to the fact that that response was caused by God's hardening his heart (Exod. 6–11). Some sections in Isaiah 40–55, praise the Lord as the one who knew long ago what would happen. Foreknowledge of this kind could easily lead to the belief that He had also determined what would happen from the beginning. Later, the different Jewish groups developed various positions on the matter. The first-century-C.E. Jewish historian Josephus distinguished the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes on several teachings, among which was fate. According to him, the Essenes attributed all events to fate; the Pharisees believed some events were predetermined and others were not; and the Sadducees rejected the notion of fate altogether and held individuals responsible for their actions. Some texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls express the Essene position on predestination. The Manual of Discipline says that God established the design of everything before it occurred; all happens according to his predetermined plan. All individuals fall under the power of light or darkness in line with that divine blueprint (cols. 3–4). Jubilees finds the history of Israel, its apostasy and eventual return, already recorded on heavenly tablets (Jubilees 1).

Among early Christian texts, similar thoughts are found. In Acts 2:23, Peter proclaims that Jesus was handed over to those who crucified him by the plan and foreknowledge of God. But Paul is the writer who comes closest to treating the issue and its implications in a more systematic way. He deals with the complex of questions while treating the problem of the changed place of Israel in God's plan (Rom. 9–11). From Malachi, he quotes the statement that God loved Jacob but hated Esau—a decision made before they were born. Yet he defends the deity from the charge of injustice by asserting his right and power to act according to his will. To the objection that God ought not therefore to find fault with those whose actions he predestined, he responds that humans are not in a position to argue with their Maker. Moreover, they do not see the full breadth, splendor, and mystery of his plan. Two later (c. 100 C.E.) Jewish pseudepigrapha—4 Ezra and 2 Baruch—wrestle with the same sorts of problems but do so in connection with the soul-searching evoked by the sack of Jerusalem, the burning of the Temple by a pagan foe (Rome), and the resulting suffering of the elect Jewish people. The protagonists, each in his own way, present probing questions about justice, but in the end the books encourage human submission to the inscrutable ways of God, who alone understands all. There remains a future relation between the Lord and his chosen people.

The rabbinic literature presents a largely deterministic point of view, expressed in the statement of Ḥanina that "A person does not hurt his finger on earth unless it has been decreed from above (B. Ḥullin 7b). The Talmud comparably reports that when the impoverished Eleazar b. Pedat questioned how long he would suffer, God responded that, since his poverty was predetermined, in order

to improve Eleazar's situation, God would have to overturn the entire world (B. Taanit 25a).

Despite this deterministic point of view, the rabbis imagined the existence of free will and understood people to be responsible for their actions and fate. Akiba expressed this in the paradoxical maxim, "Everything is foreseen, yet free choice is given" (Mishnah Abot 3:15). Similarly, the Talmud notes that "All is in the hands of Heaven except for the fear of Heaven" (B. Megillah 25a; B. Berakhot 33b; B. Nidah 16b). The rabbis here distinguish between material existence, in which everything is predetermined, and spiritual life, in which people have the choice of abiding by or rejecting God's will.

prefect Roman military term used for the commander of various types of units, such as the ala or cohort, and then for other officials. From the time of Augustus, the term was used for officers of equestrian rank. Under Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula (31 B.C.E.–41 C.E.), the governors of Judea were called prefects (not procurators, as Josephus and Tacitus imprecisely claim).

presbyteros (Gr., elder) term used generically to refer to someone physically older; also used to refer to one superior in rank. It also took on a technical meaning in some circles, used with reference to community officials or religious figures (hence the English "presbyter" and its modification, "priest").

price controller *see* AGORANOMOS

pride defined in this context as inordinate self-esteem; an impression of superiority; arrogance. Psalms 73:2–9 presents a vivid, detailed portrait of those who are proud: they are arrogant, prosperous, sound of body, free from strife and struggle, and scoffing and malicious toward God. But God will bring destruction upon them (73:19), and this is what they deserve (Ps. 94:2). It is these wicked nations who are the enemies of God's people (Ps. 17:10), and who speak about them with insolence and contempt (Ps. 31:18), but God will repay them in an appropriate way (31:23). He will protect his own from being trampled by their proud opponents, and they will be crushed (Ps. 36:11–12, 86:14). That day of vindication of the faithful and punishment of the proud is predicted by the prophets (Isa. 2:12). God says through the prophet, "I will punish the world for its evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant, and lay low the insolence of the tyrants" (Isa. 13:11). The humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar, after he boasts of his accomplishments in building Babylon, leads to his contrition and acknowledgment of God's sovereignty (Dan. 4:28–37). The arrogance of Antiochus Epiphanes in desecrating the Jerusalem Temple and requiring all his Jewish subjects to sacrifice pigs (1 Macc. 1:20–50) leads to his defeat and the triumph of the obedient within Israel. It is the insolent, scornful, and contemptuous who are to fall under the rebuke of God (Ps. 119:21–23).

In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs there are solemn warnings against acting out of pride and false self-esteem: "Do not pursue evil impelled by your lusts, by the arrogance of your heart, and do not boast of the exploits and strengths of your heart, and do not boast of the exploits and strengths of your youth, because this too is evil in the Lord's sight" (Test. Jud. 13:2). The Letter of Aristeas warns against "being carried away by wealth and glamour" and "having overweening or unworthy ambitions" (211). In the Sibylline Oracles (8.168) the Persians are denounced: "In return for overbearing pride, all their arrogance will be destroyed." Josephus reports that Nero, on hearing of the initial successes of the Jewish revolutionaries against Vespasian was filled with alarm, but "felt that the majesty of the empire obliged him to treat bad news with lofty disdain and to appear superior to all eventualities" (*War* 3.1.2). Tobit's solemn pronouncement is that "in pride there is ruin and great confusion" (Tob. 4:13).

Like the biblical and Hellenistic literatures, rabbinic texts contain stern warnings against arrogance. God cannot live in the same world as the arrogant, whom he will destroy (B. Sotah 5b). The arrogant will be brought low and at the end of time will have not part in the resurrection of the dead (ibid.; B. Erubin 13b). God himself acts with humility, for he appeared to Moses in a lowly bush and caused his presence to rest on Mount Sinai rather than on a taller mountain (B. Sotah 5b). God's humility is a model for people, who will be rewarded for emulating this trait: "Who will inherit the world to come? One who is meek and humble, who bends when he comes and bends when he goes out, who always is studying the Torah, but does not take pride in himself on that account" (B. Sanhedrin 88b).

priest (Heb.: *kohen*) a hereditary class of male cultic functionaries found in the Bible. Priests conducted sacrifices and other rituals at holy places throughout the land and finally in the sacred areas of the Temple. They also instructed the people in the laws, customs, rituals, and traditions of Israel. The biblical accounts of Levites and priestly families testify to a long, complex development of the

priesthood and to a series of struggles for dominance among families and sanctuaries. In the exilic period (586 B.C.E. on) a sharp division emerged between priests and Levites, and the postexilic period saw a conflict for power between them. The priests, tracing their lineage to Aaron and Zadok, one of David's priests, became dominant and Levites were reduced to subordinate roles in the Temple. Priests performed the sacrificial rituals and administered the Temple, while Levites took charge of singing and music, preparations for sacrifice, custodial care of the Temple, and so forth. Priests were expected to remain holy and ritually pure, marry only Jewish women who were virgins or widows, and to be without physical blemish. They were organized into twenty-four divisions (courses), which rotated service at the Temple. Priests were supported by sacrificial offerings brought to the Temple. Many of them lived in town and villages in Judea. After the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E., the Temple sacrifices and rituals ended, resulting in a gradual diminishing of priestly power and influence in favor of the emerging rabbinic movement. *See also* LEVITES; PRIESTS, CHIEF.

priesthood, unfit male (Heb.: *hallal*) offspring of a priest and a woman whom he is prohibited by the Torah from marrying, for example, a divorcee. Such an offspring is a profaned priest, that is, the offspring of a priest who does not possess the sanctity of the priesthood.

Priestly Benediction technically, the blessing of the Israelites by the priests (from Num. 6:24–26, "The Lord bless you and keep you . . . "). In the Second Temple period, it became part of the daily sacrifice. By extension, it entered the synagogue service as the final blessing of the Tefillah, and was expanded to include a lengthier prayer for peace (Birkat Shalom), recited by the prayer leader (who need not claim priestly lineage). On holidays, among some Jews, it is expanded further, as all descendants of the temple priests stand and bless the people in an extended ritual. *See also* DUKHENEN.

priestly courses, the twenty-four the divisions or "courses" of the priests and the Levites, according to which these priests and their families performed specific tasks in the Temple. Fragments of inscriptions mentioning these courses have been found in synagogues from Caesarea and Ashkelon. The origin of this practice of dividing the functions of the priests is attributed to King David (cf. 1 Chron. 23:1ff). In 1 Chronicles 24:7–18 the names of the priestly families who were arranged into twenty-four divisions, or courses, are detailed. Liturgical poems from Palestine, dating from the sixth and seventh century C.E., also preserved these courses for each priestly family, as well as specifying the new locality of these families following the destruction of the Temple. Archaeological remains have now authenticated this reconstructed list from the liturgical poems. Fragments of the seventeenth through the twentieth courses from the Caesarea Synagogue should be dated to the third or fourth century C.E. and contain the same family names as found in 1 Chronicles 24:7–18, as well as the new localities postulated from the liturgical poems. The finds from the synagogue in Ashkelon are even more fragmentary, but they too are consistent with this reconstruction. Thus it appears that it may have been a common practice in synagogues after the destruction of the Second Temple to keep a remembrance of the priestly duties and their new localities either in poetry or in a memorial inscription.

priestly rations *see* HEAVE-OFFERING

priests, chief English translation of the term used to designate the priestly aristocracy during the late Second Temple period. The chief priests appear to have been, in effect, the ruling aristocracy of Judea (and at times of other territories such as Galilee and Perea) under Herod and the Roman governors. By the time of Nehemiah, the Zadokite priestly aristocracy, centered in the office of high priest, had become the rulers of Judea and, in effect, the (Persian, later Hellenistic) imperial officials in charge of tax collection and social order. The Hasmonean family simply replaced the Zadokites as the rulers of Judea, but vastly expanded the territory controlled by the Jerusalem Temple/high priestly government. Herod reduced the powers of the chief priests and appointed new men to the high priesthood. From Herod to the Great Revolt, four prominent families of chief priests dominated affairs in Jerusalem, their members alternatively occupying the offices of high priest, captain, and treasurers of the Temple. Headed by the high priest, who was usually appointed (and periodically deposed) by the Roman governor, the chief priests collected the tribute and maintained control of Judea and Samaria—and exerted what influence they could elsewhere—under the watchful eye of the Roman authorities.

principalities and powers (Gr.: *archai kai exousiai*) a class of heavenly beings possessing unspecified power. The word pair occurs in early Jewish literature only in 1 Enoch 61:10. Perhaps they are the angels whom YHWH has put in charge of the

nations (Ecclus. 17:17). 1 Enoch 89:59–90:19 depicts these angelic patrons as evil forces. Paul claims that Christ will triumph over the malevolent ruling spiritual powers (1 Cor. 15:24). The passage may allude to the son of man's receipt of authority and kingship over the nations in Daniel 7:14. *See also* ANGEL.

private domain the property of a household, distinct from all other households. On the Sabbath it is forbidden to carry an object from private domain to public domain.

PRK *see* PESIKTA DERAB KAHANA

Probus abbreviation of the tractate *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* (Every Good Man Is Free) by Philo. The tractate considers the Stoic belief that only the wise person is truly free, whereas all others are slaves to their desires and passions. Philo refers to the Essenes to illustrate his point.

proconsul (Lat., in place of a consul) Proconsulship was a form of authority given to an official of consular rank (usually an exconsul) who held the *imperium*. Such individuals often became governors of provinces, after the term of office as consul had ended, and needed such authority. *See also* IMPERIUM.

procurator in Roman law, an authorized agent for another; in the imperial period, an agent of the emperor; from the mid-first century C.E., the equestrian governor of a minor province, such as Judea. Despite statements to the contrary by Tacitus and Josephus, inscriptions show that Pontius Pilate and other early first-century governors up to the time of Agrippa I were called prefects, not procurators.

progymnasmata (Gr., preliminary exercises) a stage in formal schooling in the Graeco-Roman world, with the exercises forming the first stage of training in Greek rhetoric. The literary forms used for the student exercises included such genres as the *creia*.

promise Biblical views of God are bound up with God's making promises to Israel, and God's faithfulness in keeping these promises is axiomatic. Especially noteworthy are the covenantal promises to Abraham in Genesis 12:1–3, 15:1–6, and 17:1–8, whose fulfillment is either narrated in the text or presumed. Although Israel's prophets doomed the people to exile, they promised a return to the land, and some predicted a restoration of the Davidic dynasty. The Jewish writers of the Persian and Graeco-Roman periods wrestled with the fact that these promises were only partially fulfilled or not fulfilled at all (see Ecclus. 36:11–17). Typical of the Christian tendency to interpret the Hebrew Bible in light of the coming of Jesus, Paul sees the promises to Abraham and his offspring fulfilled in Christ and in those who believe in him, who are said to be the true descendants of Abraham (Gal. 3:16–29). Not surprisingly, the New Testament depicts Jesus as one who made trustworthy promises (Mark 13:30–31). When the return of Christ failed to materialize, Christian apologists found it necessary to argue against "scoffers," who pointed out this fact (2 Pet. 3:1–10). Strikingly, the New Testament, as finally compiled, ends with the promise, "I am coming soon" (Rev. 22:20). *See also* PROPHECY, FULFILLMENT OF.

pronoia *see* PROVIDENTIA

property Like other legal systems, rabbinic law divides property into two types, immovables (Heb.: *karkaot,* grounds) and movables (Heb.: *mitaltelin,* those that can be carried). Slaves are included in the former category, while bonds and demands upon other individuals belong in the latter. The distinction between these categories is significant, since under rabbinic law, a properly written and attested bond automatically represents a lien on all of the debtor's immovable property. Upon death, such immovables are subject to seizure by the decedent's creditors. The same is not the case for chattels or demands, which, through the talmudic period, were not subject to seizure for payment of a debt, whether in the debtor's lifetime or after death. The situation changed only in the Middle Ages, when, as a result of almost universal Jewish landlessness, all goods, money, and effects were made liable for a decedent's debts.

Like Roman law (but unlike English common law), for purposes of inheritance rabbinic law does not distinguish between movable and immovable property (see M. Baba Kamma 8). Comparably, a gift made in apprehension of death, if death indeed ensued, is deemed equally valid for the transfer of real property and chattels or demands. This is under the theory that the words of one lying sick take the place of the deed through which real property usually is transferred, the act of pulling (*meshikhah*) used in the transfer of chattels, or the meeting of the creditor, debtor, and proposed assignee needed to transfer a monetary claim.

The principle of *onaah* (overreaching) allows a sale or purchase of chattels to be set aside in a case in which it turns out that the purchase price was one-sixth above or below the market value (M. Baba Metzia 4:1–9). This rule does not apply to real estate or slaves, which rabbinic law deems to have no set market value. In light of this understanding, rabbinic law holds even the smallest piece of property to be of inestimable worth, suf-

ficing to secure a loan of any amount (M. Shebiit 10:6). Sales of immovables are rescinded only upon proof of a claim of actual fraud or other error.

property, rabbinic law for lost Return of lost property to its rightful owner is an important biblical obligation spelled out in four chapters of the Mishnah and Talmud (Baba Metzia 1–4). Specific rules are set forth for determining which objects are subject to identification and return. Failure to attempt to return a lost object to its owner is deemed theft and is subject to punishment.

prophecy, fulfillment of the notion that current events realize predictions made by God's ancient prophets. Although the prophets' primary function was to speak in the name of God, much that they said related to future events. According to Deuteronomy 18:20–22, the sign of a true prophet was the fulfillment of the prophet's words. This notion must have run into a great deal of trouble in the postexilic period. Figures like Isaiah, Second and Third Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Haggai had forecast glowing scenarios about a return of the twelve tribes, a new exodus and new covenant, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, a new creation, and a glorious existence on the mountains of Israel, with Zion dominating the nations.

Although empirical reality surely caused "cognitive dissonance," postexilic Jewish sages preserved the ancient prophetic oracles, expecting their promises to be fulfilled. Jewish texts from the Graeco-Roman period widely attest this belief, although it must be emphasized that many other Jewish texts totally omit reference to the prophets.

In the wisdom tradition, Ben Sira interprets (Third) Isaiah as one who "revealed what was to occur to the end of time" (48:25), and he preserves a prayer imploring God to "fulfill the prophecies . . . and let your prophets be found trustworthy" (36:15–16). The author of Tobit believed that all the prophetic words "would come to pass in their times" (14:4).

In the apocalyptic corpus, texts like Jubilees 23 and the Testament of Moses, following a tradition already evident in the early postexilic works of Ezra and Nehemiah, read Deuteronomy 28–32 as a prophecy par excellence that laid out a scheme of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation to be fulfilled in Israel's history. Current disasters located the nation in the sin part of the cycle and called for acts of repentance that would bring eschatological blessing.

The writers of the Qumran commentaries (Heb.: *pesharim*) made a science out of the study of prophecy. Like Ben Sira, they believed that the prophets spoke about the last times, and like the author of the Testament of Moses, they saw themselves living at the eschaton. What was written in the prophets pertained to them, the eschatological community of the chosen, and God had revealed to the "Teacher of Righteousness" all the secrets of the prophets. Their commentaries explicate in detail how prophecy is fulfilled in the events of their community.

The author of the Psalms of Solomon 17 expected that the Davidic oracles in Psalm 2, Isaiah 11, and Ezekiel 37 would be fulfilled when the scion of David appears to deal with Israel's Roman oppressors, and he wove allusions to these texts into a lengthy description of that king's activities.

The early church arose from an eschatologically oriented sector of Judaism and, like the Qumran sect, it understood itself to be the community of the chosen. To a degree that is unparalleled in extant Jewish literature (except some Qumran texts), the writings of the New Testament read the Hebrew Scriptures as prophecy from start to finish and appeal to it as documentation for their claims about Jesus the Messiah.

Understanding the words of the prophets to have originated in the revelation at Sinai (B. Megillah 2b), the rabbis believed that prophetic utterances accurately predicted what had happened in the past and also indicated what would occur in their own day and in the messianic future. Prophetic passages buttressed rabbinic dogma concerning proper behavior (Mishnah Abot 3:17), showed how people could bring about the coming of the messiah (Y. Taanit 1:1), explained what would happen at the time of the final judgment (B. Rosh Hashanah 17a), and proved that, at the end of time, all nations and kingdoms would be gathered together in Jerusalem (Abot deRabbi Nathan 35, end). As in the New Testament, prophetic texts also explained specific occurrences of the rabbis' own day, for instance, the destruction of the Second Temple (B. Menahot 53b). To indicate that a particular incident fulfilled a prophecy, the rabbis used the formula "This occurred to carry out that which is said . . .," followed by the appropriate scriptural verse. The same expression appears at Matthew 1:22 and 21:4, where Jesus' actions are explicitly associated with prophetic statements. *See also* SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION.

prophet (Heb.: *nabi*) popular figure who uttered oracles or led a movement. Continuing in the traditions of earlier Israelite prophets, at least two types of popular prophets were active in late Second

Temple times. Among the literate groups, the "righteous teacher" who founded the Qumran Community is portrayed as a new Moses, who received instruction from God for Israel (CD 1; 1QpHab 7–8). Among the ordinary people in Judea and Samaria in the mid-first century C.E., several popular prophets emerged, promising new acts of redemption patterned after paradigmatic events of Israel's beginning. Theudas led his followers to a new exodus or wilderness journey, and a prophet from Egypt led followers to expect the walls of Jerusalem to fall like those of Jericho (*Ant.* 20.97–98). A Samaritan prophet led followers up Mount Gerizim in anticipation of recovering sacred objects of the tabernacle (*Ant.* 18.85–87). The followers of all such movements were slaughtered by Roman troops. Other prophets simply delivered oracles of salvation or doom. Most reminiscent of the classical prophets was Jesus, son of Hananiah, a latter-day Jeremiah who pronounced prophetic laments over Jerusalem for several years prior to the Jewish revolt and Roman destruction of the city (*B.J.* 6.300–309). John the Baptist appears to have been a similar type of popular prophet, appearing in the wilderness and baptizing people into a new covenantal relationship with God and each other through the water, like a new Moses.

Rabbinic Judaism held that prophecy came to an end with Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. From that time onward, divine communication took the form of dreams or visions. The rabbinic authorities recognized the availability of "heavenly echoes," deemed to convey supernatural counsel, but these were accorded no normative authority.

prophetic reading *see* HAFTARAH

Prophets (Heb.: *nebiim*) a Jewish division of the Hebrew Bible, containing the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. The Minor Prophets are Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Some of these books, such as Hosea, are probably the oldest in the Bible. They received a sacred, or canonical, status shortly after the books of the Pentateuch (Torah).

Prophets, Lives of the (Vitae Prophetarum) an ancient anonymous work comprising a series of short narratives describing, in some cases very briefly, the lives and deaths of twenty-three Hebrew biblical "prophets." Although the Lives has traditionally been interpreted as a Jewish writing of about the first century C.E., recent research has opened the possibility of its having a Christian origin, perhaps as late as the fourth century. The work seems to have been written in Greek, in or around the Land of Israel.

This work's individual sections may not have all been written by the same author, and the work probably went through stages of editing, expansion, or abbreviation before reaching the forms found in the present manuscripts. These extant manuscripts also show the work's varying recensions, which differ not only in their details about individual prophets but also in which prophets they include.

The Lives is attested in numerous Greek manuscripts, which divide into four main recensions. The recension usually regarded as the most original, labeled the "anonymous" recension, is represented by the oldest manuscript of the work, from the sixth century. The other recensions are the "longer Epiphanian," best known in a thirteenth-century manuscript; the "shorter Epiphanian," in a tenth-century manuscript; and the "Dorothean," in a thirteenth-century manuscript.

The most original recension covers, in order, the three "major prophets," Daniel, the twelve "minor prophets," and the seven biblical prophets to whom no currently surviving biblical writings are attributed—Nathan, Ahijah, Joad, Azariah, Elijah, Elisha, and Zechariah, son of Johoiada.

Although several of the prophets receive only short notices, the notice always includes at least the prophet's place of birth, place and manner of death, and place of burial. Typically, however, more detail about the prophet is given. This material tends to be information not found in the biblical account of the prophet. It includes other types of aggadic narrative, which are often esoteric or exotic tales of the prophet's activities and powers. Their characteristic concerns are nonbiblical prophecies made by the prophets, "mysteries" associated with them, and subject of prophetic martyrdom.

The Lives is perhaps the earliest extensive extant witness to a Jewish or Christian concern for cataloging the births, lives, deaths, and burials of biblical "saints" systematically. It therefore set the tone for, and probably had a profound influence on, later hagiographical tradition, especially in Christianity.

prosbul a legal formula designed to circumvent the Sabbatical-year cancellation of loans made between Israelites (see Deut. 15:1–2). Before 70 C.E., Hillel instituted preparation of the *prosbul*, a document that turned the debt over for collection by a court (M. Shebiit 10:2). Since on the basis of Deuteronomy 15:2–3, it was understood that private, but not public, loans are released in the sev-

enth year, this allowed collection of the debt during the Sabbatical year. Yabnean authorities held that only secured loans could be turned over to the court (M. Shebiit 10:6–7). Since a creditor in a secured transaction held a claim upon the security, he could be understood already to have been repaid. The court simply presided over the exchange of the security for cash. Rabbinic authorities were, however, extremely lenient in establishing a minimal required value of the security. They even allowed the creditor himself to assign property to the borrower and then to use that same property as security to allow preparation of a prosbul. *See also* SHEBIIT.

proselytization the process of making converts to a religion. Judaism has never been a proselytizing religion in the way that Christianity has; rather, Judaism was usually an ethnic religion, centered on the people of Israel. Nevertheless, the idea that outsiders could become a part of Israel has evidently existed in Israelite religion from an early time. Various passages in the Hebrew Bible assume this (e.g., Deut. 21:10–14; Ruth). On the other hand, apparently the choice was not open to all, and some ethnic groups were excluded (Deut. 23:3–6).

In the Graeco-Roman period, there is evidence of many converts to Judaism, as well as of sympathizers, or God-fearers. Josephus mentions an occasion in 19 C.E. when a large number of Jews were expelled from Rome for proselytizing activity. Josephus puts the blame on four "rogues"; however, other sources suggest that attempts at conversion were much more widespread and brought the wrath of Tiberius down on the head of the Jewish community. On the other hand, those who have argued for a widespread Jewish "mission" in the first century C.E. have not been very persuasive. The occasional convert and the persistent attempts at conversion by some Jews is not the same as a mission of proselytization.

The question of the process of conversion is not a simple one. Circumcision seems to have been an absolute requirement for males. The one exception mentioned by Josephus concerned the king of a country in unusual circumstances. Whether a ritual bath (baptism) was required is uncertain before 70 C.E., even though rabbinic sources make it a requirement. *See also* CONVERSION; GOD-FEARERS.

proseuchē (Gr., prayer, or praise [of god]) This became the term for a synagogue, that is, a place of prayer, during the diaspora. It is normally thought that a *proseuchē* and a synagogue (Gr.: *synagogos*) were the same, but some think the difference in terminology indicates other differences as well.

prostitution (Heb.: *zenut*) sexual intercourse for payment. The rabbis prohibited prostitution, seeing it as a social ill so serious that, in their understanding, it was one of the causes of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. (M. Sotah 9:13, 15). Rabbinic law encompasses under the concept of *zenut* not only prostitution but any sexual act outside of the context of matrimony, even if no payment is involved. In line with this attitude, the rabbis frequently criticized Roman culture for promoting licentiousness (B. Pesahim 113b; B. Shabbat 33b). Rabbinic literature refers to Jews taken captive and forced into prostitution, of Jewish men who acted as pimps, and of women who considered engaging in prostitution for economic reasons (Y. Taanit 1:4, 64b).

protrepticus *see* LOGOS PROTREPTICUS

Prov. *see* DE PROVIDENTIA

proverb a concise observation about an aspect of daily life, phrased in poetic form. The biblical word for proverb, *mashal,* covers a wide range of sayings such as taunt, riddle, mocking word, dark saying, despite its essential meaning of "likeness," hence simile. The earliest proverbs, traditional sayings, circulated orally among the populace and lacked poetic parallelism (cf. Jer. 31:29; Ezek. 18:2). The simplest form of proverb in the book of Proverbs, the saying, has two stichs, the second expressing either virtually the same thing or exactly the opposite, except when the observations are additive (synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic parallelism, respectively). Variations of these forms include numerical sayings ("Three things . . . four"), "better than" sayings, and simple declarations ("There is . . ."). Many of these sayings lack any religious or educational purpose ("The poor must entreat; the rich answer curtly"). More developed proverbs, instructions, use imperatives to compel assent and to dictate conduct. They do so positively by exhortation and negatively by threat. This instructional literature, consciously artistic, tended to expand into paragraph units, particularly in Proverbs 1–8 and in Ecclesiasticus. The proverb in both forms, saying and instruction, was widespread in the ancient Near East, collections of varying length having survived from Sumer, Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, as well as Aramaic sayings of Ahikar. One Egyptian instruction, Amememope, influenced Proverbs 22:17–24:22, where ten sayings link the two works literarily.

Proverbs, Targum to a highly literal translation of the Book of Proverbs into Aramaic, with very little additional material. Linguistically, this targum mixes Aramaic forms known from the Palesti-

nian Targums to the Pentateuch, the Babylonian Talmud, and Targum Onkelos. Its wording is quite close to that of the Peshita to Proverbs, although it is not clear whether the targum derives from the Peshita, or vice versa. In its current form, the targum probably stems from the early Middle Ages.

providence God's benevolent guidance of the world. It comes from the Latin noun *providentia,* which derives from the verb *provideoe* (to see ahead, to have thought for). The Greek equivalent is *pronoia,* from the verb *pronoeisthai.* In the Graeco-Roman world, both Platonic and Stoic philosophers had doctrines of providence or fate. There is no equivalent term in the Hebrew Bible, but there is certainly the belief that God benevolently guides the world and especially the history of Israel (e.g., Deut. 32:7–43; 2 Kings 19:25–28; Job 10:12; Ps. 74:12–17; Isa. 44:6–8). Both the Pharisees and the group at Qumran (e.g., 1QS 3:13–4:26) had beliefs in providence. The term itself is found in a number of Jewish documents written in Greek (e.g., Wisd. of Sol. 14:3; 3 Macc. 4:21; 4 Macc. 17:22). The emphasis is often on God's care of those who are devoted to and suffer for the sake of God. The concept is also important for the first-century C.E. Jewish writer Josephus (e.g., *Ant.* 1.13.2, sec. 225, 2.5.1, sec. 60, 11.5.7, sec. 169). Philo of Alexandria (first century C.E.) devoted a whole treatise to the doctrine of providence (*De Providentia*). The use of the term in these documents is influenced in various ways by Greek discussions of providence. These concepts were also taken up by Christian writers from the second century C.E. on.

providentia (Lat., providence) The word is similar to the Greek *pronoia* (foreknowledge); both of these imply the direction of the world by God according to moral standards, rewarding the good and punishing the evil (as opposed to *tychē,* which means "fate").

psalms term used to refer to poetic compositions collected together in the biblical Book of Psalms and, by extension, to other compositions and collections which are modeled on the biblical psalms. Although there is considerable difficulty in defining the term in a technical sense, "psalm" is often used interchangeably with "hymn" and "song."

The biblical psalms were composed over many centuries as poems of praise and lament. Many were originally for use in the Temple, to be sung by the Temple singers. Some seem more suitable for private mediative use (Ps. 119), and the Bible itself assumes the psalms can be used by individuals in times of need outside the Temple (e.g., 1 Sam. 2; 2 Sam. 22; Jonah 2).

The 150 psalms in the Massoretic psalter and the 151 psalms in the Greek psalter are probably only a selection from a much wider collection. Other collections of psalms are found among the manuscripts in the Dead Sea Scrolls, though it is very difficult to know if these were considered as psalters per se or as collections of prayers. For example, 11QPs^{a} contains some forty biblical psalms, plus the previously unknown Hymn to the Creator, the Plea for Deliverance, the Apostrophe to Zion, two psalms previously known only from later Syriac translations, and Psalm 151 (known from Septuagint manuscripts).

There are a number of different collections made up totally of nonbiblical psalms. The very fragmentary manuscripts 4Q380 and 4Q381 are a collection of over a dozen psalms ascribed to various kings of Judah and perhaps some prophets (Obadiah); it is very difficult to place these precisely in terms of date, purpose, or author, although they certainly attest to a continued practice of psalmic composition in the postexilic period. In contrast, the Hodayot, or Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH), are a collection of over thirty poems of thanksgiving that are distinctive in both vocabulary and theme, with a strong emphasis on salvation, knowledge, predeterminism, and union with the angels; these are compositions of the specific sectarian group that wrote many of the Qumran documents. Another collection is the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, which reflects more of the political situation in the first century B.C.E. (Ps. Sol. 2) and the expectations for a Davidic messiah (Ps. Sol. 18).

In this period, individual psalms came to be included in many different types of compositions; for example, among the wisdom discourses of Ben Sira there is a psalm praying for the eschatological gathering of the people (36:1–22) and a psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance from death (51:1–12). Some psalms probably had a prior, perhaps liturgical, existence and were secondarily added to narrative works (Tob. 13; Jdt. 16). Certain themes reoccur, for example, praise of Jerusalem (Tob. 13; Bar. 4:36–5:9; Ps. Sol. 11; Apostrophe to Zion in 11QPs^{a} and 4QPs^{f}) and praise of God's creation (e.g., Ecclus. 42:15–43:33; 1QH i). A special category of psalms were composed to "terrify and frighten" the demons (4Q510; 4Q511; 11QapPs^{a}). Other psalms have been called "autobiographical psalms" because the "I" of the psalm is a specific biblical character (e.g., David in Ps. 151 and 2Q22) or a specific figure (the Teacher of Righteousness

in 1QH 2:1–19, 4:5–5:4, 5:5–19) quite unlike the more general "I" of the biblical psalms.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of this psalmody is the reuse of biblical language, sometimes by actual quotation of a biblical verse, but more often in an anthological style in which biblical words and phrases are reworked and recombined into a new composition. It is very difficult to know if and how these psalms functioned liturgically in the life of a community; it is generally assumed that most were literary compositions. *See also* DAVID; HODAYOT; SOLOMON, PSALMS OF.

Psalms, Targum to a generally literal translation of the Book of Psalms, with only a few additions inserted into the translation. This targum shares many similarities with the rabbinic Targum to Job, including a linguistic mix that combines elements of Eastern and Western forms of Aramaic. This suggests a composition dating from the early Middle Ages, although some scholars have argued for a date as early as the first century.

Psalms of Solomon *see* SOLOMON, PSALMS OF

Pseudepigrapha (Gr., spurious writings) texts composed under a pseudonym. Pseudepigraphy was a common phenomenon in the ancient world, intended to invest one's writing with verisimilitude and with the authority of an ancient figure (often one from the distant past). A number of writings, or parts of them, in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament are pseudonymous, either because they were composed as such or because they were incorporated into the writings of named persons. In Judaic studies, "Pseudepigrapha" is used most narrowly and technically to refer to noncanonical writings ascribed to prophetic and patriarchal figures from biblical history. Among these are some texts, originally anonymous, that became pseudonymous because a scribe added a title or superscription or copied them into a manuscript that included the writings of a named person.

The first English collection of Pseudepigrapha, edited by R. H. Charles, included: Books of Adam and Eve; the Letter of Aristeas; 2 and 3 Baruch; 1, 2, and 3 Enoch; 4 Ezra (2 Esdras); the Martyrdom of Isaiah; the Book of Jubilees (ascribed to Moses); the Assumption (really Testament) of Moses; the Sibylline Oracles; the Psalms of Solomon; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; and several other nonpseudonymous texts that served the editor's purpose. More recent editors (H. F. D. Sparks and J. H. Charlesworth) have expanded the corpus to include other valuable pseudonymous works ascribed to such persons as Abraham, Elijah, Jeremiah, Job, and Zephaniah.

All of the writings collected as Pseudepigrapha have been preserved by Christian scribes in translations often twice removed from the original language of composition. In some cases, Christian editing, interpolation, and recomposition are evident, and occasionally a text may be a Christian composition that draws on Jewish traditions. Nonetheless, used cautiously, the Pseudepigrapha are a valuable resource for the student of postbiblical Judaism. Fragments of the original Hebrew or Aramaic texts or sources of a few of the Pseudepigrapha (1 Enoch, Jubilees, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) provide some control for our use of the translations.

The term "Pseudepigrapha" is problematic because it focuses on only one feature of these texts, a feature found in biblical texts and in writings of the Apocrypha such as Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon, and because the edited collections include nonpseudepigraphic works. Study of the Pseudepigrapha should be carried out in conjunction with work on the late biblical texts, the Apocrypha, and the Qumran scrolls and with an eye toward the light that the Pseudepigrapha can shed on the history of the Christian scribes and communities that preserved them.

Pseudo-Eupolemus *see* EUPOLEMUS, PSEUDO-

Pseudo-Hectaeus *see* HECATAEUS, PSEUDO-

Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum a complete, continuous targum rendering the Hebrew Pentateuch into Aramaic. This targum was written, perhaps in several stages, sometime between the mid-fourth century and the ninth century C.E. Pseudo-Jonathan combines a fairly literal translation with a large amount of additional material, producing a text that is twice as long as the original Hebrew. The translation is quite close to that of Targum Onkelos, whose wording and dialect it often follows. Many of the additions follow the rubric of the Palestinian Targums, although the majority of the additional material either reflects the influence of rabbinic midrashim or stands independent of any known source. The language of the text reflects this composite nature; it adheres to no single dialect, but seems to constitute a mixture of Eastern and Western Aramaic elements. In the earliest references to this text, it is called Targum Yerushalmi, or the Targum of Jerusalem.

Pseudo-Longinus *see* LONGINUS, PSEUDO-

Pseudo-Menander *see* MENANDER, PSEUDO-

Pseudo-Philo *see* BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, BOOK OF

Pseudo-Phocylides *see* PHOCYLIDES, PSEUDO-

psychē (Gr., soul) There were a variety of views of what this constituted in the Graeco-Roman

world. The original view was probably that the *psychē* was simply the life of the person. A very early concept, found in Homer, is that the soul leaves the body at death and continues in some sense to live on. Nevertheless, it is not a person, since to be a real person also requires a body and perhaps other components. The shades, or souls, in the underworld were only shadows of the living individuals. Some traditions in Greek developed a different idea, however, with the soul being the whole person and the body only an unnecessary and even undesirable appendage. The important thing was the immortal soul, which might be returned to earth in another body at death (*metempsychosis*) or perhaps escape the material cycle and remain an incorporeal soul. *Psychē* is the normal translation of the Hebrew *nefesh* (life, body) in the Septuagint, where it does not imply immortality or a separate existence. *See also* METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Ptolemais *see* ACRE

Ptolemy, celebration of delivery from Jewish festival supposedly celebrated in Graeco-Roman Egypt. 3 Maccabees recounts that Ptolemy IV had all the Jews assembled into an arena with the aim of having them trampled by elephants. However, God delivered them on a succession of occasions, once even by having the king oversleep. Finally, they were released, and a holiday was declared to be celebrated from year to year. Persecution of the Jews at such an early time is unknown, and the story may have arisen in Roman times, when persecution did occur. *See also* PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR.

Ptolemy, son of Abubus son-in-law of Simon the Hasmonean; appointed governor of the plain of Jericho. He sought to win the kingdom for himself and so invited Simon and his sons to a banquet, got them drunk, and killed them, except for John Hyrcanus (c. 134 B.C.E.; 1 Macc. 16 and Josephus, *Ant.* 13, secs. 228–235). He was thwarted in his plans to gain control and was forced by Hyrcanus to flee to Philadelphia in the Transjordan.

Ptolemy I Soter (c. 367/366–283 B.C.E.) friend of Alexander the Great who fought with distinction in Alexander's campaigns and later wrote a history of Alexander. He became satrap of Egypt in 323 B.C.E., declaring himself king in 304. In the wars among Alexander's successors, he endeavored to obtain control over Syria and Palestine and finally did so in 301 B.C.E. Traditions about his relations with Judea show him both as ruling Jerusalem harshly and also as so benevolent to Jews that some preferred his rule to that of other Greek overlords. He laid down the main lines of Ptolemaic administration of Egypt, founded the great museum and library at Alexandria, fostered the cult of the god Sarapis, and commissioned the Egyptian priest Manetho to write, in Greek, a history of Egypt.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 B.C.E.) son of Ptolemy I. He was made joint ruler with his father in 285 B.C.E. and succeeded to the throne in 283. Philadelphus encouraged the scientific and cultural developments begun by his father, but his engagement in competitive dynastic wars—the First and Second Syrian Wars, the Chremonidean War—would cause severe fiscal problems for his successor. From his reign, the Zenon Papyri provide some evidence for the economic conditions in Syria and Palestine. The Letter of Aristeas portrays Philadelphus as friendly to the Jews, freeing enslaved Jews and promoting the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek (the Septuagint).

Ptolemy III Euergetes king of Egypt (r. 246–221 B.C.E.). His marriage to Berenice II united Cyrene to Egypt; the Third Syrian War to avenge the murder of his sister Berenice, alluded to in Daniel 11:7–9, saw him retain control of Judea and also of the port of Seleuceia-in-Pieria. Euergetes is the ruler mentioned in the Tobiad romance wherein the high priest refused to pay taxes, but Joseph, son of Tobias, saved the day. Josephus (*Ant.* 12.4) mentions that Euergetes offered sacrifice in Jerusalem. Inscriptions from this period show the existence of Jewish *proseuchai* "prayer places" in some towns of Lower Egypt.

Ptolemy IV Philopator king of Egypt (r. 221–204 B.C.E.). He successfully defended Ptolemaic possessions in Coele Syria from an invasion by Antiochus III, winning a decisive battle at Raphia, although late in his reign (207/206) the Thebaid Delta seceded from his rule. The Book of 3 Maccabees is set during the reign of Philopator. This narrative describes how Ptolemy's life is saved by a renegade Jew just before the Battle of Raphia. After the battle, Philopator visits neighboring cities, but becomes infuriated when not allowed to enter the sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem. He is deterred only when thrown into a faint by God; nevertheless, he returns to Egypt bent on revenge. He decrees that all Jews must either participate in the worship of Dionysus and become citizens of Alexandria, or be branded with an ivy leaf, the emblem of Dionysus. The Jews are finally saved, Philopator repents, and he orders that the Jews be protected. The Jews institute a seven-day festival at Ptolemais to commemorate the event. *See also* PTOLEMY, CELEBRATION OF DELIVERY FROM.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes king of Egypt (r. 204–181/180 B.C.E.). He was five years old when Ptolemy IV, his father, died in 204 B.C.E. Antiochus III and Philip V of Macedon conspired against the young king to seize his overseas possessions. Antiochus III gained possession of Syria and Judea. Later Antiochus made an alliance with Ptolemy V by giving his daughter in marriage (Dan. 11:13–18). Ptolemy finally took control of the rebellious Delta in 184/183, but died in 181/180 at age 28.

Ptolemy VI Philometer (186–145 B.C.E.) Egyptian boy-king, at first very much under the influence of his advisers when he came to the throne in 180 B.C.E. Egyptian preparations for recapturing Phoenicia and Syria ended when Antiochus IV Epiphanes attacked in 169 and became master of Egypt except for Alexandria. Philometer struggled for power with his younger brother, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, and his sister-wife, Cleopatra II. He was driven from Alexandria to Rome in 164 B.C.E., but returned in 163; it was decided that Philometer should rule Egypt and Euergetes the western half of the kingdom, Cyrenaica. Philometer, meddling again in Coele Syria, first supported Alexander Balas's claim to the Seleucid throne but later switched sides to Demetrius II; he was eventually killed in a victorious battle against Alexander Balas (1 Macc. 11:13–18; see 1 Macc. 10:1–11:7 for the role of Jonathan Maccabeus). Onias IV is said to have fled to Philometer for refuge and to have built in Leontopolis a temple similar to the one in Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 13, secs. 62–73), and Josephus states that Philometer placed his entire army under the command of two Jewish generals, Onias and Dositheus (*Against Apion* 2.49). Fragments exist of a work by a Jewish writer, Aristobulus, who may be dated to Philometer's reign and who is also mentioned in 2 Maccabees 1:10. The Jewish Sibylline Oracles, Book 3, may date to Philometer's reign.

Ptolemy VII (VIII) Euergetes (also called Physcon) younger brother of Ptolemy VI. He coreigned with his brother from 170 to 164 B.C.E., was sole ruler from 164 to 163, became king of Cyrene from 163 to 145, and returned to Egypt in 145. He married his brother's wife, Cleopatra II, in 144 and then seduced and married his niece, Cleopatra III, in 142. Cleopatra II successfully led a revolt in 132, but Ptolemy recaptured Alexandria in 127 and peace returned after 124, lasting till Ptolemy's death in 116. Josephus relates how the Jewish general Onias defended Cleopatra II; consequently, Physcon sought to massacre all the Jews in Alexandria, but was prevented from so doing and the Alexandrian Jews inaugurated a feast (*Against Apion* 2.50–56). The story is similar to that of 3 Maccabees.

Ptolemy VIII (IX) Soter II (also called Lathyros; 142–81 B.C.E.) eldest son of Ptolemy VII Euergetes and Cleopatra III, and co-regent with his mother from 116 B.C.E. Lathyros sent six thousand soldiers to help Antiochus IX Cyzicenus against John Hyrcanus's siege of Samaria (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.10). Cleopatra III temporarily drove Lathyros out of Egypt to Cyprus in 107 B.C.E. From there he continued to support Cyzicenus; he eventually invaded Syria and fought and defeated the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.12). He returned as ruler to Egypt in 89/88 B.C.E.

Ptolemy XII Auletes son of Ptolemy Lathyros; succeeded to the Egyptian throne in 80 B.C.E. and cultivated relationships with Rome, bribing Caesar in 59 B.C.E. to uphold his claim to recognition by the Roman Senate. The extortions to raise this money led to his being expelled by the Alexandrians in 58 B.C.E.; he was restored to power in 55 by the Roman general Gabinius, who was helped by Antipater. The colophon at the end of the Greek Additions to Esther may suggest that the translation of Esther was brought to Egypt during Auletes' reign in 78 B.C.E.

Ptolemy the Geographer Greek writer from Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. He is known mainly for his *Geography,* which is important because of its discussion of Palestine and information on various geographical sites. He also wrote the *Tetrabiblios,* a work on astrology, which divided the world into regions and considered the characteristics of the people as determined by geography and the stars. From this he concluded that the Jews have various negative traits, including unscrupulousness, cowardliness, servility, and godlessness, though they are also bold.

publicans (Lat.; Gr.: *telonai*) tax-farmers; groups who purchased the right to collect taxes for Greek city-states and for the Roman Republic. Their activities were curtailed under the Principate of Augustus (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.). In Syria and Palestine, either local leaders, such as the high priests and Herod the Great, or officials directly responsible to the Roman governor were responsible for collecting taxes, especially the personal head tax (a sort of poll tax) and the land tax. Others may have purchased the right to collect various indirect taxes, such as tolls on goods. The New Testament speaks of "publicans" (ASV translation of *telonai*), who were probably toll collectors at commercial centers, such as Capernaum and Jericho (Mark 2:14; Luke 19:2), and testifies to their unpopularity. During the Second Temple period,

representatives of the priests and Levites collected "tithes," a second set of taxes for the Temple and priesthood.

public domain marketplaces, public squares, and streets, where everyone has an equal right to walk. On the Sabbath it is forbidden to carry an object from private domain to public domain, or for more than four cubits within the public domain.

Publicius Marcellus *see* MARCELLUS, GAIUS QUINCTIUS CERTUS PUBLICIUS

Puga name of river in the Land of Israel (M. Parah 8:10; B. Sanhedrin 5b), perhaps equivalent with the biblical river Pharpar (2 Kings 5:12); also the name of a place (T. Terumot 1:15; T. Yebamot 6:8). In manuscripts, the name appears alternatively as Piga.

punishment, forms of Rabbinic law imposes punishments of fines, for unintentional ritual violations; imprisonment, for recidivism (M. Sanhedrin 9:5); flogging, for intentional ritual violations, perjury, and other offenses (M. Makkot 1:1); exile, for manslaughter (M. Makkot 2:1); and execution, for homicide.

Within the talmudic system, flogging, in particular, takes the place of the Bible's ubiquitous divine punishment of extirpation (*karet*). M. Makkot 3:15 makes clear that anyone who undergoes the judicial punishment of flogging is exempt from further divine punishment.

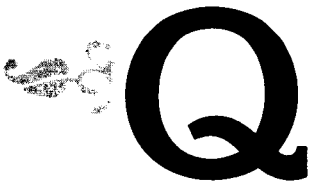
While hesitating ever to impose the death penalty (M. Makkot 1:10), rabbinic law recognizes its applicability in cases called for by scripture. Where scripture does not indicate the method of execution, the rabbis assign one of the four biblical methods. Stoning, considered the most severe punishment, was applied in eighteen circumstances, including bestiality, blasphemy, cursing a parent, idolatry, and witchcraft. Strangulation, deemed the mildest form of execution, applied in five cases, including false prophecy and kidnapping. The other methods are burning, applied in ten cases of inappropriate sexual activity, and decapitation, applied in cases of communal apostasy and murder.

purification of the Temple Judas Maccabeus's restoration of the furnishings and rituals of the Jerusalem Temple in late 164 B.C.E., marking the achievement of the immediate goal of the uprising led by Mattathias of Modein and his five sons. The account in 2 Maccabees 10:1–8 stresses the theme of purification ("they purified the sanctuary" [10:3]). In this account, Judas and his followers take away the remnants of foreign worship and restore the proper forms of Jewish worship; pray that the defilement of the Temple may never happen again; celebrate a festival patterned on the Feast of Tabernacles for eight days, beginning with the twenty-fifth of Kislev (November/December), and decree that the whole nation of Jews should observe these days every year. The account in 1 Maccabees 4:36–61 emphasizes the theme of (re-)dedication, thus giving the name Hanukkah (from Heb.: *ḥanak*, dedicate) to the feast: "So they celebrated the dedication of the altar for eight days" (4:56). Judas and his men chose "blameless priests," dismantled the defiled altar, built a new altar, and restored the sanctuary, according to Exodus 25–27. Their celebration began on the twenty-fifth of Kislev in 164 B.C.E. and lasted for eight days. The provision for the annual celebration of Hanukkah—the commemoration of a recent event—was ironically closer to Hellenistic than to biblical custom.

purification water the water prepared in accordance with Numbers 19 to remove corpse-uncleanness, prepared by mixing the ashes of a red cow with running water

Purim festival celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, commemorating the victory of Jews over their enemies, recorded in the Book of Esther

Pythagoreanism a philosophy or perhaps more of a religious movement or cult founded by Pythagoras (fl. 525 B.C.E.). Like many cult figures, the historical Pythagoras is not easily accessible behind the legend. Mathematics was evidently very important to him, and he is alleged to have discovered the formula for working out the area of a triangle. Similarly, music and the relationship between music and mathematical proportions was of considerable interest. He is said to have worked out the relationships that produced the "music of the spheres," the music allegedly produced by the heavenly bodies as they moved through the heavens. Some of his other beliefs were in the area of religion. He believed in an ascetic life-style and held that the soul was the person trapped in a body. At death, the soul would migrate to another body, though this could be an animal, not necessarily another human being. Platonism was very much influenced by Pythagoreanism, especially in the areas of mathematics and the soul. Josephus compares the Essenes to the Pythagoreans, perhaps because of the ascetic life-style and certain beliefs (though he does not give detailed reasons). *See also* METEMPSYCHOSIS; PLATONISM.



q *for Hebrew words beginning with the letter* Q, *see also under* K

qaddish *see* DOXOLOGY

Qadosh Qodashim *see* HOLY OF HOLIES

Qahat, Testament of an Aramaic composition, surviving in one fragmentary copy, found in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952. Published in 1991 by E. Puech, the manuscript is dated c. 100 B.C.E. and was probably composed in the second century B.C.E.; its title is abbreviated as 4QTQah. An example of the "testament" genre (e.g., the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs), the work is an admonition from Qahat, Moses' grandfather, to his son Amram, instructing him to honor the heritage of the fathers (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and to obey the "prescriptions of Abraham" and the "ordinances of Levi" (probably the Torah).

Qatsrin modern village in the Golan Heights about 1½ kilometers northeast of the Sea of Galilee that incorporated parts of an ancient Jewish village, mainly of the Byzantine period. Excavations uncovered remains dating from the Middle Bronze Age to the present, with a flourishing of settlement and construction in the Early Byzantine to Early Arab periods. Parts the village have been reconstructed. The village was constructed on an "organic" plan. That is, houses were built as needed, usually as additions to existing houses or house complexes. Most houses were built as needed, usually as additions to existing houses or house complexes. Most houses were built next to an outdoor courtyard and consisted of a common room separated from a storage area by an interior wall pierced by openings (a "window wall"). A bedroom or loft was constructed over the storage area in the second story. Some houses had indoor kitchens or small storage spaces. As nuclear families expanded into extended families, additional houses were constructed directly onto existing houses, resulting in crowded blocks of houses with shared walls. Construction was of basalt, a local volcanic stone.

Qatsrin Synagogue ancient synagogue excavated at Qatsrin in the Golan Heights. Building remains in the village reveal that life continued from the third or fourth century C.E. to the eighth century C.E. The first synagogue built at Qatsrin was almost square, 15.2 by 15.3 meters. The floor was hard plaster and was carved with shallow grooves to mimic stone slab pavers. There are remnants of an original door at the northern edge of the floor. A low bench lined the northern wall. Columns were in two rows of three. Some architectural fragments found in the village may have come from this synagogue, including a doorjamb carved with a seven-branched menorah and a cornice fragment bearing a Hebrew inscription. The second building, erected apparently in the sixth century C.E., was larger, about 18 by 15.4 meters. The entrance was reconstructed in the south wall and is well preserved. It is complete, with a cornice bearing an egg-and-dart design and a lintel carved with a wreath, a Hercules knot, two pomegranates, and two amphorae.

The worship space is divided into a nave and two aisles by columns. Inner walls were plastered, whitewashed, and in some places painted with red

bands. At the south end of the building was the Torah shrine on top of a raised platform, or *bimah*. The *bimah* was approached by two stone steps that extended from the last two columns in both rows and extended across the nave. A two-tiered bench lined all four walls. Two rows of four columns supported a tiled roof and divided the inner space into two aisles and a nave. The style of the column capitals is a variation on the Ionic style that is peculiar to the area of the Golan Heights. A pair of small pilasters, one of which was used in part of a later wall, may be remnants of the Ark of the Law. Fragments of mosaics indicate mosaic floors were used in the worship space. A doorway in the southeast leads to a small attached room. A hoard of 180 coins, found between the bottom bench and wall, date the construction of the second building to the early sixth century C.E. A similar hoard of 82 coins, found underneath a floor near the Ark of the Law, date some repair work and renovation to the seventh and eighth centuries C.E.

Qatsyon Synagogue possible ancient synagogue in Upper Galilee about 9 kilometers north-northwest of modern Tsfat (Safed). In the late nineteenth century explorers thought that they had discovered either a pagan temple or possibly a synagogue. They described a building oriented to the south, that is, to Jerusalem, surrounded by a colonnade and associated with a pool. Inside the building was found a six-line Greek inscription: "For the salvation of the Roman Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Septimius Geta, their sons, by a vow of the Jews." To the left one reads "and Julia Domna Augusta" and to the right "and the legions." The inscription dates between 196 and 198 C.E., when Caracalla held the title Caesar but not yet the title Augustus. The consensus of scholarship today is that this represents a commendation of Caesar's family by the Jewish community in lieu of a votive offering. There is no consensus that the building is a synagogue.

Q.E. *see* QUAESTIONES ET SOLUTIONES IN EXODUM

Q.G. *see* QUAESTIONES ET SOLUTIONES IN GENESIN

Qinneret *see* GALILEE, SEA OF

Qisrin *see* QATSRIN

Quadratus Bassus *see* BASSUS, GAIUS JULIUS QUADRATUS

Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum the treatise *Questions and Answers on Exodus* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Q.E.* The style of this work takes the form of a question about a biblical passage, followed by Philo's answer. He usually gives the literal meaning first and then follows it with the allegorical meaning.

Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin the treatise *Questions and Answers on Genesis* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Q.G.* The work is styled in the form of a question about a biblical passage, followed by Philo's answer. A literal meaning is usually given first, followed by an allegorical interpretation.

quaestor (Lat.) term usually used in reference to a treasury official, though at times a quaestor might also have military functions. The office was usually taken by young Romans of the nobility (normally around age thirty) on their way up through the ranks of the administration.

Quartodecimans a Christian movement of the first and second centuries C.E. that celebrated the death and resurrection of Christ on the fourteenth of Nisan, instead of the usual Easter celebrations. A number of important early Christians of the second century were said to be Quartodecimans, including Polycarp, Polycrates, and Melito. Some early traditions suggest that the apostle John was also of this persuasion. This suggests that the movement may represent an earlier practice of the Jesus movement. However, apart from the calendar used, the group seems to have had little in common with Judaism. The eucharist celebrated seems to have been no different from that of other Christians and apparently did not represent a form of Jewish Christianity such as the sect of the Ebionites. According to some testimonies, the Quartodecimans actually began their celebration a day later than did the Jews and were at pains to be still fasting when the Jews were celebrating the Passover meal. From the information preserved, there seems a concern on the part of some of this group not to appear to be Jewish. Melito, for example, makes harsh accusations against the Jews in his pascal address.

Queen of the South the Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon to listen to and test his wisdom (1 Kings 10:10). In Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31, this Gentile's willingness to seek out Solomon and the repentance of the Ninevites in the Book of Jonah are contrasted with "this generation" of Jews who would not listen to Jesus' words.

Quietus, Lucius consular legate of Syria-Palaestina from 116 C.E. until shortly after Trajan's death. He was appointed legate of Judea as a reward for his service in the Parthian War and his suppression of a revolt in Mesopotamia. Dio refers to a revolt against Trajan in 116 in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and perhaps Adiabene. In his *History*, Eusebius claims that Trajan sent Quietus to the area because

the emperor feared that the Jews would attack the local inhabitants. Quietus was ordered to expel the Jews from Mesopotamia, and Eusebius states that he massacred a number of the inhabitants of the area. In his *Chronicle,* Eusebius writes that Quietus's arrival was in response to a Jewish uprising. Several Jewish sources mention "a war of Quietus." Although the rebels enjoyed initial success, Quietus's arrival turned the tide of the war. He took Nisibis, destroyed Edessa, and captured Seleucia, all of which probably had significant Jewish populations.

Quietus, War of *see* TRAJAN, WAR OF

Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus *see* MARCELLUS, GAIUS QUINCTIUS CERTUS PUBLICIUS

Quinta an otherwise-unknown Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (or portions of it) known from Origen's *Hexapla.* It forms an extra column in the Psalms but is absent from most of his work, so it may have been done for only some books. It generally agrees with the *kaige.*

Quirinius, Publius Sulpicius a Roman of senatorial and consular rank who was appointed legate of Syria by Augustus in 6 C.E. He carried out a census in Palestine, referred to by Josephus and the Gospel of Luke 2:1, which produced unrest. He also appointed Ananus, son of Seth, to the high priesthood (6–15 C.E.).

Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres the treatise *Who is the Heir of Divine Things* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Heres.* The treatise is an allegorical exegesis, with few digressions, of Genesis 15:2–18, in which Abraham offers a sacrifice and is promised an heir. Every small detail of the text is considered significant.

Qumran the Judean wilderness site associated with the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, located on the northwest shores of the Dead Sea and south of Jericho. It may be the "city of salt" of Joshua 15:61–62. Although an Israelite farmstead was found at Qumran dating from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.E., the main occupation at Qumran began sometime between 154 to 134 B.C.E., or during the reigns of the Jewish kings Jonathan Maccabaeus (152–142 B.C.E.) and Simeon Maccabaeus (142–134 B.C.E.). This is phase Ia. In this period the round Israelite cistern was reused and the new occupants dug two more nearby.

In the next phase, called Ib by the archaeologists, Qumran assumed the complete form familiar to tourists. Perhaps during the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.E.) the buildings were greatly enlarged. The occupants constructed a massive main building with a tower, a central courtyard, a meeting room, and a dining hall with connected pantry. A potter's shop was constructed on the west side with two kilns and arrangements for preparing clay and manufacturing pots. To the west, a second courtyard building was constructed with storage rooms around it. Cisterns and workshops stood between the west building and the main building. Northwest of the tower was a large courtyard with a ritual bath in its northwest corner. Here and there among the ruins, archaeologists recovered caches of uneaten ritual meals with sheep, goat, calf, or cow bones and broken associated dishes. There was no provision for living within the buildings, except perhaps for two rooms connected with the meeting room (locus 1). An elaborate water system brought water in from the Wadi Quman to the west in an aqueduct resting directly upon the ground. The aqueduct fed the complex of eight cisterns and ritual baths for which Qumran is famous. At the entry point of the aqueduct there was a settling basin for the water. Great care was lavished upon the ritual baths, complete with small, clay and plaster markings on the steps to distinguish a path for descending into the water from the path for exiting from the water. Such care suggests a strong commitment to ritual bathing and perhaps other rites of cleansing the person. This era of occupation ended with an earthquake in 31 B.C.E. The earthquake damaged the tower, brought down the ceiling of the pantry on the assembled dishes, smashing them in place, collapsed the western cistern, and damaged the corner of the second building. An associated conflagration burned extensively and left thick layers of ash and burned soil in open areas near the buildings.

The ruin was left abandoned for a period. The water system continued to function and brought in a layer of pure silt that was deposited on top of the ash, burn, and debris from the earthquake and the conflagration. Shortly afterward, perhaps with the accession of Herod Archaelaus as tetrarch of Judea in 4 B.C.E., the site was reoccupied in what is known as phase II. The new occupation continued the usages of phase Ib. The walls were strengthened where they had been damaged, and the tower was reinforced with a buttress around its lower story. A few rooms went out of use, but in the main the occupation continued along the lines of phase Ia. Ritual meals continued as before with the burial of the bones and dishes. The potter continued manufacturing pottery at the site. There was a kitchen with five ovens, a flour mill, and a baker's establishment. In the collapse from the upper story of one of the rooms of phase II, the archaeologists found a

long table with low benches, two shorter tables, also with low benches, and three ink wells. This room was dubbed the "scriptorium," or scribal space, by the archaeologists.

This is the period of major activity of the occupants, whom the archaeologists identify with the Essenes mentioned in Josephus and in other ancient sources. The assumption is that this is a mainly celibate sect of Jewish men who attempted to live ritually pure and pious lives apart from other men. Their cemetery to the east contained 1,100 graves, all oriented north to south. It indicates something of the length of occupation and the continuity of occupation, as all were buried with the same customs. A small settlement exactly parallel to Qumran was found at Ein Feshkah, a few kilometers south of Qumran. This ruin had been occupied in exactly the same periods as Qumran, and presumably by the same people.

Phase II was destroyed in June of 68 C.E. by the Roman army under Vespasian. The army occupied Jericho at this time, two years into the First Revolt against Rome. The latest coins of phase II are four Jewish coins of year three of the revolt, a year which began in March or April of 68 C.E.

Phase III of Qumran is the period when a small Roman garrison occupied the site. In this occupation, the soldiers built rooms here and there from the actual debris of the site, on top of the rubble of the destruction they had performed. The soldiers used only one cistern, filling in the others with rubble. The garrison was withdrawn after the fall of Masada in 73 C.E. A few rebels associated with the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 135 C.E. camped at the site but built no permanent structures.

Qumran caves 1, 2, 3, and 11 lay far north of Qumran. Caves 4 and 5 were found on the next projecting terrace to the immediate west of Qumran. Qumran cave 6 was found in the cliff face just west of Qumran. On the same terrace as the ruin of Qumran were found Qumran caves 7 to 10, all of which contained scroll fragments. *See also* DEAD SEA CAVES; DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Qumran Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, JEWISH LITERARY

Qumran Scrolls *see* DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet the treatise *The Worse Attacks the Better* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated *Quod Det.* This work is an allegory on Cain and Abel, contrasting the love of self and the sophist (represented by Cain) with the love of God (represented by Abel).

Quod Deus immutabilis sit the treatise *On the Unchangeableness of God* by Philo of Alexandria; its title is abbreviated as *Quod Deus.* An allegorical exegesis of Genesis 6:4–12 that continues the treatise *De Gigantibus,* this work attempts to refute the idea apparently expressed by the text that God might change his mind.

Quod Omnis *see* PROBUS

quorum (Heb.: *minyan*) number needed for quorum for worship; ten people (males in Orthodox Judaism, males or females in other forms of Judaism) required for the recitation of public prayer or public reading of the Torah

R

Rab *see* ABBA ARIKHA

Raba Babylonian amora of the first half of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Naḥman b. Jacob and Joseph. His full name was Raba b. Joseph b. Ḥama. He became head of the academy at Meḥoza and is known for his legal disputes with Abayye, which form a significant aspect of talmudic dialectic. Except in several instances, the decided law followed Raba's opinion.

Rabba *see* AḤA B. ABBUHA

Rabba b. Ḥana *see* RABBAH B. ḤUNA

Rabba b. Ulla *see* ABBA B. ULLA

Rabbah b. Avuha Babylonian amora active at the end of the second century C.E.; a student first of Rab and then at Nehardea, under Samuel. Later, he was a judge and head of the academy at Meḥoza.

Rabbah b. b. Ḥana Babylonian amora of the early fourth century C.E.; the son of Abba b. Ḥana. He is known for his accounts of his sea voyages.

Rabbah b. Ḥuna Babylonian amora of the early fourth century C.E.; in the Jerusalem Talmud, called Abba b. Ḥuna. After Ḥisda's death, he was head of the academy at Sura. He died in Babylonia but was buried in the Land of Israel (B. Moed Katan 25b).

Rabbah b. Naḥmani Babylonian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; born of a priestly family that traced its lineage to Eli. At Sura, he studied under Ḥuna; at Pumbedita, he studied under Judah b. Ezekiel. It is unclear whether or not, for a time, he studied in Palestine under Yoḥanan (B. Nedarim 59a). His was regarded as an expert in the laws of ritual purity (B. Baba Metzia 86a). For twenty-two years he was head of the academy at Pumbedita.

Rabbah b. Shila Babylonian amora active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; a contemporary of Ḥisda. He reports that Ḥisda's ban on the butchers of Ḥutzal has been ineffective. His activities as a civil judge are frequently mentioned.

Rabbah Tosfaa one of the last Babylonian Amoraic authorities, active in the middle of the fifth century C.E.; a student of Rabina. He followed Mar b. Ashi as head of the academy at Sura, holding that position from 468 through 474 C.E. The name Tosfaa (the amplifier) may have been intended to characterize his talmudic activity.

Rabbai Savoraic authority or possibly a gaon, active at Pumbedita in the mid-sixth century C.E.

Rabban title of honor, meaning "lord"

Rabbana honorific title (our rabbi), applied to a number of Babylonian authorities, in particular, to Ashi

Rabban Uqba *see* MAR UKBA II

Rabbat Moab Synagogue a building located 20 kilometers east of the southern quarter of the Dead Sea, which can possibly be identified as an ancient synagogue that was used from the second half of the fourth century C.E. until sometime in the fifth century C.E. The building has been identified as a synagogue because of its westerly orientation toward Jerusalem and because of a seemingly exaggerated statement by the fifth-century monk, Bar Sauma, who claims to have destroyed a synagogue at Rabbat Moab. The possibility should not

be ruled out, however, that the building functioned as a Byzantine church instead of a synagogue.

Rabbenu title of honor, meaning "our lord"

rabbi my lord, or my master; title of honor, generally associated with a master of the Torah. The rabbi functioned in the Jewish community in ancient times as judge and administrator. But he lived in a society in some ways quite separate from that of Jewry as a whole. The rabbinical academy was a law school. Some of its graduates served as judges and administrators of the law. However, the rabbinical school was by no means a center for merely legal study. It was, like the Christian monastery, the locus for a peculiar kind of religious living. Only one of its functions concerned those parts of the Torah to be applied in everyday life through the judiciary. In ancient, medieval, and modern times these activities and institutions remained remarkably stable. The school, or *yeshiva* (Heb., session), was a council of Judaism, a holy community. In it, men learned to live a holy life—to become saints. When they left, sages continued to live by the discipline of the school. They invested great efforts in teaching that discipline by example and precept to ordinary folk. Through the school, classical Judaism transformed the Jewish people into its vision of the true replica of Mosaic revelation.

The schools, like other holy communities, imposed their own particular rituals, intended, in the first instance, for the disciples and masters. Later, it was hoped, all Jews would conform to those rituals and so join the circle of master and disciples. As with study, the schools' discipline transformed other ordinary, natural actions, gestures, and functions into rituals—the rituals of "being a rabbi." For example, everyone ate, but rabbis did so in a "rabbinic" manner. In other words, that which others regarded as matters of mere etiquette—formalities and conventions intended to render eating aesthetically agreeable—rabbis regarded as matters of "Torah," something to be *learned*. It was "Torah" to do things one way, and it was "ignorance" to do them another way (though not heresy, for theology was not the issue). The master of Torah, whether disciple or teacher, would demonstrate his mastery not merely through what he said in the discussion of legal traditions or what he did in court but also by how he sat at the table, by what ritual formulas he recited before eating one or another kind of fruit or vegetable, by how he washed his hands, and so on—by performing all mundane acts according to "Torah."

The personality traits of ordinary men might vary, but those expected of and inculcated into a sage were of a single fabric. The central human relationship in the schools was between the disciple and the master. Long ago, it was taught that the master took the place of the father. The father brought the son into this world; the master would lead him into the world to come. Whatever honor was due the father was all the more owed to the master. But the master did not merely replace the father. He also required the veneration and reverence owed to the Torah. The extreme forms of respect that evolved over the centuries constitute the most striking rituals attached to "being a rabbi." If study was an act of piety, then the master was partly its object. This is not to suggest that the master, though a saint, was regarded divine in any sense. But the forms of respect reserved for the divinity or for the Torah were not too different, in appropriate circumstances, from those owed to the master. The forms of respect for the master constituted part of the ritual of being a rabbi. The service of the disciples of the sages separated the true sage from the merely learned man. It had earlier been taught that if one had studied scripture and the Mishnah but did not attend upon disciples of the sages, he was regarded as a boor (am haAretz). To this epithet a fourth-century rabbi added: "Behold, such a one is a magus," and the talmudic discussion then cited a popular saying: The magus mumbles and does not know what he is saying, just as the tanna (the professional memorizier and reciter of the Mishnah) who has not attended on the sages recites and does not know what he is saying" (B. Sotah, 22a). The sage claimed to see no difference between a learned Jew and a learned Zoroastrian except that the disciple served the sages. That service—meaning not merely personal attendance but also imitation and study of the master as much as of the Torah—constituted a vital part of Torah study. The master exemplified the whole Torah, including the oral part of it. Scripture and Mishnah, written and oral Torah, meant little without observation and imitation of the sage. The whole Torah was not in books or in words to be memorized. Torah was to be found in whole and complete form in the master. That is why the forms of respect for the master were both so vital and so unique to the mythic life of the schools. What made a man into a rabbi was study of the Torah as a disciple with a master of the Torah. This was regarded in Judaism in ancient times (and is still regarded today) as the principal purpose of life; in the words of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai: "If you

have accomplished much in the study of the Torah, do not take pride on that account, for it was to that end that you were created."

All the great saints and heroes of Israel, both in the times of ancient Israel and later on, were regarded as rabbis. The rabbis taught that the "whole Torah"—oral and written—was studied by David, augmented by Ezekiel, legislated by Ezra, and embodied in the schools and by the sages of every period in Israelite history from Moses to the present. It is a singular, linear conception of a revelation preserved only by the few, pertaining to the many, and in time capable of bringing salvation to all. The Torah myth further regards Moses as "our rabbi," the first and prototypical figure of the ideal Jew. It holds that whoever embodies the teachings of Moses, "our rabbi," thereby is himself a rabbi and conforms to the will of God—and not to God's will alone, but also to his way. In heaven, God and the angels study the Torah, just as rabbis do on earth. God dons phylacteries, as does a Jew. He prays in the rabbinic mode. He carries out the acts of compassion called for by Judaic ethics. He guides the affairs of the world according to the rules of Torah, just as does the rabbi in his court on earth. One exegesis of the Creation legend taught that God had looked into the Torah and therefrom had created the world. The myth of Torah is multidimensional. It includes the striking detail that whatever the most recent rabbi is destined to discover through proper exegesis of the tradition is as much a part of the way revealed to Moses as is a sentence of scripture itself. It therefore is possible to participate even in the giving of the law by appropriate, logical inquiry into the law. God himself, studying and living by Torah, is believed to subject himself to these same rules of logical inquiry. If an earthly court were to overrule the testimony, delivered through miracles, of the heavenly one, God would rejoice, crying out, "My sons have conquered me! My sons have conquered me!" Moses, "our rabbi," is the pattern for the ordinary sage of the streets of Jerusalem, Pumbedita, Mainz, London, Lvov, Bombay, Dallas, or New York. And God Himself participates in the system, for it is his image that, in the end, forms that cosmic paradigm. The faithful Jew constitutes the projection of the divine on earth. Honor is due to the learned rabbi more than to the scroll of the Torah, for through his learning and logic he may alter the very content of Mosaic revelation. He *is* Torah, not merely because he lives by it, but because at his best he forms as compelling an embodiment of the heavenly model as does a Torah-scroll itself. Learning by rabbis thus finds a central place in a classical Judaic tradition because of the belief that God had revealed his will to mankind through the medium of a written revelation given to Moses at Mount Sinai, accompanied by oral traditions taught in the rabbinical schools and preserved in the Talmuds and related literature.

The texts without the oral traditions might have led elsewhere than into the academy, for the biblicism of other groups yielded something quite different from Jewish religious intellectualism. But belief in the text was coupled with the belief that oral traditions were also revealed. In the books composed in the rabbinical academies, as much as in the Hebrew Bible itself, was contained God's will for humanity. The acts of studying, memorizing, and commenting upon the sacred books are holy. The reason is that when the faithful Jew studies the Torah, he hears God's word and will. The study of sacred texts therefore assumes a central position in Judaism. Other traditions had their religious virtuosos, whose virtuosity consisted in knowledge of a literary tradition; but few held, as does Judaism, that everyone must become such a virtuoso. Traditional processes of learning are discrete and exegetical. Creativity is expressed not through abstract dissertation, but rather through commentary upon the sacred writings, or, more likely in later times, commentary upon earlier commentaries. One might also prepare a code of the laws, but such a code would represent little more than an assemblage of authoritative opinions of earlier times, with a decision being offered upon those few questions the centuries had left unanswered. The chief glory of the commentator is his *ḥiddush* (novelty). The *ḥiddush* constitutes a scholastic disquisition upon a supposed contradiction between two earlier authorities chosen from any period, with no concern for how they might in fact relate historically, and upon a supposed harmonization of their "contradiction." Or a new distinction might be read into an ancient law, upon which basis, ever more questions might be raised and solved. The focus of interest quite naturally lies upon law rather than theology, history, philosophy, or other sacred sciences. But within the law it rests upon legal theory, and interest in the practical consequences of the law is decidedly subordinated.

What makes a person into a rabbi, therefore, is study, and one central ritual of the Judaic tradition, therefore, is study. Study as a natural action entails learning of traditions and executing them—in this context, in school or in court. Study becomes a ritual action when it is endowed with values extrinsic

to its ordinary character—that is, when it is set into a mythic context. When a disciple memorizes his master's traditions and actions, he participates in that myth. His study is thereby endowed with the sanctity that ordinarily pertains to prayer or other cultic matters. Study loses its referent in intellectual attainment. The act of study itself becomes holy, so that its original purpose, which was mastery of particular information, ceases to matter much. What matters is piety—piety expressed through the rites of studying. Repeating the words of the oral revelation, even without comprehending them, produces reward, just as imitating the master matters, even without really being able to explain the reasons for his actions. The separation of the value, or sanctity, of the act of study from the natural, cognitive result of learning therefore transforms study from a natural to a ritual action. That separation is accomplished in part by myth and in part by the powerful impact of the academic environment itself. A striking illustration of the distinction between mere learning and learning as part of ritual life derives from the comment of Mar Zutra, a fifth-century-C.E. Babylonian rabbi, on Isaiah 14:5, "The Lord has broken the staff of the wicked, the scepter of rulers." He said, "These are disciples of the sages who teach public laws to boorish judges" (B. Shabbat, 139a). The fact that the uncultivated judge would know the law did not matter, for he still was what he had been—a boor, not a disciple of the sages. Mere knowledge of the laws does not transform an ordinary person, however powerful, into a sage.

Learning carried with it more than naturalistic valence, as is further seen in the saying of Amemar, a contemporary of Mar Zutra: "A sage is superior to a prophet, as Scripture [Ps. 90:12] says, And a prophet has a heart of wisdom" (B. Baba Batra, 12a). The sense is that what made a prophet credible was his knowledge of wisdom, and wisdom, in sages' speech, stood for Torah-learning. What characterized the prophet was, Amemar said, sagacity. Since the prophet was supposed to reveal the divine will, it was not inconsequential that his revelation depended not upon gifts of the spirit but upon learning. The talmudic rabbis' emphasis on learning as a ritual act ought not to obscure their high expectations of actual accomplishment in learning. While they stressed the act of study without reference to its achievement, at the same time they possessed very old traditions on how best to pursue their task. These traditions included much practical advice on how to acquire and preserve learning.

No role whatever was assigned to women, who could not become rabbis; only in the last part of the twentieth century has women's right to become rabbis been recognized. They did not study in the schools, and the life of Torah effectively was closed to them. On the other hand, mothers would encourage their sons to study Torah. Rabina, a late fourth-century master, explained how the merit of study of the Torah applied to womenfolk. Women, he suggested, acquire merit when they arrange for their sons' education in scripture and the Mishnah and when they wait for their husbands to return from the schools. Since that return was often postponed by months or even years, it was no small sacrifice. But the schools were entirely male institutions, and no equivalent religious life was available for women. It is only in our own day that women have entered the world of Torah-study in the ways in which men have carried on that enterprise.

rabbinic literature *see* LITERATURE, RABBINIC

Rabin *see* ABIN

Rabina I Babylonian amora; died c. 422 C.E.; a student of Raba and frequently cited in conjunction with Naḥman b. Isaac, Aḥa b. Raba, and Ashi. Many of his statements involve relations with non-Jews and other practical aspects of life in Sassanid Babylonia.

Rabina II b. Ḥuna Babylonian amora active in the late fifth century C.E.; the nephew of Rabina I; during 474–499 C.E., head of the academy at Sura

Rabina of Amutzya Saboraic authority; died c. 506 C.E. The details of his life and work are not known.

raca (Gr.: *raka;* probably from Aram.: *reka,* Heb.: *rekah,* empty one) term of contempt suggesting something like empty-head or numbskull. Matthew 5:22 sets it in parallel to "Fool!" as part of one of the "antitheses" in which Jesus cites a commandment (against murder) and then demands more radical behavior (do not be angry or insult another).

Rachel Jacob's wife, Leah's sister and rival, and Joseph's mother, who died giving birth to Benjamin. Her story is expanded by Jubilees, Demetrius the Chronographer, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. According to Matthew 2:18, she weeps for the children killed by Herod's soldiers and thereby fulfills Jeremiah 31:15.

Rafid (Raphid) a possible synagogue site of the Roman or Byzantine period in the Golan Heights (though some have suggested that the ruins are Christian). In the nineteenth century, it was reported that a large building was found with decorations on the stones carved in low relief. An apse

was also reported. A lintel stone presents two birds holding the ribbons of a wreath in their beaks. A second lintel was decorated with three simple circles. A doorpost, on the other hand, was decorated with an equal-armed cross. Since the ruins are dated to the second century, and the cross does not emerge on Christian buildings until the fourth century, this need not be a church. On the other hand, there is nothing in the ruins that identifies them as unambiguously Jewish. Only excavation will tell.

Rafram I b. Pappa Babylonian amora; a student of Ḥisda at Pumbedita in the fourth century C.E. Following Dimi, he became head of that academy.

Rafram II Babylonian amora active in the mid-fifth century C.E.; during 433–443 C.E., head of the academy at Pumbedita; referred to at B. Bekhorot 36b as Rafram of Pumbedita

Rahab harlot in Jericho who sheltered in her house the men whom Joshua sent to spy in the city (Josh. 2). The story attributes to her genuine belief in the invincible power of the God of Israel (2:8–14), and she makes a covenant of mutual protection with the spies. Rahab's active faith is cited in the catalog of heroes and heroines in Hebrews 11:31, while James 2:25, following his own emphasis, focuses on the deed that embodied her faith. In Matthew 1:5 she is mentioned along with Tamar, Ruth, and Bathsheba as a forebear of Jesus the Messiah. This noteworthy group of women prefigure Mary the mother of Jesus, who is under considerable suspicion in Matthew 1:18–19.

Raḥba Babylonian amora active at Pumbedita in the fourth century C.E.; a student of Judah b. Ezekiel. His name is a contraction of the title Raḇ and the personal name Aḥba.

rain The uncertainty of the water supply in the Land of Israel meant that, in biblical and rabbinic culture, drought was dreaded. Rain was seen as a gift from God, who offered abundant rain as a reward for the Israelites' faithful observance of the commandments (see, e.g., Deut. 11:13–14). Iniquity, by contrast, was punished by God's withholding of rain (Deut. 16:15). Malakhi 3:10 clearly expresses the connection between the observance of agricultural laws and the rains: "Bring the full tithes into the storehouse, that there may be food in my house; and thereby put me to the test, says the Lord of hosts, if I will not open the windows of heaven for you and pour down for you an overflowing blessing."

In line with Deuteronomy 11:14 and Jeremiah 5:24, which refer to early and late rains, the rabbis speak of the first rains, called *yoreh,* which come in the autumn (in the month of Ḥeshvan or, alternatively, Kislev), and the second rains, called *malkosh,* in the spring (in the month of Nisan). This distinction reflects the importance for agriculture not simply of appropriate quantities of rain but of rain at the right times of the year. The rabbis view prayer as a viable means of assuring such rain. From December through the end of the rainy season in the spring, a petition for rain is included daily in the eighth of the Eighteen Benedictions (M. Berakhot 5:2). Additionally, during the period of the later rains, the second benediction of the Amidah, concerning the resurrection of the dead, is expanded with a declaration that God "causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall." The rainy season as a whole is introduced with a special appeal for rain, inserted in the Musaf prayers on Shemini Atzeret, understood as the day on which God judges the people by determining whether or not to provide rain (M. Rosh Hashanah 1:2). This liturgical poem petitions God for rain by recalling the significance of water in the lives of the patriarchs, Moses, Aaron, and the people of Israel. God is asked to provide rain for the sake of his people, who were redeemed from slavery in Egypt by going through water and who, as martyrs for God's name, have had their blood spilled like water.

Mishnah Taanit (chap. 1) describes a sequence of public fasts declared in the case of a drought. If rain does not fall by the seventeenth of Marḥeshvan, individuals undertake three fasts during the daylight hours. After the beginning of Kislev, the court decrees additional sequences of three and then seven fasts. With each series of fasts, additional activities are restricted, including, initially, work, bathing, and sexual relations. The failure of these fasts to bring rain leads to a period of national mourning, during which commerce, building, planting, engagements, marriages, and greetings are prohibited.

Mishnah Taanit 3:8 recalls the story of Honi the Circle-maker who, because of his special relationship to God, was able to compel the production of rain. Honi refused to move from a circle he drew on the ground until God provided the amount and sort of rain needed by the people. The rabbis reject such activity as an inappropriate coercing of God, which cannot be successfully undertaken by most people, who do not have Honi's stature before the deity.

Ramah Synagogue a possible synagogue site in Lower Galilee about 3 kilometers north of Sepphoris. Josephus knew of a Galilean village named Ramah, the home of two of the defenders of Yod-

fat against the siege of the Romans in 66 B.C.E. An Aramaic inscription cut in stone has been found at Ramah that says, "Blessed be for good Rabbi Eliezer bar Theodoro who built this house as a hospice." The name Eliezer of Elazar is very common among rabbis and others of the Roman and Byzantine periods, so it is impossible to say which Eliezer this is. On the other hand it attests to a hospice. In other inscriptions from other localities, including Jerusalem, hospices are associated with synagogues. A lintel that is said to have come from Ramah is decorated with a repeated square pattern around its edges, then depicts a wreath in the center with two *nikes* (victories) or genii on either side.

Ramat Aviv Synagogue ancient Samaritan synagogue found on the slope of a hill north of Tel Aviv near the entrance of the HaAretz Museum. The site is in part of the ancient city of Appolonia. Only one row of columns and the south wall of an east-west building have so far been recovered. Originally two rows of columns divided the interior space into nave and two aisles. There appears to be an opening to the east, but it is not clear if this is the main entrance. The interior space would be about 6.7 meters long, but the width is unknown. A colorful mosaic covered the floor of the entire building in antiquity, but only about one-third was recovered. The design consists of geometric patterns and repeated images of plants and flowers. A Greek inscription set in a mosaic medallion reads: "Blessing and Peace on Israel and on the place, Amen." The word "place" or "Holy Place" is often a term for "synagogue" in ancient inscriptions. A longer Greek inscription reads: "In the rule of count Urbicus, as an offering of . . . son of Agatheus for the salvation of his most God-loving children, the structure with light chamber [?] is [dedicated] to the Lord." A third inscription in Samaritan script has not been published. The structure is sixth-century or Late Byzantine, judging by the pottery and a single bronze coin.

Ramat Bene-Anat *see* BETH RAMAH

Rami b. Abba Babylonian amora active in the fourth century C.E.; often mentioned with Eleazar b. Pedat and Ḥiyya II; father-in-law of Ashi. His name is a contraction of R. Ammi.

Rami b. Ḥama Babylonian amora of the third century C.E.; a student of Ḥisda, whose daughter he married. He was a junior contemporary of Raba, who, after Rami's premature death, married his widow. At B. Berakhot 47b, Raba states that Rami's death resulted from Rami's ill-treatment of Manasseh b. Taḥlifa.

rank (Heb.: *bet maamad,* place of standing) technical term found in sectarian manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls that designates the location of each individual member in the Community's hierarchy. The hierarchy of the sectarian community reflected in the texts, most clearly in the Community Rule, is based on the structure of the camp of Israel in the wilderness—portrayed particularly in the Book of Numbers—that was laid out in units of "thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens" (cf. Exod. 18:21, 25; Deut. 1:15). Likewise, the Qumran Community envisaged a hierarchy in which each member was enrolled by tribe and then ranked in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. Therefore, according to 1QS 6:22, all new members are registered in order of rank, and at the annual Covenant Renewal ceremony, all the members enter according to their rank: "The Priests shall enter first, ranked one after another according to the perfection of their spirit; then the Levites, and thirdly, all the people one after another in their Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties and Tens, that every Israelite may know his place in the community of God according to the everlasting design. No man shall move down from his place nor move up from his allotted position" (1QS 2:19–23). This hierarchical structure is also envisioned for Israel in the eschatological age (cf. $1QS^a$ 2:12–17, 1QM 3–4). This hierarchy, in units of thousands and hundreds, is an idealization, since the Community at Qumran never numbered over two hundred at any given time, and Josephus reports only four thousand Essenes living in Judah in the Second Temple period.

ransom the price paid to free a war captive, slave, or debtor. In Hebrew, the word for ransoming a slave or debtor is from *kpr,* which is also the root of the Hebrew word for atonement or expiation. In Greek, it is associated with the word root meaning "release" (*apollyo*), and thus with the English word "redemption," which also pertains to being released or bought freedom. Some other words are used for ransom and redemption as well. In this entry, emphasis will be on the metaphor of paying a price, which is connoted by the English word "ransom."

Postbiblical usage generally continues biblical usage. In the Bible, one ransoms or redeems a firstborn ass with a sheep (Exod. 34:20) and a brother's possessions with money (Lev. 25:25). In the Letter of Aristeas, the ransom or redemption (*apolytrosis*) of Jews brought to Egypt, perhaps as captives, is sought and obtained (Let. Arist. 12, 33). God also redeems Israel from the house of bondage in Egypt

(Deut. 7:8). In 4 Maccabees, the martyrs Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons conceive of their deaths as a ransom (*antipsychon*) for the nation (6:27–29, 17:21). In the Dead Sea Scrolls, God's saving activity is sometimes described with the word *kpr,* but the metaphor of paying a ransom is not prominent in these documents. In the New Testament, the death of Jesus, like that of the Maccabean martyrs, is understood as a ransom. Jesus is said to have "given his life as a ransom [*lytron*] for many" (Mark 10:45) and to have given himself to redeem or ransom believers from iniquity and purify a people for himself (Titus 2:14). Cultic imagery merges with ransoming in the claim that Jesus' blood, not silver or gold, ransomed gentile believers from their futile ancestral ways (1 Pet. 1:18–19). Paul speaks of Christians as slaves of Christ, bought for a price (1 Cor. 6:20, 7:23), an ironic reversal of slavery and redemption terminology.

Rabbinic literature uses the term *pidyon shevuim,* or redemption of captives, to refer to payment of a price for the release of a prisoner or kidnapped person. Talmudic rabbis considered captivity to be the worst possible punishment (B. Baba Batra 8a–b) and accordingly deemed the ransom of Jewish captives to be one of the most important communal obligations, taking precedence even over feeding or clothing the poor. Ransom of captives was underwritten with public funds, even those collected for other purposes, including the construction of a synagogue (B. Baba Batra 3b). To discourage would-be captors, rabbinic law precluded payment of more than the usual value of a captive or slave (B. Gittin 45a). The law requiring ransoming of a captive was relaxed in the case of individuals who, for financial reasons, had allowed themselves to be taken captive a number of times (B. Gittin 46a). M. Horayot 3:7–8 provides an order in which captives are to be ransomed when sufficient funds are not available to ransom everyone: priest, Levite, Israelite, *mamzer, natin,* proselyte, freed slave. According to M. Horayot, a man takes precedence over a women; and a sage, even if he is a mamzer, takes precedence over all other categories.

rape sexual intercourse with a woman against her will. Biblical and rabbinic law distinguish rape from seduction, in which the woman improperly was caused to consent to intercourse. Intercourse with a woman in a place in which, even if she called out, no help could have come is presumed to be rape unless witnesses testify to the contrary (Deut. 22:25–27). In a town, where cries for help would have brought assistance, an absence of witnesses to her crying out leads to a presumption of seduction. Intercourse with a female minor always is deemed rape, as is intercourse that began forcibly but ended with the woman's consent.

In rabbinic law, rape of a minor is penalized with a fine of fifty shekels of silver and compensation for pain, suffering, shame, and blemish (cf. Deut. 22:28–29). For an adult, payment is made only for pain and suffering. A seducer of an adult is exempt from financial liability.

Raphael (Heb., God has healed) one of four, or in some cases, seven holy ones (angels) who stand in God's immediate presence. He is mentioned in all lists of these angels in the Pseudepigrapha (1 Enoch 20, 40) and the Qumran scrolls (1QM 9:15–16), and is he is one of three who appear by name in canonical and dêuterocanonical texts. In the Book of Tobit he is the divinely sent healer and the opponent of the demon Asmodeus. According to 1 Enoch 10:4 he heals the earth from the plague caused by the rebellious watchers, and in 1 Enoch 22, with a different play on his name, he is in charge of the shades of the dead (Heb.: *refaim*).

Raphia, Battle of The Seleucid ruler Antiochus III, known as Antiochus the Great (r. 223–187 B.C.E.), pushed the Ptolemaic forces out of Palestine during 220–218 B.C.E. In 217 B.C.E., Ptolemy IV Euergetes (r. 221–204 B.C.E.) defeated Antiochus at Raphia, on the northernshore of the Sinai peninsula, and forced him to give up his gains in Palestine.

Rautah and Fanutah the coming time of "Divine Favor" and the current period of "Divine Disfavor" that will be replaced in the Samaritan scheme of history. The idea is akin to the apocalyptic present evil age and the redemptive age about to come, and the similar notion of two ages described by the Qumran Community. For the Samaritans, the original period of Divine Favor was present when the Holy Tabernacle was on Mount Gerizim. That period ended when the Jews withdrew and Eli moved the sanctuary from Gerizim to Shiloh. The subsequent secession of the Northern Kingdom by Jeroboam I and the establishment of a sanctuary at Bethel further justified God's anger. God turned away (hence, *fanutah,* to turn away) and left Gerizim, initiating the period of Divine Disfavor. God instructed the priest Uzzi to put the holy vessels and garments into a cave and seal it. The cave subsequently disappeared to await the Rautah, or return of God's favor, when God will return to his tent on Mount Gerizim. Originally the idea of a Taheb, or prophet like Moses, and that of a Second Kingdom, were independent from the notion of

the Rautah, but in time the three concepts merged into a single vision of hope for the future.

rebiit *see* LOG

reconciliation Greek term (*katallagē; [apo] katallassein*) for which there is no Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent. Etymologically, atonement (at-one-ment) means reconciliation, but this meaning is obsolete, since "atonement" is now used as the equivalent of "expiation." The Septuagint uses a cognate, *dialassein,* to speak of the Levite's reconciling his concubine to himself, where the Hebrew has him cause her to return to himself (Judg. 19:3). In 2 Maccabees, people pray that God will be reconciled (1:5, 8:29), knowing that after chastening for sins, God will be reconciled to his servants (7:33); after God is reconciled, the Temple is restored to its former glory (5:20). In 3 Maccabees, persecuted Jews pray to God, who is easily reconciled (5:13). Josephus speaks of God's being reconciled with Saul (*Ant.* 6.143) and says that God lets himself be reconciled to those who repent (*War* 5.415). In the New Testament, Paul uses the same language to say that Jesus' death reconciles sinners throughout the world with God (Rom. 5:10–11, 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:18–20). The same expressions are used of humans' reconciliation to one another (Sir. 22:22, 27:21; Matt. 5:24; 1 Cor. 7:11).

The concept of reconciliation appears in the rabbinic notion that a person's sins against another individual will be forgiven by God only after the wrongdoer has reconciled with ("gained the good will of") the one whom he has harmed (M. Yoma 8:9). Reconciliation does not appear in rabbinic descriptions of the process by which people atone for sins against God, which involves rather expiation and repentance.

redemption the process of paying a price to regain land, houses, or persons (Lev. 25). In the Bible, the firstborn son is owed to God and must be ransomed or redeemed (Exod. 13:1–16). "Redemption" also refers to God's deliverance of Israel or of the needy from trouble (Pss. 25:22, 72:14) or of sinners from their sins (Pss. 19:15, 78:35). In Hebrew, several word roots are used (*g'l; pdh; kpr*); in Greek, words from the word root meaning "release" ([apo]lyo) are used.

These usages continue in the literature of the Second Temple period. Israel goes into exile when it neglects God, who had redeemed it (Pss. Sol. 9:1). God redeems or delivers Israel (Sir. 50:24) and does so through the prophets (Sir. 48:20, 49:10). The Gospel of Luke, dependent on the Septuagint, speaks of God's redeeming Israel (1:68), of those who look forward to the redemption of Israel (2:38), and of Jesus as the one who was going to redeem Israel (24:21). The Hymns from Qumran articulate a confidence that God grants the community deliverance (*pedut*) from enemies (1QH 2:32, 35). In the War Scroll, God saves and is faithful to the people of his salvation (1QM 1:12–13, 14:5). Acts of the Apostles says that God sent Moses as a deliverer or redeemer to Israel (Acts 7:35). Redemption terminology is also used in the New Testament as an explanation of the effects of the death of Jesus. Sinful humans are justified by God through the redemption which is in Christ (Rom. 3:24), and God is said to have made Christ the believer's sanctification and redemption (1 Cor. 1:30), which is forgiveness of sins (Col. 1:14).

Rabbinic usage of the term redemption matches what is found in the Hebrew Bible. The rabbis provide rules for the redemption of prisoners and of the firstborn of sons and beasts; they discuss as well the redeemer of blood, who brings to justice a relative's murderer, and the redeemer whose duty it was to espouse the wife of a deceased relative and raise a son in that person's name. Most central in the rabbinic literature is the term's association with messianic redemption, reflected in the designation of God in the Amidah as the "redeemer of Israel." The use of the term redemption to mean "salvation" reflects the rabbinic characterization of the messianic age as the time when God will return the Jewish people to the land of Israel from exile, a return equated with the redemption and bringing home of captives. *See also* ESCHATOLOGY; SALVATION.

red heifer animal that is burned and whose ashes are used in preparation of purification-water, as described in Numbers 19; *see also* PARAH

Rehov Synagogue a Byzantine period synagogue found about 6 kilometers south of Beth Shean in the Jordan Valley. The building is entered from the north through a narthex that was added after the founding of the building. The synagogue is oriented north to south. The main hall is a basilica in plan and measures about 19 by 17 meters. There appears to have been a narrow door in the southwest that opened into the west aisle. The colorful mosaics of the side aisles have been destroyed except for their borders. The aisle mosaic was replaced during the life of the building with geometric patterns. It is possible that the original mosaic had images, but the nave mosaic is completely missing. Piles of stone cubes (tesserae) to build a new mosaic were left when the building went out of use. At the south end of the prayer hall there stood a *bimah* (raised platform), which was added in the second phase of the building. A chan-

cel screen enclosed the *bimah,* which was quite tall at 90 centimeters. It was approached by three steps from the north. A niche was cut into the east corner, perhaps as a *geniza,* or storeroom. The *bimah* underwent modification and enlargement in the third phase of the building.

The artistic decoration of the building is modest. A relief of a lion within a medallion, perhaps part of a lintel, was found near one of the entrances. On the other hand, the building had many inscriptions. For example, the excavators have mentioned lists of donors, halakhic regulations, benedictions, and other texts relating to synagogue worship. Two names so far published from these are Agrippa and Yitzhak. The largest synagogue inscription ever found in Israel was found in the floor of the narthex. It is in Hebrew and Aramaic and is 365 words long. Most of the text is reproduced in Sifre Deuteronomy 51. There is new material in the opening paragraph and part of the final paragraph. In the opening paragraph cities of Samaria are listed, and the list in the Rehov mosaic pavement includes cities not known in the Tannaitic sources. In the final paragraph there appears a detailed description of the gates of Beth Shean and its vicinity. This is also the first time that a text from rabbinic sources has appeared in a synagogue. It is important for comparative textual studies, but it is also instructive to see it enshrined in a building used for worship, which suggests that it was a living text, consulted for its list of fruits and vegetables forbidden and permitted and the regions where cities were declared exempt from these ordinances. The city list from the area of Sebaste (biblical Samaria) includes Dothan and Ibleam, which we know from the Bible, but also Yazit, Yehudit, and others known from the Samaria Ostraca. Others in the list are yet to be identified. The excavator assigns a date from the fourth to the seventh century C.E. for the building. The inscription must date to the seventh century. A huge earthquake shook this area and destroyed Beth Shean in 747 C.E. It is tempting to see the demise of Rehov at the same date.

Reichsaramäisch *see* ARAMAIC, IMPERIAL

Rekam Geah a location in northern Sinai; the biblical Kadesh Barnea, where the Israelites camped prior to their entry into Canaan. T. Shebiit 4:11 lists Rekam Geah as a location within the Land of Israel, among the sites on the land's southern border.

Rekem a location in the area of Benjamin (Josh. 18:27); also the ancient name for Petra. The rabbinic literature uses the name to refer to the latter site. At M. Gittin 1:1, Gamaliel treats Rekem as a border area, documents from which require special authentication.

religio licita (Lat., permitted religion) Although it is debated among classical scholars whether this specific term was used in Roman law, it is an expression often found in scholarly writings, and the concept certainly applied to Judaism, where religious rights were generally respected.

religious rights of Jews Under Greek and Roman rule, Jews generally had a right to practice their religion without hindrance, for by its nature, polytheism was tolerant of other gods and beliefs. The Hellenistic kingdoms and the Romans normally allowed the native peoples—including Jews—in the lands they ruled to carry on their beliefs, customs, and religion as long as they paid the required tribute and did not rebel. Although some Greek and Roman writers made disparaging comments about Judaism—picturing the Jews as peculiar or even misanthropic—the state did not attempt to force religious ideology on those under their control.

The Jews were even given certain special considerations because of their religion. Naturally, these considerations varied according to time and place and depended on which empire held sway over them at a particular time. In certain circumstances, however, Jews were even given exemptions from going to court on the Sabbath. They usually had the freedom to celebrate their annual holidays in group gatherings. Under Roman rule, synagogues were usually exempt from the frequent prohibitions against associations, or *collegia.*

The one major exception to tolerance was the persecution of Jews under Antiochus IV. This persecution was a traumatic event because it was completely unprecedented, and it was not repeated until the Roman Empire became Christianized. For a period of about three years under Antiochus, Judaism was officially prohibited on pain of death. This prohibition still lacks a clear explanation, but already before his death in 164 B.C.E., Antiochus relented and once more legalized the normal practice of Judaism.

The only other major example of apparent government-sponsored persecution was Caligula's attempt to place a statue of himself in the Temple. Although this attempt is often presented as merely a capricious action on the part of Caligula, who had megalomaniacal delusions, recent study suggests something quite different. It is now thought that Caligula was far from mad (although not always an astute ruler), and that his attempt to place his statue in the Jerusalem Temple was, in

fact, due to Jewish intolerance of pagan altars in a non-Jewish part of Palestine. Caligula had clearly miscalculated in proposing to desecrate the Temple and subsequently found it necessary to withdraw his order, but his motives were evidently political, not religious.

remembrance-verses (Heb.: *zikhronot*) prayers on theme of God's remembering his mercy and covenant, in New Year Additional Service, joined with revelation-verses (Heb.: *shoferot*) and sovereignty-verses (Heb.: *malkhuyot*). The main theme of the remembrance-verses is: "Remember unto us . . . the covenant and lovingkindness and the oath that You swore to our father Abraham at Mount Moriah, and remember the binding with which our father Abraham bound his son Isaac . . . so may your compassion outweigh your anger against us. . . ."

Remiel *see* JERAḤMEEL

remnant what remains when the larger part of an entity is removed or destroyed; in the Bible, the fraction of a group or nation that survives a time of trial. In Genesis, for example, "remnant" is employed for those who will endure the famine in Egypt because of the wise policies that Joseph put in place. The concept appears more frequently in the prophetic books. There, the general thought is that when God, through foreign conquerors, punishes the people of Israel or Judah for their habitual violation of his will, most will be deported or killed but a small part of the nation will survive the disaster. Amos spoke of a city from which a thousand residents marched out but only a hundred returned (5:3); that is, the Lord would punish Israel severely but he would not destroy it completely (9:1–8). Isaiah resorted to a remnant theology more frequently: the dross will be smelted away (1:26), but whoever is left will be called holy (4:2–4). The concept was so central to his message that he incorporated it in the name of one of his sons, Shearjashub (lit., a remnant will return; 7:3). After the restoration of some Judeans to their homeland (from 538 B.C.E. on) for the purpose of rebuilding Jerusalem and the Temple, they understood themselves to be the remnant about which the earlier prophets had spoken (in Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, and Nehemiah). The perception by a Jewish group that it was only a part, not the whole, of what once had been is expressed in later literature as well. Jubilees 23 predicts that the decisive change toward the better will come about in the latter days only through a small group. The Qumran scrolls contain frequent references to this community, which had separated itself physically from the rest of Israel, as a remnant living in the wilderness, where they were preparing for the coming of the Lord. The Damascus Document, a central text of the group, speaks of the original members as a remnant raised up by God (cols. 1–2), and the War Scroll uses this language for God's people in the last times (cols. 13–14). One of the poets who wrote the Thanksgiving hymns looks to a day, after the uproar of the nations subsides, when God will raise survivors among his people, a remnant that belongs to him (col. 6). A remnant theology reemerges in the New Testament. In Romans 9–11, where Paul speaks about God's election and rejection of the Jewish people but also about his plan to save all Israel, he cites passages from the Hebrew Bible in which a remnant is mentioned. From these passages, he concludes that it was not the complete nation of Israel that God intended to save, but only those who believed his promises.

The conception of the surviving Jews as a remnant of the people of Israel does not yield significant theological discussions in the rabbinic literature, though the idea does appear in interpretations of scriptural passages that include the term and, much less frequently, in rabbinic statements that allude to such biblical usage. Mishnah Berakhot 4:4 states that one who enters a place of danger should offer a short prayer for God to "save his people, the remnant of Israel." This passage reflects Jeremiah 31:7, which refers to God's saving of the remnant of Israel. According to Lamentations Rabbah 2:3 and Ezekiel 9:8, which questions whether or not by destroying Jerusalem, God intends to obliterate all of the remnant of Israel, the term refers in particular to the death of the righteous.

repentance (Heb.: *teshuḇah;* literally, returning) turning from evil against heaven or against another individual and turning to good deeds. To return to the right path and obtain forgiveness and peace, one prays, sacrifices, fasts, mourns, confesses, and—when applicable—makes restitution. The Septuagint usually translates *shuv* and its cognates as *espistrepho* (conversion). The more common Greek term for repentance is *metanoia.*

At Qumran, repentance consisted of confession (offering of the lips) and acceptance of suffering (1QS 8–9), but it was not accompanied by Temple sacrifice. John the Baptist's preaching of repentance for the forgiveness of sins was eschatologically motivated: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. 3:1–6; Mark 1:4–5; Luke 3:3); its sign is baptism. The Gospels depict Jesus as also teaching repentance within an eschatological context (e.g., Matt. 4:17; Mark 1:15). Paul rarely addresses repentance (Rom. 2:4; 2 Cor. 7:9–10).

While rabbinic Judaism does not believe that people are by nature sinners, it accepts as an inevitable part of life the tendency to stray from divine law. The process of repentance, through which the sinner atones for past actions and returns to proper modes of behavior, thus is a central aspect of religious and social life. Repentance is listed as one of the seven things God made before creation (B. Pesaḥim 54a; B. Nedarim 39b). Sincere repentance is seen as equivalent to the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple and restoration of the sacrificial cult (B. Sanhedrin 43b). It represents the most direct and efficacious manner of placating God and assuring God's continued protection.

In rabbinism, repentance is a precondition of atonement (*kaparah*), which designates the actual forgiving of sin by God. The Day of Atonement, which annually provides an opportunity for forgiveness by God, is significant only insofar as it marks the conclusion of the process through which people repent and correct their ways. The Day of Atonement is efficacious only if the individual has already repented. Thus Mishnah Yoma 8:8 states: "Death and the Day of Atonement atone when joined with repentance. Repentance [by itself] atones for minor transgressions of positive and negative commandments. And, as to serious transgressions, [repentance] suspends the punishment until the Day of Atonement comes along and atones."

Repentance entails confession of the sin before God and formulation of a resolve not to commit the same sin again. In the case of a sin against another person, repentance is possible only after full restitution or correction of the wrong deed has been made and a pardon from the other person has been obtained. In scripture's system, repentance is followed by an expiatory offering. After the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the sacrificial cult, the rabbis found a replacement for this offering in charitable deeds. Rabbinic authorities viewed repentance and charity together as a person's greatest advocates before God (B. Shabbat 32a).

Forgiveness is available to all who repent, and the hand of God is continually stretched out to those who seek atonement (B. Pesaḥim 119a). Recognizing the dramatic change of behavior and intense commitment to God's will that stand behind true repentance, rabbinic authorities praise those who have sinned and repented even beyond those who have never sinned (B. Berakhot 34b: "In a place in which those who repent stand, those who are completely righteous cannot stand"). Repentance always is possible, even on the day of death. The only requirement is that the desire to repent be serious and that the individual forsake his sinful ways (M. Yoma 8:9: "One who says, 'I shall sin and repent, sin and repent'—he is given no chance to do repentance. If he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will atone'—the Day of Atonement does not atone"). Repentance thus is not accomplished through a linguistic formula or through simple participation in a rite of expiation; it depends, rather, upon a true change in the life of the one who seeks atonement. *See also* ATONEMENT; FORGIVENESS.

Resh Galuta *see* EXILARCH

Resh Lakish *see* SIMEON B. LAKISH

reshut harabim *see* PUBLIC DOMAIN

reshut hayaḥid *see* PRIVATE DOMAIN

resistance to rulers Living under the rule of foreign governments, Jews found themselves not infrequently faced with laws that conflicted with the Torah and rulers who insisted that these laws be obeyed. Much early Jewish literature describes or prescribes forms of resistance to these laws and rulers. Such resistance could take one of two forms.

During the persecution by Antiochus IV, Mattathias the Hasmonean and his sons led an armed revolt against the Syrian king, making common cause with the Hasidim, "a company of mighty warriors." The paradigm was the biblical institution of holy warfare. 1 Maccabees celebrates this revolt as the justification for the Hasmonean high priesthood (2:23–26, 5:62). Passive resistance was also an option. According to 1 Maccabees 2:29–38, certain Jews died a violent death because they would not defend themselves on the Sabbath. In the Testament of Moses 9–10, Taxo and his sons allow themselves to be slaughtered in order to trigger the avenging wrath of God against their enemies. Although 2 Maccabees acknowledged the success of Judas's military activity, it ascribes this victory to the innocent deaths of the martyrs (6:18–8:4). Daniel 11:34 and 12:1 downplay the importance of the Hasmoneans and await judgment through the activity of the great prince Michael.

Restitutus, Titus Aelius procurator of Syria-Palaestina. A fragment of a dedication names him as procurator of Palestine. The exact dates of his tenure are unknown, but it was likely in the last quarter of the second century C.E. Nothing else is known of his career.

restoration the return from the Babylonian exile in the early decades of Persian rule, the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple (completed 515 B.C.E.), and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth

in the province of Judah (Yehud) under priestly and lay leadership. During the period from the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.E.) to these events, hopes were entertained in prophetic circles for a restoration of twelve-tribal Israel on its own land (e.g., Isa. 43:3–7, 49:8–13; Jer. 31:7–9; Ezek. 20:33–38, 36:24–28; Mal. 4:6; cf. Sir. 48:10), an aspiration expressed vividly in Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. 37:1–14). For some, these expectations focused on the restoration of the Davidic dynasty (Jer. 23:5–6, 30:8–9, 33:14–26; Ezek. 34:23–24, 37:24–25; Isa. 55:3), represented in the decades after the return by Zerubbabel, grandson of the exiled king, Jehoiachin (Hag. 2:20–23; Zech. 3:8–10, 6:9–15), and on Zion as the center of the world (Isa. 60–62). In some circles, the eschatological perspective was enlarged to take in the restoration of the entire cosmos, with the creation of new heavens and a new earth (Isa. 65:17, 66:22–23). *See also* EXILE, RETURN FROM.

resurrection the raising of the dead, at the end of the age, either to new life as a reward for righteousness, or to punishment for one's sins. Early on, the notion is driven by a concern to affirm God's justice in an unjust world. The righteous are vindicated for the just conduct that caused their death or are recompensed for a life devoid of deserved blessing; the wicked are raised to receive the punishment that they unjustly eluded in this world. Later, resurrection and its consequences pertain to larger numbers and, finally, to all of humanity.

A resurrection from Sheol is attested first in Isaiah 26:19 (for the righteous) and Daniel 12:2 (for some righteous and some of the wicked). 2 Maccabees 7 envisions a physical resurrection in which the divine Judge recreates the bodies of the martyrs who have been unjustly killed because of their fidelity to the Torah. In 1 Enoch 102, the spirits or souls of the righteous come to life from the gloom of Sheol. In 2 Baruch 49–51, all the dead are raised to the bodies they previously had, so that they can be recognized, and then they are transformed to heavenly glory or disfigured. With the exception of 2 Esdras 7:76–99, Jewish texts do not provide details about the state of human beings between death and resurrection.

New Testament belief in resurrection is governed by the conviction that God has raised Jesus from the dead, thus vindicating him for his unjust death. Accounts of the empty tomb imply a resurrection of Jesus' body. Stories about appearance of the risen Christ are more ambiguous, asserting, at once, his physicality and his extraordinary ability to penetrate closed doors, appear and disappear suddenly, and be mistaken for someone else.

Jesus' resurrection has broader implications than simply his vindication vis-à-vis an unjust death. It marks the inauguration of the new age. Jesus' resurrection appearances have the quality of epiphanies or angelophanies, in which a transcendent Jesus commissions his disciples, like the biblical prophets, for divine, eschatological tasks. The early credal formula "the God who raised Jesus from the dead" (Rom. 4:24) imitates the biblical expression "the God who brought Israel up from Egypt," thus identifying Jesus' resurrection as a new act of salvation transcending the Exodus. In a similar vein, the apostle Paul sees the resurrected Christ as the prototype for a new humanity that will be transformed into the image of the New Adam (1 Cor. 15). In its setting of persecution, the Apocalypse of John returns to the original Jewish notion that resurrection is vindication for those whose faithfulness to God brought on their death (Rev. 6:9–11, 20:4–6).

In rabbinic Judaism, resurrection, *teḥiyat haMetim,* refers to the concept that on the Day of Judgment God will bring all dead back to life. Developed from postbiblical Israelite and Graeco-Roman thought, the rabbinic doctrine of resurrection took firm hold with the ascent of Pharisaism after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., in particular with the decline of the Sadducees, who had rejected the notion of resurrection (see Acts 23:8, Matt. 22:23).

The centrality of resurrection in rabbinic thought is indicated by M. Sanhedrin 10:1. The first of those who have no portion in the world to come are those who deny the origin in the Torah of the belief in resurrection of the dead. Later sources report disputes not over the fact of resurrection but concerning its mechanics. B. Rosh Hashanah 16b–17a, for instance, presents a compendium of materials concerning the Day of Judgment. Here the Houses of Hillel and Shammai agree that, in the end, the thoroughly wicked will be consigned to Gehenna while the thoroughly righteous will have eternal life. Under dispute is the fate of middling people. The Shammaites hold that they will rise only once they have been sent to Gehenna and screamed in supplication to God; the Hillelites argue that, in his mercy, God immediately will grant them eternal life. Other talmudic texts describe the process of resurrection, stating that it will be in the nature of the growth of a grain of wheat (B. Sanhedrin 90b; B. Ketubot 111b). B. Berakhot 60b describes resurrection as the reunit-

ing of the soul with the dead body. Some sources hold that a small, incorruptible part of the body, or even a small amount of rotted flesh, will serve as the material from which a new body is fashioned.

The doctrine of resurrection has a prominent position in the liturgy, forming the focus of the second benediction of the Amidah, recited in all worship services. This prayer proclaims that God kills, makes alive, and causes salvation to spring forth; he makes the dead live and keeps faith with those who sleep in the dust. It concludes by praising God as one who resurrects the dead. *See also* AFTERLIFE; LIFE, ETERNAL.

retribution distribution of rewards and punishments in this world or in the world to come. According to the Tanakh, divine retribution occurs in this world: the righteous will prosper, and the wicked will wither; the apparent prosperity of the wicked will not endure. Even the Book of Job, which explores the suffering of the righteous, concludes with assurances of Job's redoubled prosperity following his trial; other biblical passages questioning the seeming good fortune of the wicked imply that they will ultimately receive their just deserts. In the Talmud, the concept of retribution becomes more complex. The rabbis believed in "measure for measure"—that people are justly compensated for their deeds in this world. But the rabbis spiritualized the concept of retribution: "The reward of a good deed is a good deed, and the wages of sin is sin." Their examination of the problem of the suffering of the righteous also led them to extend the doctrine of retribution to the world to come: imbalances in rewards and punishments in this world will be compensated for in the next.

Reuben b. Istrobeli Tannaitic authority active in the second century C.E., in Hadrianic and post-Hadrianic times. His father's name may have been Aristobulus, and there is speculation that Reuben spent time in Rome. His name appears at times without the patronymic, for example, at T. Shebuot 3:6, where Reuben appears in debate with a gentile philosopher.

Reuchlinianus, Codex a manuscript in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, Germany. This 1105 C.E. copy contains a Masoretic Hebrew text of the Former and Latter Prophets as well as Jonathan's Targum to the Prophets. It also contains some eighty or so targum *toseftot,* which may be remains of a Palestinian targum to the Prophets.

revelation (Mattan Torah) the giving of the Torah, the concept that, at Sinai, God communicated to Moses laws and ideologies intended to govern the Israelites' individual and communal existence. Revelation is central in Judaism, comprising the physical act through which God called upon Israel to be his covenanted people. The entirety of Jewish religious and social practice is thus held to have its source in Moses' encounter with God at Sinai. Both the individual believer and the people in their social and political life look to God's revelation as the event defining their nature and giving direction and purpose to their lives. A Jew who denies that the Torah derives from revelation loses the possibility of life in the world to come (M. Sanhedrin 10:1). One who deems so little as a single law not to derive from God is called a despiser of the Torah (B. Sanhedrin 99a).

Revelation involves God's revealing of himself and his teachings to the revelation's recipients. In line with this, scripture routinely introduces an act of revelation with the passive form of the verbal root *raah,* signifying "to be seen" (see, e.g., Gen. 12:6–7 and numerous other instances in which the Lord "appears" to Abraham or to another Israelite progenitor). Rabbinic Judaism, however, refers to revelation in different terms. It sees the period of God's physical participation in revelation to have ended with the prophets, having reached its apex long before in the events at Sinai. In the rabbinic view at Sinai, God transmitted to Moses the entirety of the divine law, encompassing the content of both prior and subsequent acts of communication with human beings (see Exod. Rabbah 29:6, which holds that all later prophecies were revealed to Moses at Sinai). When rabbis speak of revelation, Mattan Torah, they therefore refer to this event in particular. They place other acts of revelation within a hierarchy of importance reflecting the way in which God revealed himself. At the top is the revelation to Moses, who beheld God as in a translucent mirror (B. Yebamot 49b). Below are other forms of revelation, for example, to the prophets who saw God as though in a dark glass (B. Yebamot 49b), or to other individuals who saw God in dreams.

Most important, the rabbis hold that in their own period revelation occurs through the rabbis' own manipulation and interpretation of the laws and knowledge received at Sinai. In this process of revelation, God no longer needs physically to reveal himself to any person. Indeed, even though such an appearance might occur in which God actively reveals the correct law through a heavenly voice (*bat kol*) or by disrupting the natural order, such divine intercession is rejected as immaterial to the determination of the law (B. Baba Metzia 59a–b). Such determinations are viewed as in the hands of

the rabbis alone. The rabbis' own intellectual deliberations and legal discussions, that is, reveal aspects of the divine will that are of equal authority as that which God himself made known in his appearance at Sinai. In this way, the rabbinic theory of revelation holds that statements and principles expressed by rabbis who lived in the first six centuries C.E. preserve teachings that derive from God's original contact with Moses.

To sustain this theory, the rabbis develop a concept of revelation entirely unanticipated by scripture. They propose that Moses actually received the revelation in two distinct parts: the written law, embodied in the text of the Pentateuch, and an oral law transmitted only by word of mouth. While the written component of the revelation was made accessible to all of the people of Israel, the oral part was transmitted only to successive generations of sages: from Moses to Joshua to certain elders to the biblical prophets and, ultimately, into the hands of the rabbis themselves. In this perspective, while comprising an essential part of the revelation, the oral law was known to and understood by the rabbis alone. Only beginning in the second century C.E., to assure that this law would not be lost as a result of war, national strife, or other physical or intellectual calamity, did the rabbis begin to codify and preserve it in written form. The oral Torah thus was encompassed first by the Mishnah and completed in the third century C.E. Then by the subsequent documents of rabbinic Judaism, concluding with the Babylonian Talmud, completed in the sixth century C.E.

The notion of the closed transmission of an esoteric revelation functions polemically within rabbinic Judaism. The rabbinic claim to possess an otherwise unknown component of God's revelation legitimates rabbinic authority and promotes acceptance of rabbinic leadership. Through this notion of revelation, the rabbis claim to be direct successors to Moses, referred to as "our rabbi," and thus designated as the first rabbinic sage. In this view, only under rabbinic leadership can the Jewish people correctly observe God's will. Since the written Torah, which is available to all of Israel, contains only half of God's revelation, access to it alone does not provide all of the information needed properly to observe the law. Correct observance is possible only under rabbinic guidance.

The concept of revelation described here is uniquely rabbinic. Other postbiblical Jewish writings know nothing comparable. For instance, Josephus' description of the Pharisees, whom the later rabbis understood to be the direct recipients of the oral revelation, says nothing about their knowledge of revealed or even inherited traditions. In *The Jewish War* (1:97), Josephus says only that the Pharisees are "considered the more accurate interpreters of the laws." In the *Antiquities* (13:171), Josephus adds that the Pharisees preserve and follow certain traditions developed in accordance with their distinctive philosophical doctrine. He does not suggest that they have legal or exegetical dicta passed down by tradition and derived ultimately from divine revelation.

The nature and content of the documents of rabbinic Judaism confirm the perception suggested by Josephus that what the rabbis came to call the product of revelation in fact is the result of arguments and discussions among rabbinic sages of the first centuries. During the period following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., rabbinic sages studied and interpreted scripture and worked out a program of ritual and legal practice that eventually would shape Judaism according to the rabbis' own ideals and aspirations. At the end of the Mishnaic period, these rabbis increasingly came to consider the results of their deliberations to be part of a divinely revealed oral law. From the content of the principles, rules, and issues at play in the rabbinic documents, however, it is apparent that this oral Torah is substantially the product of the rabbis' own day and of their own distinctive attitudes and philosophies.

This is not to say that traditions regarding ritual practice and the meaning of scripture did not exist in late antiquity. The point, rather, is that, so far as the literary evidence indicates, the rabbis did not simply preserve traditions already understood to be revealed by God to Moses at Sinai. Rather the Mishnah and other rabbinic writings are the independent intellectual and literary creations of rabbinic circles. Only within the theological construct of rabbinic Judaism, which understands the product of rabbinic interpretation and legislation to equal divine law, do the rabbinic documents come to be characterized as products of the revelation at Sinai.

Revelation, Book of also called the Revelation to John, the only apocalypse in the New Testament, written in Greek by an otherwise unknown Christian prophet who presents himself as John. In Christian tradition the author was identified with the apostle John, son of Zebedee, a disciple of Jesus. Revelation is usually dated around 96 C.E., at the end of the rule of the emperor Domitian.

In style and content, Revelation has many similarities to apocalypses (e.g., Dan. 7–12, 1 Enoch,

4 Ezra), and it makes direct use of Daniel. Similar to other apocalypses, Revelation is a visionary account of transcendent, divine reality, portrayed in both spatial (heavenly) and temporal (eschatological) terms. The book begins with a commissioning vision (chap. 1), in which the exalted Jesus appears to John, a prophet exiled to the island of Patmos because of "the persecution," and commands him to write letters (see Rev. 2–3) to seven churches in western Asia Minor (modern Turkey). The central theme of the book—the tension between God's kingship in heaven and the resistance to his rule on earth—is introduced in Revelation 4–5: through an "open door" (4:1) the seer glimpses God on his heavenly throne, adored by the heavenly host, and attended by Jesus, the "Lamb who was slain," also called the triumphant "lion of Judah." The rest of the book serves to resolve this tension through a series of visions depicting the "eschatological woes" by which God will punish evildoers, the second coming of Jesus (as a great warrior), the last battle against Satan and his armies, final judgment, and the establishment of the new Jerusalem, where God will dwell with his people, and where evil, suffering, and death will be no more (chaps. 6–22).

Revelation is unique among the apocalypses in that it is not ascribed pseudonymously to a figure from the remote past, such as Adam, Enoch, Ezra, or Daniel. Also unique are the seven letters, which assign praise and blame to the various churches, warn them of the coming judgment, and promise rewards to those who remain faithful. Both letters and visions reflect tensions between the Christian faith and the dominant Graeco-Roman culture. Drawing on imagery from the Tanakh (Old Testament) the author portrays Rome as a beast empowered by Satan to make war on God's elect (chaps. 13 and 17). The city of Rome is described as the "whore of Babylon" (chap. 17). Although written well before the official, widespread persecution of Christians by the Roman state, the book reflects some specific cases of Christian martyrdom (e.g., 6:9–11), and the author says he was in exile because of his faith (1:9). He is concerned to sharpen his readers' awareness of the essential conflict between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of Caesar and to warn them to avoid any association with Roman civic religion. Specifically, the book warns against Christian participation in the worship of the emperor (chaps. 13 and 17), which, though not official Roman policy, was practiced in the eastern provinces at the end of the first century.

Revelation achieved canonical status as the last book of the New Testament only after considerable debate, and Christian attitudes toward the book have continued to vary, with some (e.g., Luther) regretting its place in the canon. It has been particularly popular among certain Christian groups (e.g., millennialists) that emphasize the imminence of the eschaton.

Revolt Against Rome, Great a war initiated in Jerusalem in 66 C.E. It involved widespread destruction and death throughout the country, especially in Judea and Jerusalem. The war concluded with the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Roman army in 70 C.E. Most information about the war comes from *The Jewish War* and the *Vita* written by the Jewish historian Josephus, who was a participant first on the Jewish and then on the Roman side. The causes of the Judean uprising against the Romans were multiple, including resentment of foreign rule, inept governance by the Roman procurators in the fifties and sixties C.E., heavy taxation, resentment of the common people against the governing classes in Jerusalem, and conflict among rival factions of priests and wealthy families. Earlier in the first century C.E., the Roman authorities and the population of Judea had clashed a number of times over economic and religious matters. A series of popular leaders claiming to be prophets, Davidic messiahs, and others arose and led short-lived disturbances.

Early in 66 a long-lasting dispute between the Jewish and gentile communities in Caesarea became violent, and the procurator Florus (64–66) did little to settle it. In the summer of 66 Florus demanded a large sum of money from the Temple treasury, an act which caused great resentment among the people and a series of violent clashes with Roman soldiers in Jerusalem. In the end, the people destroyed the bridge connecting the Antonia Fortress with the Temple, and Florus withdrew from Jerusalem. Despite efforts at conciliation by the established Jewish leaders and King Agrippa II, Eleazar, a revolutionary aristocrat who was son of the high priest Ananias, succeeded in stopping the daily sacrifices offered for the welfare of the emperor. With the symbol of submission to the empire gone, Jerusalem factions for and against revolt clashed violently. The Antonia Fortress was captured and the high priest and other leaders were besieged in Herod's palace. The palaces of Agrippa, Bernice, and the high priest in the Upper City (the western hill) were burned along with the archives that recorded debts. Menahem, son of Judas the Galilean, armed with weapons from Masada, led

the attack that took the palace, but not the towers. The high priest Ananias and his brother were killed. Subsequently Eleazar's faction killed Menahem and most of his supporters and then treacherously slaughtered the small Roman garrison in the towers when they marched out under truce.

In the fall of 66 the Roman governor in Syria, Cestius Gallus, led an expedition that captured some Judean villages but was not strong enough to take Jerusalem. As Cestius withdrew from Jerusalem toward the coast of the Mediterranean, his forces were routed in the valley of Beth Horon, as the Seleucid forces had been routed by the Maccabees two centuries earlier. Knowing that further Roman response was inevitable, the governing classes in Jerusalem regained some control of society by agreeing to supervise defense plans for the country. High-ranking priests and aristocrats divided up responsibility for fortifying numerous cities and towns, storing supplies, and recruiting armed forces. Their efforts, however, were marked by factionalism, competition for power, and a lack of centralized planning. Josephus was placed in command of Galilee, the first place likely to be attacked by the Romans. He testifies to a population divided between allegiance to Rome and Jerusalem and riven by factional disputes between him and John of Gischala, who suspected Josephus (possibly correctly) of seeking accommodation with the Romans. Attempts by the Jerusalem leadership, at John's instigation, to remove Josephus from command failed. In 67, the Roman general and future emperor Vespasian arrived to lead the Roman forces. Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Gischala submitted to the Romans, and Jotapata and Gamala were conquered after sieges. By the fall, all of Galilee was in Roman hands. Josephus was captured and ingratiated himself with Vespasian, while John of Gischala fled with his forces to Jerusalem.

During the next spring (68 C.E.), Vespasian captured the cities and towns of Judea and prepared to besiege Jerusalem. But the emperor Nero died in June, and during the next year three men became emperor and were assassinated in turn. Finally, in 69 Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the armies in the East and by the end of 69 was accepted by the whole empire. Vespasian went to Rome and left the war in Judea in the hands of his son Titus.

During this struggle over the succession to the imperial throne, Roman operations in Judea were restricted to capturing a few fortresses and controlling Simon bar Giora's roving groups of insurgents. This did not, however, improve Jerusalem's chances for survival, because several groups within the city fought each other so ferociously that they weakened its defenses. The leadership and defenders killed one another, destroyed the food supplies, and divided the city so that no unified preparation for siege could be made. Armed groups were loyal to their own leaders rather than to the city or national government. The original group of Zealots were led by Eleazar ben Simon. They united with and broke off from another group of resisters who came to Jerusalem with John of Gischala. The Idumeans, too, came to Jerusalem to help the Zealots, who controlled the Temple Mount against the traditional leaders. Then, when the Idumeans broke with John of Gischala in 69, they, the people, and the high priest Matthias invited into Jerusalem Simon bar Giora, who had gathered a large group of dispossessed Judeans. They had controlled and plundered parts of Judea and Idumea until driven out by the Romans. Simon gained control of most of the Upper City and part of the Lower City by the spring of 69 and became the most powerful leader in Jerusalem. When Titus, the son of Vespasian, began the siege of Jerusalem in early 70, the factions within Jerusalem finally coordinated their efforts at defense. Even then, John of Gischala managed to assassinate Eleazar ben Simon and unite the two factions of Zealots under his command.

Titus first fortified his camps and turned back several dangerous sallies by the defenders of Jerusalem. Then Titus attacked the northern walls, which lay on level ground. The first two walls fell in less than a month, but the Antonia Fortress and the Temple Mount, itself a fortification, took several more weeks to fall and the fortifications in the Upper City took another month. The walls, fortifications, and Temple were burned or torn down, except for Herod's three towers and part of the wall, which then became a Roman army camp. Thousands were killed and the leadership of Judea was destroyed. Simon bar Giora, John of Gischala, and seven hundred young men were marched in a triumphal procession in Rome, after which Simon was executed and John imprisoned for life. Thousands others were sold into slavery and Judea was turned into a senatorial province occupied by its own legion. Worship at the Temple and relatively autonomous local rule had ended in Judea. During the next three or four years the fortresses at Herodium, Macherus, and Masada were captured by the Roman procurators who took office after the war. At Masada, the Sicarii, led by Eleazar ben Jair, committed suicide along with their families to avoid capture by the Romans.

revolutionary parties a term sometimes used by modern scholars to describe rather diverse anti-Roman Jewish groups, especially in the first century C.E. Groups that have been variously included under this rubric are the Zealots, the Sicarii, and the Fourth Philosophy. Although they helped instigate riots and eventually even a full-scale revolt, in many cases their activities were mainly directed at "collaborators" (i.e., upper-class Jews). In antiquity, the term "bandit" or "brigand" (Gr.: *lēstēs*) was often used for them, even though they were not always bandits in the conventional sense.

reward and punishment divine retribution for the righteous and the wicked. The notion that YHWH is the judge who rewards and punishes the nation and individuals in it is commonplace in the Hebrew Bible. Deuteronomy 28 presents a list of such rewards and punishments, enacted in this world, as the blessings and curses of the covenant. The two-ways text incorporated into the Qumran Community Rule reflects the influence of covenant theology and presents lists of virtues and vices and their this-worldly and future rewards and punishments (lit., visitation; Heb.: *pekudah,* 1QS 4:2–14). Similar notions of reward and punishment regularly occur in other Jewish texts of the late Second Temple period, either with or without explicit reference to the covenant. Christian theologians have often alleged that such a belief in divine reward and punishment is typical of "late Jewish legalism," which has been overcome in the New Testament, and especially Pauline, belief in divine grace. In fact, as Deuteronomy shows, divine reward and punishment of one's deeds is essential to the notion of covenant in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, Paul and most other New Testament writers depict God as the rewarder and punisher of human deeds. *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

rewritten Bible modern scholarly term used to designate various writings that loosely follow the biblical text but also contain many expansions and interpretations. Examples include Jubilees, Pseudo-Philo, the Genesis Apocryphon, the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Josephus, and the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

ribbit (Heb., usury) any fee for lending money, including fees in kind, such as free rent, and fees in personal services. Usury is absolutely forbidden in transactions between Israelites, but permitted between Israelites and Gentiles; Israelites may pay interest to Gentiles or collect it from them.

righteous Gentiles (Heb.: *ḥzasedei ummot ha-Olam*) non-Jews who, because of their righteous behavior, have a place in the world to come. The concept appears first at Tosefta Sanhedrin 13:2, where Joshua distinguishes "Gentiles who forget God" (Ps. 9:17), who are doomed to Sheol, from Gentiles who do not forget God, who, like righteous Israelites, have a portion in the world to come. The concept of righteous Gentiles occurs in some midrashic texts but is significantly elaborated only by medieval Jewish philosophers. Maimonides applies the term to non-Jews who accept the seven Noahide commandments out of a belief in their divine origin. Other medieval thinkers explicitly equate righteous Gentiles with Israelites, who are worthy of all of God's mercies. In modern times, the term "righteous Gentiles" has been applied to non-Jews who protected Jews from the Nazis.

righteousness the most frequent translation of two Hebrew nouns from the root *tzdk* (*tzedek* and *tzedakah*) and of the Greek word *dikaiosunē.* These terms have a much broader range of meaning than the English "righteousness": other senses include "justification," "justice," "rescue," and "innocence." As with *mishpat* (justice, order) and *ḥesed* (grace), the root *tzdk* is used in relation to the covenant between God and Israel (Hos. 2:18–20, Jer. 9:24). Most generally, righteousness refers to the order that results when the stipulations of the covenant are observed. As a description of God, righteousness designates his covenant loyalty (Ps. 4:1), his righteous judgments (Ps. 9:8), his acts of vindication and salvation (Deut. 9:4–6; Hos. 10:12; Mic. 6:5), as well as the ordered life that he wills and works to establish (Isa. 11:1–2). Applied to human beings, righteousness characterizes obedience to God's commandments (Ps. 15:2, 18:20–24, Ps. 119, Ezek. 18:5–9) and the establishment of God's order in society (Isa. 5:15–16, 32:1, Jer. 22:3). The king, as the special representative of God, is to rule the people with righteousness, delivering the poor and the oppressed (Ps. 72). The ideal Davidic king who will rule with righteousness figures in prophetic hopes for the future: "In those days and at that time I will cause a righteous Branch to spring up for David; and he shall execute justice (*mishpat*) and righteousness (*tzedakah*) in the land" (Jer. 33:15, cf. Isa. 9:7 and 11:4–5).

In the Psalms and Isaiah 40–66 *tzdk* refers most often to God's saving action; it is used in parallel with "salvation" (the root *ysh*). While this sense cannot be conveyed by the English term "righteousness," it is closely related to other meanings of the Hebew term, especially to the sense of the order demanded and established by God. Thus, in the Psalms of lament an individual prays to God to act in accordance with his righteousness, that is, to

deliver the petitioner from a state of disorder and suffering (Ps. 71:4, 88:12–13). In Isaiah 46:13, *tzedakah* refers to God's deliverance of Israel from exile in Babylon: "I bring near my deliverance (*tzedakah*), it is not far off, and my salvation (*teshuah*) will not tarry; I will put salvation in Zion, for Israel my glory" (cf. Isa. 45:8; 51:5; 54:14, 17).

The root *tzdk* (with its Greek translation *dikaiosunē*) is used frequently in the literature of early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E.—2d c. C.E.). In many texts it has a moral sense, usually associated with fulfilling the commandments: "For none that do evil shall be hidden from your knowledge, and the righteousness of your devout is before you, Lord" (Ps. of Sol. 9:3). 1 Maccabees 2:29 reports that when the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes ordered the Jews to abandon their law, "many who were seeking righteousness and justice" fled to the desert, in order to remain faithful to the Torah. Philo of Alexandria, drawing on Greek philosophy, presents *dikaiosunē* as the first of the four cardinal virtues (*Abr.* 27, 56; *Leg. All* I.63; cf. 4 Macc. 1:16–18). The Dead Sea Scrolls use *tzdk* in most of its biblical senses. Particularly noteworthy are texts in the Community Rule (1QS) and the Damascus Covenant (CD), which use the root *tzdk* to speak of God's saving action (cf. Psalms and Isaiah): "And the priests shall recount the righteous acts (*tzedakot*) of God in his mighty works and proclaim all the favors of (his) mercy toward Israel" (1QS 1:21–22; cf. 11:14–16, which speaks of God's deliverance of the individual from his sinful ways). Several of the Scrolls refer to the founder of their community as the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 1:11–12, 1QpHab 11:4–6)

In the New Testament, righteousness (Gr.: *dikaiosunē*) is especially prominent in two of Paul's letters, Galatians and Romans. In Romans 3:21–26, Paul characterizes the essence of the Christian message: "But now, outside the law, the righteousness of God has been revealed, attested by the law and the prophets, the righteousness of God through faith in Christ Jesus for all who believe" (3:21, cf. 1:17). As in the Dead Sea Scrolls, righteousness here designates God's saving action which rescues human beings from sin. Paul also speaks of the righteousness of human beings, by which he means a restored relationship with God, made possible only by believing in Jesus Christ (Rom. 4:3, 1 Cor. 1:30). In this sense the Greek *dikaiosunē* is usually translated as "justification," a term which assumed particular importance in the Reformation. Despite his background as a zealous observer of the law, Paul sees the righteousness appropriated by faith in Jesus as separate from, and even antithetical to, the righteousness which comes from obedience to the commandments of Torah (Rom. 10:3–13, cf. Gal. 3:5). Other New Testament texts portray righteous observance of the commandments in a positive light (Luke 1:6, 2:25). In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus is presented as telling his disciples: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and the Pharisees, you will not enter the kingdom of the heavens" (5:20). *See also* JUSTIFICATION.

righteous one (Heb.: *tzadik;* Gr.: *dikaios*) one who is upright in God's eyes by virtue of fidelity to the covenant and its obligations. The righteous person is not sinless, but seeks to be faithful and makes appropriate reparations for unwitting sins. The Psalms of Solomon 3 provides a classic description of the righteous one, contrasting that person's conduct with that of "the sinner." The righteous one stumbles (sins), but awaits God's deliverance. The righteous one does not let sins accumulate, but atones for them through fasting and rituals of self-abasement. The sinner, by contrast, is not concerned about these matters. The Psalms of Solomon employ the term "the pious one" (Gr.: *hosios;* Heb.: *ḥasid*) as a veritable synonym for "the righteous one," and along with other texts (e.g., 1 En. 92–105) regularly juxtapose "the righteous" and "the pious" with "the sinner" and "the wicked" or "the lawless" (Gr.: *anomoi*).

The term "righteous one" is used in a more restricted, but heightened way, with reference to one whose devotion to God leads to suffering or even death in behalf of the Torah. Often such a person is a teacher or leader of the community. The Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5 explicates the case of such a righteous one, employing language and motifs from the servant poem in Isaiah 52–53 (cf. Isa. 53:11). This tradition is modified in 1 Enoch 37–71 where a transcendent figure described as "son of man," "the chosen one," "the righteous one," and God's "anointed one" is portrayed through traditions drawn from the Deutero-Isaianic servant poems, biblical oracles about the Davidic king, and Daniel 7. As "the righteous one" (1 Enoch 53:6, 38:2), he is the champion of "the righteous," who cry for vindication because their blood has been shed (1 Enoch 47:2–4).

The New Testament uses "the righteous one(s)" in all of these senses. The Gospels regularly depict Jesus' ministry as being directed toward sinners (e.g., tax collectors and prostitutes) rather than the righteous, and Luke, who highlights this activity, quotes Jesus making a distinction between "sinner

who repents" and the "righteous who need no repentance" (Luke 15:7; cf. Mark 2:17). The contrast is that of the Psalms of Solomon 3. The righteous as the martyred spokespersons of God awaiting vindication are referred to in Matthew 23:34–36, as well as in Revelation 6:9–11 (cf. 1 Enoch 47:2–4).

Jesus' preeminent status as the righteous one is indicated in several New Testament texts that refer to his innocent death (Luke 23:47; Acts 3:13–14, 7:52; 1 Peter 3:18; cf. Acts 22:14 of his exaltation). *See also* SERVANT OF THE LORD; SON OF MAN.

right hand of God the place of honor in the heavenly throne room. In Psalm 110:1, YHWH invites the Davidic king, also said to be a "priest forever after the order of Melchizedek" (v. 4), to sit at YHWH's right hand. The oracular form in verses 1 and 4 is reminiscent of Psalm 2, where YHWH seats the king on his throne on Zion and declares him to be "my son" and YHWH's anointed one, who rules over the nations in YHWH's behalf. The wording of Psalm 110:1 and 4 appears with some frequency in the New Testament. Mark 14:62 conflates language from Daniel 7:13 and Psalm 110 to describe Jesus' exaltation and future coming as "son of man" and God's anointed one. Paul employs Psalm 110:1 to describe Jesus' exaltation (Rom. 8:34), and his reference to Jesus' intercession may imply the priestly functions mentioned in Psalm 110:4. Jesus' heavenly high priesthood is explicit the Epistle to the Hebrews, which quotes Psalm 110:1 and 4 twelve times (Heb. 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:3, 11, 15, 17, 21). The psalm was obviously an important and formative text in the early church's interpretation of Jesus' identity and functions. *See also* MESSIAH.

Riḥumai *see* NIḤUMAI

rinceau *see* VINE SCROLL

rite of removing the shoe (Heb.: *ḥalitzah*) rite described in Deuteronomy 25:9–10, by which the relationship between a childless widow and her surviving brother-in-law is severed. The surviving brother-in-law having refused to marry his childless brother's widow, the widow publicly removes the man's shoe. *See also* LEVIR.

ritual slaughterer (Heb.: *shoḥet*) one who is qualified properly to slaughter an animal and who is knowledgeable concerning the defects (e.g., in the brain, windpipe, esophagus, heart, lungs, or intestines) that disqualify use of the meat because the animal would have died naturally of these defects

robbers *see* BANDITS; ROBBERY

robbery the unlawful seizure of another person's property through an open and often violent act. The Torah explicitly prohibits not only robbery but also theft, the unlawful seizure of another person's property by stealthy means. According to the rabbis, the Eighth Commandment prohibits the capital offense of kidnapping; theft and robbery of money or goods are noncapital offenses. Many rabbis included in robbery the borrowing of an item without the owner's consent. Certain items that the owner would not want to keep are excluded from this category; a tailor, for example, may keep thread left over from a commissioned suit. Thieves and robbers are required to return stolen property to the owner; they must compensate the rightful owner for any damage sustained by the property while it was in their control, but they are entitled to compensation for any improvements to the property while it was in their possession. If the stolen item has been lost or destroyed while it was in their possession, they must make monetary compensation to the owner. An owner's claim on property lapses if he despairs of having it returned to him; while the robber then gains title to the property, he must still pay the original owner for its value at the time of the robbery.

robes a common eschatological metaphor with various meanings. In the ancient world, formal investiture could accompany and signify an important change of status (Gen. 41:42; Esther 6:6–11). The point is explicit in Psalms of Solomon 2:19–21 and 11:7, which play on the imagery of Isaiah 52:1–2. That the body is a garment to cover the "nakedness" of the soul seems to be implied in 2 Corinthians 4:16–5:4, where Paul, mixing the metaphors of tent and clothes, hopes to have an immortal body placed over his present body before he is unclothed through death. Reinterpreting Isaiah 52:1, the author of 1 Enoch 62:15–16 describes the resurrection as investiture with glorious garments that will not wear out. Several early Christian texts extend this imagery by describing the heavenly body as a garment (Rev. 6:11, 7:9–14; Matt. 22:11–12; Ascension of Isaiah 9:1–26). The Ascension of Isaiah 9:9 contrasts the garment of the flesh with the higher, heavenly garment, recalling Paul's notion of an immortal body, also described as a heavenly building that replaces the earthly tent (2 Cor. 5:1–2). Since the heavenly body is likened to Christ's (1 Cor. 15:42–54; Phil. 3:21), the imagery may be related to Christological speculation that saw Jesus' incarnation and exaltation as the Savior's divestiture and reinvestiture (Asc. Isa. 9:13–18; Acts of Thomas 108–113).

rock (Heb.: *sela, eben;* Aram.: *kefa;* Gr.: *petra*) bedrock or a large rock, a symbol for stability that is

sometimes employed in the metaphorical complex that describes the religious community as a building. Isaiah 28:16–17 provided the exegetical basis for a series of related texts that employ this metaphor. The Qumran Hodayot 6:26 does not explicate what the rock is. In Matthew 16:16–19, the "rock" (Gr.: *petra*) is Simon, who is nicknamed Peter (Gr.: *petros*). In both 1 Peter 2:6–8 and Acts 4:11–12 references to passages about a rock are ascribed to Peter.

Matthew 7:24–27 employs the rock image for another purpose. People who hear Jesus' words and either do them or do not do them are likened to two men who build their houses, respectively, on rock and sand and who survive or do not survive the storm of the judgment. The comparison is reminiscent of Isaiah 28:16–18. Abot deRabbi Natan 24 ascribes a similar comparative parable to Elisha ben Abuyah (1st–2d c. C.E.), in which the foundational stones of a well-built house are likened to the good works that derive from the study of the Torah. *See also* BUILDING.

romance a genre of Greek and Roman literature usually consisting of a prose tale of adventure or love. Some romances, called novels, were stories about the adventures of a man and his espoused who are kept apart or whose love is tested by a series of adversities, which they overcome and "live happily ever after." Others are tales of the adventures of a famous figure, such as the Alexander romance. A Jewish writing that might be classified under this heading is Joseph and Asenath; however, the stories of the patriarchs in the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers and in Josephus have romantic elements.

Roman Empire The transition from republic to empire in the first century B.C.E. was due to the increasing influence of successful military leaders who gradually usurped political power from the Senate, the traditional guardian of Roman *imperium*. Octavian, the adopted son of Julius Caesar, emerged as sole ruler in 31 B.C.E., following a period of civil wars that had lasted almost thirty years. The period had been marked by triumvirates or alliances of various generals.

At its peak the empire extended from Britain in the west to the Euphrates in the east and from the Rhine and Danube in the north to the deserts of Arabia and Sahara in the south. Thus the Romans could speak of the Mediterranean as "our sea." The provincial system was maintained and developed with a clear distinction between the imperial provinces, where the appointments were the preserve of the emperor, and the procuratorial ones of lesser importance, whose governors theoretically were appointed by the Senate and did not have a legion stationed there. In addition, client kings such as the Herods of Judea were used to maintain order and enforce Roman law while respecting local tradition.

In theory Roman law applied equally throughout the empire, although the rights and privileges of citizens differed from those of noncitizens, as Paul illustrates in his appeal to Caesar in Acts of the Apostles 25:11. Citizenship was hereditary for freeborn males, but it could also be granted either to individuals or whole provinces for services rendered to Rome. Gradually the distinction was whittled away and then abolished in the early third century, only to be replaced by another one based on property, which had its own potential to incite social unrest.

All power resided with the emperor, but many emperors did consult the Senate, whose decisions, like the decrees of the emperor, had the force of law. Judicial power was given to the Senate, which acted like a supreme court, although the emperor reserved the right to try any case himself. In addition to the Senate and the imperial council (*consilium*), the imperial household, consisting of various personal friends and advisers as well as slaves and freedmen, was also highly influential. The administration of the provinces improved considerably under the empire because of direct imperial control of appointments to the more important or difficult provinces and through control of the taxation system following the abolition of the hated *publicani* or tax-farmers. Despite the fact that governors enjoyed full *imperium* (ruling authority) in their provinces, they were subject to rigorous control from the center. Pliny's letters to Trajan, when the former was governor of Bithynia, document this clearly.

When possible emperors usually appointed their sons, either natural or adopted, as successors. Thus in theory the principate was hereditary, though there were several interruptions. In 69 C.E., the year of the three emperors, the Julio-Claudian line came to an end, replaced by the Flavians on the appointment of Vespasian, then engaged in quelling the troublesome Jewish revolt in Palestine. Again in 193 C.E., with the death of Commodus, a period of internal turmoil followed in which a soldier, Septimius Severus, eventually established a new dynasty with a strong military emphasis, rather than the civil constitution that had prevailed since Augustus. The third century was a period of decline for the empire generally with barbarian tribes threatening on the borders and civil strife at the center. Diocletian (r. 284–305), a strong military

man, emerged as the leader and divided the empire in two. He appointed two vice-regents or caesars, Constantius in the west and Galerius in the east, thus establishing what he hoped would be a proper mode of succession. However, with Diocletian's death turmoil once more ensued until Constantine, the son of Constantius, defeated Maxentius, his rival in the west, at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. Later in 324, Licinius, the caesar in the east, was forced to surrender to Constantine, who thus established himself as the sole ruler of the empire. He moved the seat of government from Nicomedia to Byzantium, which he reestablished as New Rome, but which soon came to be called Constantinople in honor of its founder. It remained the capital of the Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire until it was captured by the Ottomans in 1453. For a time the Western Empire survived the onslaught of the barbarians despite Rome being sacked by the Visigoths in 410. By the end of the fifth century, however, an Ostrogothic kingdom was established in Italy and the centralized authority that was Rome had come to an end. However, many of its customs and institutions, as well as its language, were to endure through the Roman church and its missionary activity among the new peoples who eventually would constitute the Holy Roman Empire.

Roman period a conventional designation for a time period used by scholars of ancient Palestine to denote the period of Roman hegemony over the area called Palaestina. The period is ordinarily taken to run from 37 B.C.E. to 324 C.E. according to standard references in the field, though not without some adjustments. The date 37 B.C.E. is the year when Herod the Great began his rule as a client king for the Romans. Many researchers take the beginning of Roman rule to extend from the coming of Roman legions to Jerusalem under Pompey, therefore 63 B.C.E. The end of the period could be argued to extend to 363 C.E., or the great earthquake so destructive in Palestine in that century. The period is typically divided into three subperiods called Early Roman (or Roman I or Herodian) from 37 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. Middle Roman from (Roman II) from 70 C.E. to 180 C.E., and Late Roman (Roman III) from 180 C.E. to 324 or 363 B.C.E. The Roman period is preceded by the Hellenistic period and followed by the Byzantine period.

Rome The city of Rome emerged from a synoecism of various smaller settlements that can be traced in the Tiber Valley as far back as the ninth century B.C.E. These settlements occur at a point where the river meanders through a deep trough, one half to one and a half miles wide, cut in the soft tufa rock. This valley is surrounded by steep cliffs, giving rise to Rome's famous seven hills: the Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal. The beginnings of the city proper coincide with the draining of the marshy area at the foot of the Capitoline by a canal, the *cloaca maxima* (still in use today), making possible the development of a central marketplace or Forum, probably in the sixth century B.C.E. when the cave burials cease. In the period of the kings the Capitoline was designated a sacred acropolis, the Campus Martius as royal gardens, and a bridge over the Tiber replaced an earlier ford. Walls on the Viminal together with the cliffs gave the city a strong fortress-like character in this earliest period.

During the Republican period (c. 500 B.C.E. on) these areas of public space were further developed, and the Palatine became a residential area. Gradually the city attracted more and more residents as Rome's influence increased, and by the third century B.C.E. it had become crowded with high tenements overlooking narrow streets. In 378 B.C.E. a city wall was built encircling the four designated regions into which Rome had been divided for administrative reasons. Temples and other public buildings were added and aqueducts built to meet the increasing demand for water. Various important political figures such as Sulla in the second century B.C.E. and Pompey and Caesar in the first century B.C.E. all contributed to the public buildings of the city as part of their wider political agendas.

This same trend was continued in the first two centuries of the common era. Older buildings were rebuilt and enlarged and new ones added, such as the Forum of Augustus and a mausoleum in the Campus Martius, and the city was reorganized into fourteen different regions. Gradually the residential quarters of the Palatine had to make way for magnificent public buildings, such as Nero's Golden House, described by Suetonius. This was facilitated by the great fire for which the early Christians had to pay the price of popular suspicion. The Via Sacra leading to the Capitoline was also part of Nero's reconstruction, comparable in elegance to the great colonnaded streets in the cities of the Roman east. Triumphal arches celebrating famous victories abroad, such as those of Titus and Septimius Severus, still stand today at either end of the Forum, showing how no expense was spared in adorning imperial Rome through public monuments and other buildings. Under the Flavians the Colosseum, the Fora of Vespasian and Trajan—

showing strong Syrian influences in its architectural style—and various bathhouses, which were such an integral part of Roman life, were all added. So crowded in fact was the city that later emperors such as Caracalla, Diocletian, and Constantine had to find suitable sites well outside the recognized center for their bathhouses. The continued expansion of the city during the imperial period is indicated by the need for new walls by Aurelian (r. 270–275 C.E.).

Rome, Jews in From at least the second century B.C.E., Jews lived in Rome and the Roman authorities had official contact with the Hasmoneans rulers in Judea. In the first part of the first century B.C.E., Cicero refers to Jews sending money to Jerusalem. When Pompey conquered Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., he brought many Jewish prisoners to Rome as slaves, some of whom eventually gained their liberty. The trial of Flaccus, the anti-Jewish governor of Alexandria, in 59 B.C.E. attracted a crowd of Jews. An embassy of Judean Jews to Rome after the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. was supported by a crowd of eight thousand Roman Jews. Roman authors often took notice of the numerous and influential Jewish community, both positively and negatively. In the first century C.E., members of the Herodian family spent time in Rome. Agrippa I was an influential friend of the Emperor Tiberius and Nero's wife Poppaea was attracted to Judaism. Literature of the period also refers to Jewish slaves and beggers. The poor quality of some Jewish inscriptions in Rome suggests that many Jews were poor and uneducated. The Jewish community was expelled from Rome under Tiberius in 19 C.E. and probably also under Claudius in the 40s. The Jewish community lived originally in Trastevere, a quarter on the far bank of the Tiber River. During the imperial period they spread to other parts of the city. Several Jewish catacombs (burial areas) have been found along with numerous inscriptions. The inscriptions indicate that there were eleven synagogue communities in Rome and that Jews lived there for centuries. *See also* EXPULSIONS OF JEWS FROM ROME.

rosette a major motif in Jewish art, simply inscribed in stone or other media by inscribing circles and arcs with a compass. The rosette normally has six petals, for that is the division of the circle by its own radius. A double rosette has twelve petals. Double rosettes commonly appear on ossuaries with some other artistic motif centered between the two rosettes. Rosettes also occur on lamps, plates, sarcophagi, and in tombs, and it is above all a motif in tomb art. Rosettes on sarcophagi and sarcophagi lids may have four, six, or twelve petals. Occasionally a sarcophagus will be found with two round raised surfaces that were never finished. These might have been shaped into rosettes at the request of the purchasing family, but apparently sometimes not. In synagogue art rosettes appear on friezes in the Chorazin and Capernaum synagogues alongside flowers, circlets, stars, and other simple geometric shapes. On a lintel from Horvat Amudim there appeared a floral rosette in the two outside panels on either side of a wreath. Other rosettes in relief decorate stones from the large synagogue at Kefar Baram, and a seven petal rosette appears on the base of the menorah in the wall paintings at Dura-Europos. Thus the rosette appears to have wide use in Jewish art, but it is not clear if it bears any special meaning.

Rosh Hashanah **1.** New Year, celebrated on the first day of Tishrei (month corresponding to September)

2. Mishnah tractate on the celebration of the New Year, the designation of the new month throughout the year, and testimony as to the appearance of the new moon (chaps. 1–3) and the sounding of the shofar (ram's horn) on the New Year (chaps. 3–4)

Rosh Ḥodesh *see* NEW MOON

Rosh Yeshivah head of talmudic academy

Ruaḥ haKodesh *see* HOLY SPIRIT

Rufinus (345–410 C.E.) monk, historian, and translator, born near Auileia in northern Italy. He attended school in Rome, where he befriended Saint Jerome. He translated into Latin works by Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Eusebius. He produced original commentaries on the Bible and Christian works. He indicates that Julian called the Jews to Antioch in 362 C.E. to discuss the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple. He states that the Italian Jews believed that the Messiah had come, and he records the ingathering of Jews in Jerusalem. He also discusses the earthquake and fire that ended the rebuilding of the Temple.

Rufus, Quintus Tineius consular legate of Syria-Palaestina (c. 131–134/135 C.E.). He was the legate during the Bar Kokhba War. Passages in Jewish literature mention that Rufus or Hadrian destroyed the Temple and plowed up the Temple Mount. It is unclear if the Jews had started to rebuild the Temple under Simon Bar Kokhba or whether these texts refer to a further desecration of the Temple Mount. Jewish sources associate him with a decree against circumcision, but their accuracy is questionable. Several texts record disputations between

Rufus and Akiba in which the former exhibits familiarity with the Torah and Judaism; however, the authenticity of these encounters is doubtful. One source records that Rufus's wife was so disturbed by Rabbi Akiba's ability to respond to her husband's challenges that she sought to seduce the rabbi but failed. According to the story, she eventually converted to Judaism and married Akiba.

ruler cult *see* CULT, RULER

ruler of this world a designation for evil spirits (1 Cor. 2:6, 8) or their chief, whom God permits to hold sway until the end of the age (Jub. 10:8–9, 1QS 3:20–23). The singular figure is identified with Belial (Mart. Asc. Isa. 2:4, 4:2), the devil (Luke 4:6, Assum. Moses), and Sammael (2 Cor. 4:4).

Rum Bet Anat *see* BETH RAMAH

Ruth, Targum to The Targum to Ruth is moderately expansive, interweaving sections of literal translation of the Book of Ruth with sections of additional material. The targum probably stems from the early medieval period. Some of its additions parallel material in other rabbinic literature, especially Ruth Rabbah.

Ruth Rabbah compilation of comments on the Book of Ruth, compiled c. 500–600 C.E. The compilation deals with (1) Israel and God, with special reference to the covenant, the Torah, and the land; (2) Israel and the nations, with attention to Israel's history, past, present, and future, and how that cycle is to be known; (3) Israel on its own terms, with focus upon Israel's distinctive leadership; and (4) the Book of Ruth in particular. The document presents only one message, concerning the outsider who becomes the principal, the messiah out of Moab; this miracle is accomplished through mastery of the Torah. The compilation sets forth the following principles: (1) Israel's fate depends upon its proper conduct toward its leaders. (2) The leaders must not be arrogant. (3) The admission of the outsider depends upon the rules of the Torah. These differentiate among outsiders. Those who knows the rules are able to apply them accurately and mercifully. (4) The proselyte is accepted because the Torah makes it possible to do so, and the condition of acceptance is complete and total submission to the Torah. Boaz taught Ruth the rules of the Torah, and she obeyed them carefully. (5) Those proselytes who are accepted are respected by God and are completely equal to all other Israelites. Those who marry them are masters of the Torah, and their descendants are masters of the Torah, typified by David. Boaz in his day and David in his day were the same in this regard. (6) What the proselyte therefore accomplishes is to take shelter under the wings of God's presence, and the proselyte who does so stands in the royal line of David, Solomon, and the messiah. Ruth the Moabitess, perceived by the ignorant as an outsider, enjoyed complete equality with all other Israelites, because she had accepted the yoke of the Torah, married a great sage, and produced the messiah-sage David.

Rutilius Lupus *see* LUPUS, MARCUS RUTILIUS

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Sabbath (from Heb.: *shabbat,* to cease) **1.** in Second Temple literature, the day of the week on which one rests from work. Observance is attributed to two sources: the divine rest on the seventh day of Creation (Gen. 2:1–3; Exod. 20:8–11; etc.) and the lesson taught by Egyptian slavery (Deut. 5:12–15). The Torah provides some legislation, such as insisting that one's servants and animals are provided rest (e.g., Exod. 23:12). Later material notes the Sabbath was celebrated as a festival, with Temple visits, songs, and special food. Emphasized by the exilic and postexilic writers (Isa. 56:2–7, 58:13–14; Jer. 17:19–27; Ezek. 20:12–24; Neh. 13:15–22), the Sabbath, like circumcision and diet, provided a means of maintaining community identification (Exod. 31:12–17). Sabbath reading of scripture in synagogues is well attested in first-century-C.E. sources (Luke 4:16; Acts 13:14–15, 15:21, etc.), but the practice may have originated in the early postexilic period: Josephus and Philo both locate the origin of the custom with Moses. The Dead Sea Scrolls (see 4QShirShabb; 4Q403) speak of Sabbath celebration with song; cosmological speculation; and various restrictions, such as on walking certain distances (CD 10:21; see also Acts 1:12 on "a Sabbath day's journey"), eating food prepared on the Sabbath (CD 10:22), and rescuing an animal in a pit (CD 11:16–17). Jubilees, which insists that Sabbath celebration is only for Israel, shares with the scrolls many of the laws and attitudes concerning Sabbath activities (2:17–33, 6:34–38, 50; see also 2 Bar. 84). Aristobulus associates the Sabbath with Wisdom.

The text of 1 Maccabees 2:39–41 recounts how the Hasmoneans came to advocate self-defense on the Sabbath rather than to accept slaughter (see also Josephus, *Ant.* 12.6.2). The Gospels depict Jesus as preaching in synagogues on the Sabbath (Luke 4:16) but rejecting certain popular directives regarding Sabbath observance (for example, Mark 3:1–5). Jesus' rationale, shared by Jewish teaching, is "the sabbath was made for people, and not people for the sabbath" (Mark 2:27). Their desire for self-identification, the tradition of Jesus' Sunday resurrection, and the increasingly gentile church's disinterest in Jewish Sabbath ritual led Christians eventually to designate Sunday as their day of worship. The Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers (part of the Apostolic Constitutions) may contain portions of Jewish Sabbath hymns (e.g., 5:1–3).

2. in rabbinic Judaism, the seventh day of the week, on which God rested from the activities of Creation (Gen. 2:1–3), commemorated in Judaism through rest and cessation of work. The rabbis deem observance of the seventh day to be a fundamental element of Judaism, equivalent to all other precepts combined (Exod. Rabbah 25:12). While the Sabbath is referred to in scripture alongside the other, annual festivals—New Year, the Day of Atonement, and the pilgrim festivals of Tabernacles, Passover, and Pentecost—in the rabbinic period, it attained a special place as a weekly observance that in the absence of the cult, could continue as a family holiday practiced in individual homes.

Scripture provides only a limited description of Sabbath observance, for instance, forbidding agri-

cultural labor even at the time of plowing or the harvest (Exod. 34:21), prohibiting trade on that day (Amos 8:5), and forbidding even discussion of one's business (Isa. 58:13). Within rabbinic Judaism, through analogy and extension of biblical prohibitions, the list of prohibited activities, as well as the description of expected or required behaviors, grew increasingly detailed. The result was a system of law that, in the rabbis' own description, hung like a mountain from a strand of hair, containing an inordinate number of rules, based on a small biblical foundation (M. Ḥagigah 1:8).

At the center of rabbinic Sabbath law lies the enumeration of thirty-nine categories of prohibited labor. The list derives from Exodus 35, which, after speaking of the prohibition of work on the Sabbath, uses the same word, "work," in a list of the tasks performed in building and outfitting the wilderness tabernacle. Cataloging the labors specified or implied in this passage yields an inclusive list of categories of prohibited Sabbath work (M. Shabbat 7:2). In rabbinic law, each category is subject to further expansion through the delineation of derivative varieties of forbidden labor. In some interpretations, this yields as many as 1,521 forbidden activities (Y. Shabbat 7:1, 9b–c).

In keeping with Exodus 16:29, the rabbis prohibit travel on the Sabbath beyond a distance of 2,000 cubits from one's town. Additionally, activities that fall under no other category may be prohibited simply because they are not in keeping with the ideal of Sabbath rest (M. Besah 5:2). Sabbath (and almost all other) observance is, however, set aside when a human life is endangered. Whatever is necessary to save a life is to be done, even if this requires transgressing the prohibition against working on the Sabbath or some other holy day.

Alongside determining what is prohibited on the Sabbath, rabbinic authorities develop a system of requirements and practices that recognize the sanctity of the Sabbath day and promote its celebration in a positive way, in particular, through indulgence in food and drink. Three meals are to be eaten on the Sabbath (B. Shabbat 118a), and the Sabbath table is to be as lavish as one's means permit. To ensure that they have an appetite for the Sabbath meals, people should eat sparingly on Friday (T. Berakhot 5:1). To enhance enjoyment of the food, certain methods allow it to be kept warm for Sabbath consumption (M. Shabbat 3 and 4).

The Sabbath is welcomed through the housewife's lighting of a lamp on Friday afternoon before dusk (M. Shabbat 2:6). After sundown, the master of the house recites a sanctification (*kiddush*) comprising a blessing over wine and a blessing of the day, which sets the Sabbath apart from the preceding weekday. Sabbath meals include two loaves of bread, corresponding to the double portion of manna collected for the Sabbath (Exod. 16:22–26). On the Sabbath, one should wear special clothes, walk in a distinctive manner, and even use special speech (B. Shabbat 11a–b).

Sabbatical year the seventh of every seven years, observed by leaving fields fallow and their crops ownerless and by forgiving debts

Saboraim (Heb., those who render decisions) rabbinical authorities active in Babylonia between the Amoraic and Gaonic periods. Neither the exact nature of Saboraic activity nor the dating of the Saboraic period is certain. Sherira dates the Saboraim from the death of Rabina (according to B. Baba Metzia 86a, the last amora) in 499 C.E. through the death of Gada and Simuna in 540 C.E. Ibn Daud dates this period from the death of Mar Joseph in 502 C.E. through the death of Sheshna in 689 C.E. The extant lists of individual Saboraim are confused and of little help in ascertaining the exact period. This may reflect the only gradual realization of the rabbis that a shift in authority had occurred.

Sherira and other medieval sources hold that the Saboraim both explained that which the Amoraim had left unclear and completed the earlier work, for example, by deciding the law in cases previously subject to dispute. They did not, however, function as independent authorities adding to the corpus of learning and authoritative exegesis of the Mishnah, already contained in the talmudic literature. According to some sources, the Saboraim additionally were responsible for completing the redacting of the talmudic text, which had been begun late in the Amoraic period. Since little evidence of the Saboraim's literary product exists, and since passages defined by Sherira as Saboraic are similar in style and argumentation to Amoraic passages, the character and extent of the Saboraim's work remains subject to dispute.

sackcloth and ashes The donning of a black garment of goat's hair or camel's hair was a ritual act of mourning that might be in response to death (Gen. 37:34), personal loss (2 Sam. 3:31), or national disaster (Lam. 2:10; Jdt. 4:10). It might also constitute a ritual of formal repentance (Jonah 3:5–8; Matt. 11:21). The "sack" in sackcloth derives from the transliteration of the Hebrew *sak* in the Greek and Latin translations of the Bible. In connection with the ritual of putting on sackcloth, or apart from it, one might also cover oneself with

ashes or dust or lie in them (Esther 4:1–3; Job 42:6; Joseph and Asenath 10:8–15).

Sacr. *see* DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI

sacrifices and offerings those items that a person gives from his or her possessions as an act of worship. In the Apocrypha, pious characters, such as Tobit (chap. 1) and Judith (chap. 16), make and commend appropriate sacrifices, although in Judith one hears an echo of the prophetic theme that love is greater than sacrifice and offering (16:16). Ben Sira teaches that sacrifices from lawbreakers are unacceptable and that virtuous deeds also qualify as sacrifices (34:18–35:12). The Books of Maccabees describe the time when such cultic acts as sacrifices to the God of Israel were prohibited and replaced by pagan ones (from 167 to 164 B.C.E.). The original Hanukkah marked the rededication of the altar to proper use. Even the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls, who apparently did not participate in the Temple cult, preserved detailed rules about sacrifices and how and when they were to be offered (the Temple Scroll is an example). The community regarded itself as an atoning sacrifice for the nation's sin; its prayers were an acceptable fragrance to God (Manual of Discipline 8–9). Sacrifices and offerings are mentioned several times in the New Testament (e.g., when Mary brought the appropriate one after Jesus' birth [Luke 2:24]). Jesus assumes the Temple cult but teaches the superiority of love (Mark 12:33). He himself is presented as the sacrificial Passover lamb, slain for his people. In Hebrews, his sacrificial death once and for all puts an end to the need for the continual Temple offerings. In Judaism, animal and grain sacrifices and offerings ended with the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.

In the Division of Holy Things (Kodashim), the mishnaic rabbis presented detailed descriptions of the proper conduct of the Temple cult and of the rules for offering all of the Bible's sacrifices. Rabbinic Judaism was shaped by the model of the Temple cult. A central element of the liturgy was prayers for the rebuilding of the Temple and the reestablishment of animal sacrifice, seen by the rabbis as the signifiers of the messianic age. At the same time, after the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis developed a sophisticated system of social and ritual practice they understood to replace sacrifice as concrete means of expiation and union with God. At the center of this system were deeds of loving kindness, seen as a mode of atonement that replaced sacrifices (Abot deRabbi Natan 4; see Hos. 6:6). This same concept is expressed in a range of activities the rabbis hold to be comparable to sacrificial practice: the humble are accounted by God as though they had offered all of the prescribed sacrifices (B. Sotah 5b); the recitation of the liturgy and donning of phylacteries are equivalent to building the altar (B. Berakhot 15a); proper consumption of food at the home table has the same expiatory impact as sacrifices (B. Berakhot 55a); bringing joy to a bridal couple is comparable to offering a thanksgiving offering (B. Berakhot 6b); and those who study Torah are as beloved by God as those who burned incense on the altar (B. Menaḥot 110a).

sacrilege use for secular purposes of what has been consecrated; *see also* MEILAH

Sadducees a group of the Second Temple period drawn from the governing classes of the wealthy and priests, according to Josephus. Not all priests and aristocrats should be conceived of as Sadducees, however. The name Sadducees is Greek and is derived either from the Hebrew name of the priestly line of Zadok or from the Hebrew for "righteous ones." Though no writings from this group have survived, Josephus and the New Testament report that the Sadducees favored a traditional interpretation of the Bible and Jewish customs and thus rejected the more recent belief in an afterlife and the apocalyptic version of divine intervention in human life, as well as innovative, Pharisaic interpretations of Jewish law. They competed with the Pharisees for the favor of the rulers, such as John Hyrcanus, in order to have their teachings enforced as law. They may have been a subgroup of the priestly and governing classes, with a program for living Jewish life that sought to avoid the excessive Hellenization of others of their class. In the Mishnah and Tosefta, the Sadducees appear as opponents of Pharisaic rulings on purity and civil law. In the Midrash and Talmuds, they are often treated anachronistically as heterodox because they deny the existence of an afterlife or oppose Pharisaic and rabbinic teaching. Many pejorative talmudic references to the Gentiles or heretics may have been changed to references to the Sadducees by censors. The Sadducees are related to the Boethusians in rabbinic literature.

Sadok the Pharisee *see* TZADDOK THE PHARISEE

Safed city of Upper Galilee, of that name today, situated on the south end of Mount Canaan; likely named Sepph or Seph in the Roman period. Seph stood on a high hill 11 kilometers northwest of the Sea of Galilee and could be easily seen from its shores. This was a village known to Josephus in the first century as Seph, a village which he claims to have fortified against the Roman attack of 66 C.E.

(*War* 2.20.6, p. 573). His verb means "build walls," so presumably he is claiming to fortify it against Roman siege engines. In his *Vita* he omits the name of Seph. According to the Yerushalmi, Seph or Sepph was a way station in the signaling stations for communicating to the Jews of Babylon that holy days had ensued in Jerusalem (Y. Rosh Hashanah 58A). After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., Seph became one of the villages of Galilee in which the priestly courses settled. In the case of Seph it was the priestly course of Yachin-Pashur (Mishmarot 12).

Safsaf a small village in Upper Galilee in the Roman period, also known as Saphsopha (willow). The village is mentioned once in Y. Temurah 46b, but with no illumination about the village. In the former mosque of the village, decorated stones were found that are possible synagogue remains. The lintel stone, for example, depicted two bulls' heads on either side of a wreath in the center. The ribbons of the wreath extended with vine tendrils to form a border. Above the lintel stood a shell carved in stone. Voussoirs or wedge-shaped stones from an ancient arch stood above the shell, forming an arch with a vine scroll on the inner band of the arch and tendrils on its outer band. Two other voussoirs were built into the wall of the mosque. These two were decorated in concentric moldings. It is possible that the stones did not originate at Safsaf, since no traces of buildings of the ancient world are yet found there. On the other hand, the ancient villages of Gush Ḥalaḇ (Greek: Gischala) stood only 1 kilometer to the north. Gush Ḥalaḇ had two synagogues, and one of them may have been destroyed in the earthquake of 1853 that completely destroyed the modern village.

sage *see* RABBI

saints *see* HOLY ONES

Salathiel the Greek form of the Hebrew name Shealtiel. The most significant occurrence of this name outside the Jewish scriptures is in 4 Ezra 3:1, where Salathiel is given as an alternative name for Ezra, the narrator and hero of the apocalypse. Salathiel appears in genealogies of Jesus in Matthew 1:12 and Luke 3:27.

Salbit Synagogue Samaritan synagogue in the Arab village of Salbit or Salebi, biblical Shaalbim (Josh. 19:42) about 25 kilometers west by northwest of Jerusalem in ancient Samaria. The ancient village overlooked the Ayalon Valley. The synagogue building contained a prayer hall about 14.5 by 8 meters. The whole was paved with a mosaic with no indication of columns to hold up the roof in the style of a basilica. The lower of two mosaic pavements in the prayer hall had a central, rectangular panel which measured 6 by 3.2 meters. It was decorated in interlaced circles surrounded by a frame of small triangles. A circular medallion about 1.45 meters in diameter dominated the center with its Greek inscription, of which only two lines have survived. Only a small part can be read: ". . . of the posses[ion]," perhaps referring to dedicating the property. Below the Greek inscription stand two menorahs, each with seven branches, and between them seems to stand a stylized representation of Mount Gerizim, the mountain holy to Samaritans. To the north of the large panel a Hebrew inscription in the Samaritan alphabet reads: "The Lord [the holy name is spelled out] shall reign for ever and ever" (Exod. 15.18). Another damaged Samaritan inscription of three lines was found south of the central panel. It cannot be read. The upper mosaic floor, lying 15 to 28 centimeters above the first, is in even more fragmentary condition than the lower floor. The design is of floral and geometric patterns. The date of the synagogue is not fixed. A date in the late fourth century C.E. is reasonable for the lower floor, while the upper floor could be any time during or after the six century C.E.

sale, talmudic law of transfer of real estate was effected by payment of money, by deed, by *seisin* (assertive action), or by symbolic transfer of a cloth (also called acquisition by reciprocal exchange). Personal property (chattel) was acquired by taking hold of the object (by lifting it, drawing it toward oneself, or effecting a symbolic transfer), by taking it into one's domain, or by the symbolic transfer of a cloth.

Salome **1.** sister of Herod the Great. She conspired against Herod's favorite wife, Mariamme; denounced her second husband, Costobar, to Herod; slandered two of Herod's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, who were executed in 7 B.C.E.; and supported another of Herod's sons, Antipater. After Herod's death she received several cities. When she died in 10 C.E., she bequeathed her property to the Roman empress Livia.

2. daughter of Herodias, the granddaughter of Herod the Great, and Herod, son of Herod the Great. She first married her uncle Philip, the son of Herod the Great and the tetrarch of Bananeia and Paneion. After his death in 33/34 C.E., she married Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis. The gospels refer to a dance she did for Herod Antipas, the second husband of her mother, Herodias, and her request for the head of John the Baptist.

Salome Alexandra *see* ALEXANDRA, QUEEN

salvation divine deliverance from trouble or danger. The Hebrew Bible and Jewish and Christian tradition regularly depict the God of Israel as one who rescues the covenant people. Thus "salvation" has justifiably become a central category in theological vocabulary. However, the manner in which "salvation" is construed has often oversimplified the breadth of biblical and postbiblical tradition.

Two misimpressions prevail in particular. First, for reasons inherent in the New Testament, Christians usually construe salvation as deliverance from sin and its consequences: guilt and divine condemnation. In fact, the Hebrew Bible and much postbiblical tradition employ the Hebrew root *ysh* and the Greek verb and noun *sōzō/sōtēria* (save, salvation; rescue; deliver[ance]), as well as a number of other terms and metaphors, to denote a range of divine activity that includes rescue from one's enemies, healing from illness, and deliverance from death, in addition to forgiveness of sin and release from its consequences. Moreover, the portrayal of a rescuing, vindicating God occurs quite apart from the use of expressions meaning to "save" and "deliver." Second, much that is defined as "salvation" does not involve God saving anyone from anything. Rather, God is bestowing on the covenant people the blessings that they have been promised, without any sense that they have hitherto been deprived of these things. There are two exceptions in this connection. The righteous may cry out for deliverance from unjust persecution or oppression or for rescue from undeserved illness and premature death. Following the prescription of Deuteronomy 28–30, the receipt of covenantal blessings may be sought by a sinful people who repent and ask for deliverance from the curses of the covenant.

Development in Jewish religion. The conception of salvation and the nature of its mechanisms changed in Jewish religious thought and practice as the ancient world and the historical circumstances of the Jews changed. Exile from the Land of Israel required substantial adjustment. Political and social changes within Israel were factors, as was the development of an eschatological or an apocalyptic dualistic world view. In these and other respects, early Jewish literature provides an indispensable tool for understanding differences between the Hebrew Bible and the texts of rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity.

Salvation from sin and Its consequences. In preexilic Israel, the sacrificial system was the major prescribed mechanism to remove the guilt and impurity incurred by transgression of the Torah. With the Babylonian destruction of Judah's cultic center and exile from the land, sacrifices were no longer possible. Late exilic and postexilic texts attest some new ways for dealing with sin.

Following Second Isaiah's cue that Israel has paid double for its sins (Isa. 40:2), Tobit 11:15, 13:2, 5, 9, 2 Maccabees 6:12–17, and Psalms of Solomon 7:8–10 and 13:9–10 interpret Israel's suffering at the hands of their enemies as God's way of scourging and disciplining the covenant people, so that they may repent and receive mercy. Suffering could also serve the cultic functions of purification and the wiping away of transgressions (Ps. Sol. 10:1–2, 13:10).

In analogy to Second Isaiah's portrayal of the servant's suffering for others (Isa. 52–53) and drawing on parallel notions in Greek religious thought, 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees understood the martyrs' innocent deaths in behalf of the Torah as a means of cleansing the nation and propitiating God's wrath.

More generally, righteous deeds, especially almsgiving and fasting along with self-humiliation, cleanse from sin and expiate for it (Tob. 12:9–10; Ecclus. 35 [Gr. 32]:1–2; Ps. Sol. 3:8). The origin of these practices as expiatory rituals is not clear. They may have arisen where access to the cult was not possible because of distance from Jerusalem, disruption of the cult, or the perception that the cult was ineffectual. Nonetheless, Ben Sira's reference to such a function for deeds of kindness indicates that the notion flourished among persons who had access to the Temple and believed in its efficacy (see Ecclus. 51). After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the notion took on new viability (see Abot deRabbi Natan 4).

Prayers of repentance—widely attested in such texts as Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9, Baruch 1:15–3:8, Daniel 9, the Prayer of Azariah, the Prayer of Manasseh, and 4QDib Ham—constitute another ritual for dealing with sin, which is first clearly attested in the postexilic period.

Taking a completely different tack, 1 Enoch 10:20 finds the pollution of the land to be so complete that it posits a high-priestly figure (Michael) as the necessary agent for a universal purification similar to the flood.

Salvation from one's enemies. The Hebrew Bible frequently depicts God rescuing Israel or individual Israelites from their enemies. The Exodus is prototypical in this respect, and references to "the God who brought Israel up from the land of Egypt" are widespread. The historical scheme in the latter chapters of Deuteronomy allow for

God's deliverance from Israel's captors when the people have repented, and Second Isaiah, especially, interprets the return from Babylon as a second Exodus. Rescue from unjust persecution is the topic of the Psalms of individual lament and individual thanksgiving.

This topic recurs many times in the literature associated with Israel's major crises in the Graeco-Roman period: the persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes; the invasion by Pompey; the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Many of these texts have an eschatological orientation and employ the scheme of Deuteronomy 28–30 and 32 to explain present suffering and to posit imminent deliverance (Jub. 23; Test. Moses). The means of salvation vary. In Jubilees 23, repentance based on a proper understanding of Torah leads to a change of situation (vv. 23–27). In Testament of Moses 9, the obedience of Taxo and his sons involves their innocent death. Daniel 10–12 does not emphasize the Deuteronomic scheme, but like Testament of Moses 10, it envisions the intervention of a high angel. In all of these cases, salvation is final and cosmic and involves a qualitative change in the world and the shape of human life. In other texts generated in response to Antiochus' persecution, salvation takes place within history and through human agents. In 1 Maccabees the family of Mattathias brings "salvation" to Israel through their militant struggle with the Syrian armies (5:62) and especially through the leadership of Judas, Israel's "savior" (*soter*, 9:21). Second Maccabees, on the other hand, sees the deaths of the martyrs as instrumental in turning God's wrath to mercy (7:1–8:5) and facilitating the victories of Judas.

Healing and rescue from death. Early Jewish texts exhibit a variety of nuances about this traditional aspect of God's saving activity. Ben Sira attests the development of "medical science" in the Graeco-Roman world and sees physicians and pharmacists as agents of God's healing (Ecclus. 38:1–8). Within its apocalyptic world view, 1 Enoch attributes illness to the activity of the evil spirits of the dead giants (15:11), but Shemihazah the chieftain of the rebel angels who fathered the giants is also responsible for revealing magical medicine: charms and the cutting of roots (8:1). According to the Book of Jubilees, which employs traditions from 1 Enoch, the angels of God's presence provide Noah with pharmaceutical information to help him and his children deal with sickness of demonic origin (10:10–13). In the Book of Tobit, sickness caused by the activity of demons can be healed through angelic intervention, and Raphael appears in human form to serve as physician, magician, and exorcist. In Genesis Apocryphon 20 Abraham's intercession exorcises an evil spirit that causes impotence.

Salvation as revelation. A substantial part of the Hebrew Bible is devoted to the activity of the prophets, who brought the people the divine message, either that they needed to change their ways to save themselves from present or imminent disaster, or that God was about to act to enact such deliverance. In such cases, revelation was intimately bound up with salvation, either to facilitate it or to encourage the people to take heart as it approached.

Revelation was an important mechanism of salvation also in Judaism of the Graeco-Roman period. Transcendent agents might transmit such information. According to Jubilees 4:15, in primordial times God had sent angels to earth to instruct them in righteousness. In apocalyptic thought, angels mediated heavenly mysteries, and the apocalyptic seer encouraged his community through information received from the appearance of such an agent or during the course of heavenly journeys, often in the company of angelic interpreters. This knowledge about imminent judgment and salvation from persecution or oppression enabled the members of the community to endure and not lose faith (1 Enoch 104:4–6). According to Daniel 12:3, the wise teachers of the Torah led many in Israel to righteousness. At Qumran the revelation of the true interpretation of the Torah facilitated the obedience that delivered the members of the community from the sphere of death that enveloped Israel (1QS 5:17–11; QH 3:19–23), and the revealed interpretation of the prophets indicated history was rapidly moving to its consummation and the moment of salvation (1QpHab 7:1–4). In all cases, revealed knowledge was constitutive of the eschatological community of the elect.

The New Testament. The unique dynamic of early Christian views of salvation is their attachment of Jewish notions of salvation to Jesus of Nazareth. This christological orientation, rather than the specific mechanisms of salvation, distinguish it from Judaism, although the differences are substantial and the emphases noteworthy.

This is especially clear in New Testament views about sin and forgiveness. In Jewish texts about the effective death of the martyrs (2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees), these deaths are followed by the purification of the Temple and the restoration of the cult. For Paul (Rom. 3:24–25) and the author of Hebrews, Jesus' expiatory death has had a per-

manent effect in dealing with sin, and the Jerusalem cult is now irrelevant and unnecessary. The Eucharist effects participation in the results of Jesus' death and in the new covenant established by the shedding of his blood (1 Cor. 11:24–25). Paul's scheme, however, is much more comprehensive (Rom. 6–8). Sin is a power, the equivalent of the evil spirit or evil inclination, which dominates all members of the human race. However, as the New Adam, Jesus the incarnate son of God has initiated a new race from which sin is purged and the righteousness that leads to eternal life is possible through the prompting of the spirit of the risen Lord.

The construal of salvation as rescue from one's enemies is much less frequent in the New Testament than in the corpus of Jewish texts. Where suffering is mentioned, it is usually a function of one's following Jesus (Mark 8:34–36, 13:9–10). This is especially the case in Revelation (Rev. 6:9–11). In both instances the exalted Jesus, as son of man and messiah, will deliver the elect at the end time.

In the Gospels as in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Tobit, demons are largely the source of illness, and much of the gospel narratives is devoted to stories that depict Jesus as the divinely sent healer and exorcist. Mark and John indicate some similarity between Jesus the son of God and Raphael the heavenly being who appears in human form in the Book of Tobit.

The notion of salvation as revelation is a central New Testament concept. The author of Revelation presents his apocalyptic message specifically in order to encourage the churches in Asia Minor to endure and thus attain salvation from persecution and the result of that salvation, eternal life (Rev. 1–3). The scheme of salvation in the Fourth Gospel turns on its claim that Jesus, heavenly Wisdom, has descended into the dark cosmos, bringing the revelation that enables those who believe in it to escape the power of the devil and attain eternal life (John 1:1–18). A similar view of Jesus as heavenly wisdom or wisdom's agent governs the christology of the sayings material in the Synoptic Gospels (the so-called Q source; e.g., Matt. 11:25–30).

Thus in diverse ways, the New Testament uniformly focuses on Jesus as the eschatological agent of divine salvation. That salvation takes many forms and responds to different kinds of trouble and danger; however, it does seem to be the case that the New Testament—more than the Jewish texts—emphasizes salvation from sin and its consequences. Identifying the reasons for this special focus is an interesting challenge for historians of religion in the Graeco-Roman period.

Within rabbinic Judaism, salvation refers to an individual's place in the world to come. This salvation, promised to the Israelites as a nation, is assured to all but the most recalcitrant sinners, for instance, those who deny the resurrection of the dead or who claim that the Torah does not derive from God (M. Sanhedrin 10:1). At the same time, the rabbis propose that through meticulous observance of the law and repentance of sins Jews must individually earn their personal portion in the coming world. In response to his students' question of how to accomplish this, Eliezer says, "Be attentive to the honor owing to your fellows, keep your children from excessive reflection and set them among the knees of disciples of sages, and when you pray, know before whom you stand" (B. Berakhot 28b). At the heart of this rabbinic notion of salvation is the understanding that God fully forgives the sins of those who atone, desiring that His children will be delivered from the ills of current life and will experience the blessings of God's salvation. *See also* ESCHATOLOGY; KNOWLEDGE.

Sama b. Judah Saboraic authority; died 594 C.E. The details of his life and work are unknown.

Sama b. Raba Babylonian amora at the conclusion of the Amoraic period; head of the academy at Pumbedita, 449–476 C.E.

Samaias (also Sameus, Samaeus) a disciple of Pollion the Pharisee. In 47–46 B.C.E. Herod the Great was charged with illegally killing the Galilean bandits of Ezekias, but he appeared with his bodyguards and intimated the Sanhedrin. In addition, Hyrcanus, the high priest, was ordered by Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria, to acquit Herod. Samaias rebuked the Jerusalem Sanhedrin when it refused to stand up to Herod, predicting that Herod would rule and would punish its members and Hyrcanus, the high priest (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.172–74; elsewhere, this rebuke is attributed to Pollion [*Ant.* 15.3–4, 370]). Samaias later advised the people of Jerusalem to admit Herod when he besieged it with the Roman general Sosius. For this reason, he and the Pharisees won Herod's favor and did not have to take an oath of loyalty. He is often identified with the rabbinic figure Shemayah.

Samaria, archaeology of the excavation and survey of the part of ancient Palestine bounded on the west by the coastal plain, on the east by the Jordan Valley, on the north by the Jezreel Plain, and on the south by Judea. The major cities of the region of Samaria before and during this period were Samaria (later Sebaste) and Shechem (later Neapo-

lis). After the exile, and well into the Persian period, the number of sites in Samaria dropped considerably in the south. Most of the population moved near the Mediterranean coast, probably because the coastal cities were economic centers during the Persian period. Shechem appears to have remained mostly in ruins during the Persian period.

During the Hellenistic period, population increased again, particularly in southern Samaria. Samaria and Shechem were rebuilt as Macedonian cities at the beginning of the period. The Hellenistic city walls of Samaria have been found. They are 4.2 meters thick at the base and enclose an area of about 230 by 120 meters. Also at Samaria during the third century B.C.E., the locals built a temple for the worship of Isis. Building stones of this temple were found under a later temple. Isis is attested to by a Greek inscription dedicated to her and Serapis, her consort. Early in the second century B.C.E., the Seleucids built a Greek city on top of Mount Gerizim just south of Shechem. Both Shechem and Samaria were destroyed by John Hyrcanus II in 108 B.C.E. Western Samaria thrived during the Hellenistic period, with farms, rural oil, wine presses, and widespread terracing of fields.

At the very beginning of the Roman period, or in 63 B.C.E., the invading Roman general Pompey annexed the region of Samaria to Syria. In 57 B.C.E. the Roman governor Gabinius rebuilt the city of Samaria. When Herod the Great gained control of the area, he continued the Romanization of the city and renamed it Sebaste in honor of Caesar Augustus (Sebaste is the Greek word for Augustus). The city wall was strengthened with towers, and the gate contained two round towers. By the second century C.E., the city had a colonnaded street down its center, the cardo maximus, the tops of the columns of which can still be seen emerging from the ground for a total of 800 meters. Herod also built a temple to Augustus, an Augusteum, which stood on a rectangular platform 83 by 72 meters. North of the Augusteum there stood a temple to the Mediterranean goddess Korē, only the foundations of which have been uncovered. Also at Sebaste a stadium or hippodrome, a theater, a forum, a public basilica, and numerous tombs were built. The stadium was connected with the worship of Korē and was first built by Herod the Great. In the second century C.E. the stadium was rebuilt in Corinthian style. By 225 C.E. a theater had been built at Sebaste large enough to seat perhaps 3,000 visitors. The market place or agora was surrounded by roofed porticoes on all four sides. Beside the agora stood a basilica 68 meters long by 32.6 meters wide. It may originally have been built by Gabinius or Herod the Great in the first century B.C.E. An aqueduct brought water to the city from the hills to the east.

During this period the number of settlements reached close to its zenith, with hamlets, villages, towns, and cities dotting the landscape. Umm Rihan, the modern name for an ancient village in northern Samaria, a Roman town of significance, had existed in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The existence of a Latin inscription suggests that it was settled by Roman veterans and possibly Samaritans. The town has about one hundred houses covering 9 to 10 acres. The town includes streets, defense towers at its entrances, public areas, public baths, shops, and several oil and wine presses. In addition, there were several hundred field towers in the vicinity of the Roman town. These were largely abandoned in the second century C.E. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Shechem was rebuilt and refounded in 73 C.E. as Neapolis, a new city of the Flavian emperors. The region of Samaria was divided for administrative purposes into the city territories of Sebaste and Neapolis. In the third century C.E., Neapolis was further granted the title of "colony."

Neapolis was a wholly Roman city. It contained a theater, an amphitheater (circus) connected to a hippodrome or stadium, a city wall with round towers, a large water system on the south side, and courtyard houses. A long, colonnaded street ran east and west. A mosaic from a third-century house is often considered to be one of the finest ever made in Israel. The area of the city within the walls was about 250 acres.

In the Byzantine period, occupation in Samaria reached its height, though cities settled by Samaritans thinned out. Christian monasteries are especially strong in the Byzantine period in southwestern Samaria. On the other hand, Samaritan synagogues have been excavated in at least three Byzantine towns in Samaria. In 484 C.E. the Samaritans in Neapolis rose up in revolt against their Christian and Jewish neighbors, but principally against the emperor Zeno. This resulted in the destruction of many Samaritan villages and towns. Zeno built an octagonal church on top of the remains of the Samaritan city on Mount Gerizim, the former focus of Samaritan worship. Both the church and the ruins of the town beneath have been excavated. Samaritans broke out in revolt anew in 529 C.E., this time against the newly crowned emperor Justinian. This revolt was also brutally suppressed, including the

destruction of Samaritan synagogues and towns. *See also* SAMARITANS.

Samaria, Persian province of After the Assyrian conquest of Samaria (722 B.C.E.), the city and territory became a province within first the Assyrian and then the Babylonian Empire. Its provincial status remained unchanged after the conquest of Babylon by the Persians (539 B.C.E.). While Judah was probably not administered from Samaria under the Persians, the Samaritans, under the leading family of the Sanballats, bitterly opposed the establishment of a quasi-autonomous province in Judah, especially during Nehemiah's administration.

Samaritan, Anonymous *see* EUPOLEMUS, PSEUDO-

Samaritan Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, SAMARITAN

Samaritan Chronicles a series of recitations of Samaritan history, which have considerable authority in the Samaritan community. Although most of them have names, they are also given numbers by scholarly convention. The list is as follows: Chronicle 1 (Asatir), Chronicle 2, Chronicle 3 (Tolidah), Chronicle 4 (Samaritan Book of Joshua), Chronicle 5 (Shalshalat), Chronicle 6 (Abul Fath), and Chronicle 7 (the Adler Chronicle). The chronicles are of various types. Several of them make use of the Samaritan succession of high priests as the backbone of the work. This sort includes the Adler Chronicle, the Tolidah, and the Shalshalat. Others are somewhat different. The Samaritan Book of Joshua is very much parallel to the Book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible. Chronicle 2 is more of a narrative in form, similar to Samuel or Kings. The Asatir is a paraphrase of Genesis in Aramaic similar to the Targums. The Samaritan Chronicles often have sections that have a parallel in Jewish history. For example, the sect is alleged to have begun in the time of Eli, when the true priesthood remained with Ithamar (i.e., the Samaritans) but the Jews followed the false high priest (Eli).

Samaritan diaspora the movement of Samaritans out of Samaria, particularly the immediate area of Mount Gerizim. The earliest account of a Samaritan diaspora is in 2 Kings 17, which describes the Assyrian victory over Samaria (the Northern Kingdom of Israel) in 722 B.C.E. Its inhabitants were dispersed throughout the Assyrian empire.

The Samaritans are probably a remnant of only a small portion of the Northern Kingdom, and their real split with the Jews does not come until centuries later. Samaritan troops were garrisoned in Egypt by Alexander, initiating a long-term Samaritan community in Egypt. By the second century B.C.E., Samaritans had communities in Rhodes, Athens, Sicily, and Delos. They moved to the Palestinian coastal cities in the Roman period and, according to Justin Martyr, also lived in Rome. The Samaritan leader, Baba Rabbah, moved to Constantinople in the third or fourth century C.E., and by the fifth century, Samaritans were found throughout Italy and had a synagogue in Rome where they were generally prosperous. In the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great prohibited the Samaritans from holding Christian slaves. In the East, Samaritans worked the silver mines of Persia and Armeania, and settled in Arabia and the islands of the Red Sea.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, the Samaritan diaspora, traced through the colophons (notes) in surviving manuscripts of the Pentateuch, shifted between Egypt and Damascus, depending on the changing political climate. In the sixteenth century a one-way exodus toward Nablus began, and at the beginning of the twentieth century a tiny community of fewer than two hundred Samaritans clung to the foot of Mount Gerizim. At the end of the twentieth century there were two major communities of Samaritans, one at Nablus and one in Holon, a suburb of Tel Aviv. The population of each was less than three hundred.

Samaritans a small religious group unique in having survived from biblical times to the present day. Currently, there are some five hundred Samaritans, some living at their ancestral site near Nablus, in the West Bank territory, and others living at Holon, near Tel-Aviv. Their history, though often troubled, has been unbroken for over more than two thousand years.

It is unlikely, despite appearances, that there are any references to the Samaritans in the Hebrew Bible. Many English translations use the word at 2 Kings 17:29, but it is very doubtful whether the reference is to Samaritans in the later sense, and other versions (e.g., the NIV) use "people of Samaria." The difference is an important one: the Samaritans, properly so called, were a religious group, who rejected Jerusalemite hegemony and claimed that their ancestral site of Mount Gerizim, above Shechem, was the place on which God should be worshiped. That is quite different from a general reference to the people of the northern kingdom at large, who might better be described as "Samaritans."

Of the origin of the Samaritans as defined above, we know little for certain. From the second century B.C.E. onward, there are clear references to them; before that, everything is somewhat obscure. There are, broadly speaking, four theories as to their origin. The first, held by the Samaritans themselves,

dates their division from the Judahites at the end of the Judges period, during the judgeship of Eli, regarded by the Samaritans as an impostor whose claims were rejected by the true believers. A second view, widely held in Judaism and propagated by Josephus, associates the Samaritans with the foreign settlers brought into the country by the Assyrians when they overran the northern kingdom of Israel in the eighth century B.C.E. These settlers are called "Kutheans" in 2 Kings 17:30, and this word is used in Jewish sources in a dismissive way to refer to the Samaritans. This theory, like the first, is unlikely to be historically accurate; just as the first view can be considered as anti-Jerusalemite polemic from the Samaritans, the second view is anti-Samaritan polemic from a Jerusalemite viewpoint.

The remaining theories have more to commend them historically. The third view regards the Samaritans as having retained some of the distinctive characteristics of northern Israelite belief. Not all the inhabitants of Israel were exiled by the Assyrian conquerors, and it is maintained that some of those who remained were the ancestors of the later Samaritans, who hoped to maintain the political and religious traditions of their inheritance. This is an innately plausible view, weakened only by our lack of detailed knowledge of the characteristic features of northern Israel's worship and understanding of God. (Such knowledge as we have comes to us from hostile sources in the books of Kings.) Because of this ignorance, and because of the custom of referring to a Samaritan schism, a fourth view has been put forward by some scholars, who have sought for a specific event that led to a breach between those centered on Jerusalem and those who wished to retain the traditions associated with Mount Gerizim. It is doubtful whether such a quest is justified; some have seen the unacceptable marriage described in Nehemiah 13:28 as a possible occasion of such a breach, but in the Bible it has no direct Samaritan reference; this is only supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* 11.302), who places the event a century later than Nehemiah, in the time of Alexander the Great. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, the third of these four theories may seem the most plausible, but it is important to recognize that if either of the last two theories is broadly correct, there will be no direct references to Samaritans in the Hebrew Bible.

Such references can first be found clearly in the Apocrypha. Two passages in particular demand attention. The closing chapters of the Book of Ben Sira, or Ecclesiasticus, include a gratuitous condemnation of "the foolish people that dwell in Shechem" (Ecclus. 50:26), a reference that suggests that division between the rival sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim had reached an acute stage at that time (2d c. B.C.E.). In another polemical aside, the author of 2 Maccabees implies that the Samaritans had not shown the same zeal in defending the law as had the faithful in Jerusalem, but had allowed their temple to be given a Greek dedication by the Hellenistic rulers of Palestine (2 Macc. 6:2). Again this is hostile polemic; we have no means of knowing the underlying circumstances.

When we turn to the New Testament the situation is somewhat clearer. The translation of John 4:9 is disputed (RSV: "Jews have no dealings with Samaritans"; NEB: "Jews and Samaritans do not use vessels in common"), but whether the reference is specifically to ritual cleanliness or to a more general hostility, the divisions between the two communities are by this time marked. A similar picture is given by the two references in the Gospel of Luke (10:29–37; 17:11–19): in each case, the behavior of a Samaritan is commended and used to highlight Jewish failings.

The other relevant New Testament material is found in the Acts of the Apostles and can be used to illustrate a question that caused much dispute. Were the Samaritans to be regarded as part of the overall Jewish community or not? They had much in common, particularly in their veneration for the Torah (the Samaritans, like some other Jewish groups, regarded only the Torah as "holy scripture") and in their punctiliousness in observing the requirements of ritual cleanliness. However, they rejected the claims of Jerusalem, its Temple, and its priesthood. Josephus resolved the problem by attacking the Samaritans, asserting that they claimed to be Jews when it suited them and rejected the link when things were going badly for the Jewish community, but this only provides further illustration of the ambiguity of the relation. It is shown again in Acts. Stephen's speech in Acts, chapter 7, has so much in common with Samaritan rejection of the Jerusalem Temple for it to have been seriously suggested that Stephen was of Samaritan origin. In Acts, chapter 8, we find a difficulty already noted in the Hebrew Bible: it is not clear whether the journey of Philip (8:5) is specifically to the Samaritans or simply to Samaria. This chapter is also important as providing the earliest references to Simon Magus (8:9–24), who later came to be identified as a leading Samaritan Gnostic. But to explore this theme is to go beyond the biblical period, at the end of which it is clear that

the Samaritans were a well-established group, part of the larger spectrum of Judaism, but rejecting and being rejected by those aspects of Judaism that were tied specifically to the cultic observance of Jerusalem.

Samaritan targums In late antiquity, the Samaritans lived throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, with their strongest concentrations between Cairo and Damascus. Their scripture was limited to the Pentateuch. Over the centuries, three different Samaritan targums were composed to it; all three stand independent of the rabbinic targums and the Peshita. The first Samaritan targum was written around the fourth century C.E. in a dialect similar to that used in Targum Neofiti (Jewish Palestinian Aramaic). The second Samaritan targum was composed a century or so later in a dialect similar to that used in the Palestinian midrashim and the Palestinian Talmud. The third Samaritan targum was composed between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, after Arabic had replaced Aramaic as the everyday language among Samaritans. The Aramaic of this targum consisted of a blend of Aramaic and Hebrew, with some Arabic influences. The Samaritan targums are quite literal, with only a few additional elements, and their translations were occasionally shaped to incorporate Samaritan aggadic and legal exegesis.

Sammael name for the chief of the evil spirits, derived from the Semitic roots *sama/sema* (blind) or *sam/samma* (poison), combined with the angelic suffix, *'el*. The first meaning appears in two Gnostic texts, which translate the name "god of the blind" (Hyp. Arch. 87:3, 94:25) and "the blind God" (Orig. World 103:18) and accuse him of erring. The former suggests a background in which Sammael blinded people and led them astray (cf. Mart. Asc. Isa. 1:8, 11; 2:1; 5:15–16; 11:10, 14). Sammael's activity as the poisoning angel relates to his role as the angel of death (Tg. Ps.-Jon. Gen. 3:6; 3 Bar. 4:8 [Greek]), and the name is suggested in Testament of Abraham 16–17 (A) and B. Abod. Zar. 20b. Sammael is also the accusing angel (*satan*; Exod. Rab. 18:5), and all three roles are combined in Deuteronomy Rabbah 11.

Samuel early Babylonian amora, born in Nehardea and active from the end of the second through the mid-third century C.E.; head of the academy at Nehardea; also known as Mar Samuel and Samuel Yarḥinah. Samuel is frequently in dispute with Rab, after whose death he became the preeminent authority of his day. Samuel appears to have had close relations with the exilarchate (see Y. Taanit 4:2, 68a) and was involved in astronomy (B. Berakhot 58b). He is known for his statement, "the law of the state is the law," which required Jews to observe the laws even of a non-Jewish government.

Samuel's teachers are unknown. B. Baba Metzia 85b's statement that Samuel cured an eye ailment of Judah the Patriarch has led some scholars to suggest that he studied with Judah in the Land of Israel. But this claim is poorly supported, insofar as Samuel neither reports any laws that he heard directly from Judah nor refers to any practices that he learned in Judah's household. Others claim that Samuel studied in the Land of Israel under Ḥanina b. Ḥama. This is based upon the two rabbis' implementation of similar medical cures and their identical use of drawings of a palm branch as their signatures (Y. Gittin 9:9, 50d). The same parallels can be found, however, among other authorities in distant settings, leaving this evidence as well to be judged as inconclusive.

Little is known of Samuel's personal life. He appears to have been wealthy, employing household servants (B. Niddah 47a) and tenant farmers (B. Baba Kamma 92a). His fields had been left to him by his father (B. Ḥullin 105a). Samuel's sons died as children (B. Shabbat 108a), and two of his daughters were taken captive and later ransomed in the Land of Israel (B. Ketubot 23a).

Samuel stands at the beginning of the postmishnaic period, transmitting Tannaitic traditions in Babylonia while, at the same time, presenting his own interpretations and laws. The hundreds of sayings attributed to him in the Babylonian Talmud, along with those of a few contemporaries, represent the earliest stratum of what would become the Babylonian Talmud. Evaluation of Samuel's statements suggests that in their earliest form, they were short comments that circulated along with the particular mishnaic passages to which they pertained. In the later development of talmudic argumentation, these statements were often expanded and set within the larger talmudic dialectic. The process of formulation and redaction of the Babylonian Talmud thus obscured Samuel's own work of composing a commentary on the Mishnah.

Samuel, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Samuel b. Abbahu Babylonian amora active in the fourth century C.E.; referred to at B. Ḥullin 59b in a controversy concerning the use of a Circassian goat for food

Samuel b. Ammi Palestinian amora, active in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. Only a few of his exegetical statements are extant.

Samuel b. Ḥofni gaon of the academy at Sura from 997 C.E.; died 1013 C.E.; descended from scholars at Pumbedita. He was a prolific writer, but most of his works are no longer extant. He prepared the first introduction to the Talmud, which summarized its basic principles; parts of this introduction have been found in the Cairo Geniza.

Samuel b. Isaac Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Ḥiyya b. Abba; the father-in-law of Hoshayah II. He also spent time in Babylonia, with Ḥuna. He was a teacher of Jeremiah, who transmits many of his statements.

Samuel b. Naḥman Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. A native of Lydda, he visited Babylonia several times, once on a mission to enact in Babylonia the intercalation of the calendar (Y. Berakhot 2:1, 2d) and again to argue on behalf of a youth who had committed a political crime (Y. Terumot 8:10, 46b). He studied with Jonathan b. Eleazar and Joshua b. Levi.

Samuel b. Yose be Bun also referred to as Samuel b. Yose b. Abin/Abun; a Palestinian amora active in the mid-fourth century C.E. Very little of his teaching has been preserved.

Sanballat I an opponent of Nehemiah. He is referred to as Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. 2:10, 19; 13:28), so he probably was from Beth Horon, northwest of Jerusalem; the name is Babylonian in origin (*sin-uballit,* the god Sin has given life). He may have been governor of the province, but this is not stated explicitly. Sanballat was the bitter opponent of Nehemiah's program of rebuilding the defenses of Jerusalem and setting up a quasi-autonomous province of Judah (Yehud). Two of his sons, Delaiah and Shemaiah, are mentioned in a letter from Elephantine (408 B.C.E.), and two papyri discovered in Wadi ed-Daliyeh mention a Sanballat who was governor of Samaria toward the end of Persian rule (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.302–25), suggesting that the family maintained control of the province for at least a century.

sanctify God *see* GLORIFY, MAGNIFY, SANCTIFY GOD

sanctuary (Heb.: *mik dash*) the holy place; refers only to the Temple in Jerusalem. The sanctuary is the place in which the offerings were burned upon the altar and raised to heaven through the smoke of the altar fires; a place to be kept clean of the sources of uncleanness listed in Leviticus, chapters 11–15; and a place in which only appropriate persons, that is, priests (Heb.: *kohanim*) and Levites (Heb.: *levim*), carry out the rites.

sanhedrin name for a Jewish administrative body

Sanhedrin Mishnah tractate devoted to the organization of the Israelite government and court system and the punishments administered to those convicted by the courts of having committed various crimes. The first five chapters describe the court system, covering various kinds of courts and their jurisdictions, the heads of the Israelite nation and courts, and the procedures of the court system in property and capital cases. Chapters 6 through 11 set forth rules on the death penalty, which is administered through stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangulation. How these penalties are administered is described, and the classifications of sins or crimes punished by each is specified. Extrajudicial penalties administered by Heaven are spelled out: all Israelites share in the world to come except those who deny that the Torah teaches the resurrection of the dead. Both Talmuds devote important and lengthy expositions to this tractate.

Sarah (Heb., princess) name of both Abraham's wife, Isaac's mother (Gen. 11, 12, 16), and the heroine of the Book of Tobit. Galatians 4:21–31 (see also Rom. 9:6–9) compares Sarah—the free matriarch, representative of heavenly Jerusalem, and mother of Isaac and the children of promise—to the slave Hagar, whose children of the flesh are enslaved by Mosaic law. For Hebrews 11:11, Sarah exemplifies faith by trusting that she would conceive after menopause (see Rom. 4:19, from Abraham's perspective). In 1 Peter 3:6, she is the model of an obedient, subordinate wife. Her story is particularly expanded in the Testament of Abraham.

The second Sarah (in the Book of Tobit), also unable to conceive and in conflict with her servants (Tob. 3:8–9), is plagued by the demon Asmodeus until her prayers—which parallel those of Tobit—are answered by Tobias. Perhaps reflecting the tradition of the "fall of the watchers," the angel Raphael avoids her company.

sarcophagus large stone coffin, usually decorated, and most commonly of the Roman period. Sarcophagi are well known in Roman period sites in the eastern Mediterranean, as they were customary for persons of means. The sarcophagus was normally interred in a family tomb, perhaps with other sarcophagi. Sarcophagi were most commonly manufactured at a central place, then sold either with completed decorations or with certain elements left "blank" for the family to complete with a hired artist. Others were clearly completed by the family, as they bear all the marks of a popular art by an unpracticed hand. A famous example of one of the fine sarcophagi is from Ashkelon. It is likely from the third or fourth century and depicts the battle between Greeks and Gauls, perhaps Greeks and Trojans, in fine white marble. Other favorite motifs

include a battle between Greeks and the Amazons. Other sarcophagi may be completely undecorated. For example, the second-century-C.E. mausoleum or burial monument from Capernaum in Galilee was found to contain three completely plain sarcophagi.

In the cemetery of the Jewish town of Beth Shearim in western Galilee, many sarcophagi were apparently decorated by the families that used them. Sarcophagi are generally more massive than receptacles for the dead made of other materials, because of the greater density of stone and because of the larger dimensions. For example, sarcophagus 87 from catacomb 20 at Beth Shearim (in which no less than 125 sarcophagi were found) was 2 meters by 87 centimeters by 61 centimeters, not counting the lid. Even larger sarcophagi are known at Beth Shearim and elsewhere, some of them approaching 7 tons in weight. Lids of sarcophagi were typically carved to resemble a roof with *acroteria*, or rounded projections, on each corner. The "shell" sarcophagus from Beth Shearim, catacomb 20, is carved everywhere in low relief. In the center of the long side of the lid between the two acroteria is a rounded projection with a shell carved into its hollow. Thus, its name. On the long side of the sarcophagus, on the side facing out from the wall, there appears a flat, rectangular panel surrounded by a repeated geometric pattern on the bottom and by wreath and garland at the ends. The rectangular in the center features what appears to be two Torah shrines, that is, a shell carved above two columns. The one on the left has an eagle with spread wings between the columns, while the one on the right has a feline, perhaps a lioness, between the columns. Four different decorations embellish the top edge of the rectangle, including two lions facing a bull's head between them. All the carvings are finished in primitive style. The eagle sarcophagus from Beth Shearim features not only an eagle but also, on the long side, two lions face one another, again with a bull's head between them. The same motif appears on the lion sarcophagus, also from Beth Shearim, which appears to depict a chalice between the lions. Smashed fragments of marble sarcophagi abound at Beth Shearim, surely broken by looters of much later periods. Some betray traces of elaborate decoration in high relief in motifs borrowed from Roman art, including the war of the Greeks with the Amazons (an Amazonomachy). On the wall of catacomb 20 at Beth Shearim is painted an inscription in Hebrew: "These sarcophagi, the inner and the outer, are of Rabbi Aniana and of . . . the holy ones, the sons of . . . ." All the inscriptions on the sarcophagi are in Hebrew.

Sometimes the name of the deceased appears on the side of the sarcophagus, presumably so that family members who entered the tomb at a later date for a new burial could locate family members. In catacomb 20 at Beth Shearim, twenty of the sarcophagi are inscribed with a family member's name. Other sarcophagi in fine marble feature carvings in high relief of war scenes and other popular motifs. The white marble sarcophagi with such scenes have been traced to Attica in Greece and to the island of Marmara in the Dardanelles. A second famous sarcophagus from Ashkelon depicts in high relief the rape of Proserpine. A fragment of a sarcophagus from Beth Shearim depicts Lydda and the swan. *See also* SARCOPHAGUS DECORATIONS.

sarcophagus decorations Jewish symbols found on ancient stone coffins (sarcophagi) that exhibit both Jewish and Graeco-Roman symbols of death, the afterlife, and salvation. Relatively few sarcophagi have been discovered in Palestine compared to the vast number of ossuaries. This is probably merely a matter of the added expense of constructing and storing a sarcophagus that held the entire body. Ossuaries were more convenient both in terms of money needed for construction and in terms of storage because they only held the bones after the body had decomposed. In light of the small numbers of sarcophagi found in Palestine, conclusions concerning Jewish decorations must be supplemented by Jewish burials from outside Palestine.

A central question concerning sarcophagus decorations from Jewish burials is the need to explain the presence of extensive Hellenistic symbols and relatively few traditional Jewish symbols. In contrast to the paintings and epithets found in Jewish and Christian burials in Rome, where the bones are found behind simple stone slabs, the rooms with the elaborate sarcophagi exhibit extensive pagan borrowing. The same phenomenon is found on sarcophagi from Palestine. This fact has caused some scholars in the past to argue that these sarcophagi were actually not Jewish. More recently, it has been argued that since only the Jewish upper class could have afforded the construction of sarcophagi, Hellenistic influence was much more extensive among the Jewish upper class.

The sarcophagi from the Catacomb Randanini in Rome are important in identifying both traditional Jewish and Hellenistic symbols with Jewish burials. Two rooms in the Catacomb Randanini are especially filled with Hellenistic symbols. Both rooms

have ceiling decorations which have been labeled the "dome of heaven." In these ceilings, a central circle serves to symbolize salvation. Other symbols of Hellenistic origin, representing the afterlife or immortality, include a winged victory crown, a libation offering flowing from a cornucopia, peacocks, birds, the sign Pisces, a Cupid figure, and Pegasus.

In spite of these so-called pagan symbols, fragments of sarcophagi from this catacomb exhibit traditional Jewish symbols along with traditional Hellenistic symbols. One sarcophagus fragment from the Jewish Catacomb Randanini contains a representation of the four seasons with Dionysian wine pressing. In addition, there are a pair of victories which hold up a shield between them. A lighted menorah is depicted on the shield, however, instead of the portrait of the deceased or a symbol of hope as would be expected from other "pagan" burials. Another sarcophagus fragment from this same catacomb contains completely Jewish symbolism, including two palm trees which could be seen to symbolize the tree of life. In light of these symbols, which definitely point to Jewish burials, one should interpret the other burials and symbols from the same catacomb as Jewish even if the use of pagan symbolism is difficult to understand.

The suggestion of wealthier Jews being more Hellenistic because the expensive sarcophagi exhibit pagan symbols is possible. One can also postulate that more humble burials did not use elaborate decorations of either type because of the cost involved. The lack of these symbols in burials where sarcophagi are not present does not sway the interpretation in either direction.

Sardis, Jews in Sardis, in Lydia, about sixty miles from the western coast of Asia Minor, was a major city from the sixth century B.C.E. until its destruction in the seventh century C.E. It is possible that Obadiah 20, which refers to an exilic community of Sepharad, speaks of Sardis because a Lydian-Aramaic inscription gives Sardis that name. According to documents preserved in Josephus, the Jewish community was already established in the first century B.C.E. and successfully defended its rights and privileges. The recently excavated synagogue in Sardis, the largest yet found, testifies to the size, influence, and prosperity of the Jewish community in Sardis from at least the third century C.E. A basilica in a large Roman public complex was taken over for a synagogue, probably in the third century, and underwent several renovations over the years. A forecourt (31 × 25 ft.) had a central fountain and a colonade around the sides. Three doors in the east wall led into a main hall (75 × 25 ft.). Between the door at the east end were two Torah shrines and on the west wall an apse. A large table and two reused lion sculptures along with mosaics on the floor and other decorations on the walls graced the interior. Over eighty inscriptions have been found, some recording donations by community members who held municipal offices. The building, its frequent renovations, and the inscriptions all testify to a well-established, prosperous, and influential Jewish community in a major city of Asia Minor.

Sariel (Heb., prince of God) one of four holy ones (angels) who stand in God's immediate presence according to 1 Enoch 6–11 and 1QM 9:15–16. In 1 Enoch 10:1 he is God's messenger to Noah. In the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch he is confused with Uriel, and in 1 Enoch 40:9 he is replaced by Fanuel.

sarx (Gr., flesh) Although it is used generically, it also became a philosophical and theological term to designate the desires and appetites of the flesh and thus usually had a negative connotation. The view in the Graeco-Roman world was that a person's desires should be controlled by the mind (Gr.: *nous*). *See also* NOUS.

Sasa Jewish village in the western side of the territory of Sepphoris, but so near the border that there were doubts in the rabbinic sources whether it belonged to Sepphoris or to Acco-Ptolemais (T. Gittin 2:3). Sasa was far enough into the hills to be included in Upper Galilee, though it lay just south of the Roman track from Tiberias to Acco-Ptolemais. The site has never been excavated, though a column base discovered in the ruined village in the nineteenth century was said to resemble those of synagogues. In 1334 a Jewish traveler reports that a synagogue stood in the village, perhaps the building to which this column base belonged.

Sassanids, Jews under the period of the Persian dynasty, ruling Iran from 224 to 651 C.E., that claimed Sasan, a Zoroastrian priest who served at the Istakhr temple, as its founder. In 224 Sasan's grandson Ardashir became the first Sassanid ruler. The Jews were not enthusiastic about the new dynasty, for it set out to establish a state-church which would serve as the empire's unifying force. Ardashir's government was determined to cancel the traditional prerogatives that the Parthians had granted to the Jewish community and to control the activities of the Jewish courts. The Babylonian Talmud records Rab's lamenting upon the Ardavan's death and numerous complaints about the new situation that even led to the destruction of

synagogues. The situation changed when Shapur I took the throne in 241, for shortly thereafter Samuel's dictum that "the law of the government is the law" accepted the authority of the Sassanids and recognized the legitimacy of their courts and laws. This political decision seems to have resulted in the Sassanids' allowing the rabbis to maintain their control over the daily lives of the Jews in both religious and nonreligious matters as long as they were deemed unimportant by or in agreement with Sassanid policy according to the Persian authorities. The rabbinic texts naturally indicate that the rabbis were the primary Jewish authority, even though the Persians recognized the exilarch as the official Jewish representative. The period from the death of Shapur I in 272 to the advent of Shapur II in 309 witnessed the succession of weak leaders who constantly fought wars with Rome and who lost significant amounts of territory. However, the rabbinic sources take only slight account of the political and military unrest or the frequent military invasions of the empire. They do not indicate that Jewish settlements were destroyed, that the Jews suffered greatly at this time, or that their way of life was notably disturbed. The Jewish sources almost ignore the threat posed by Kartir's religious reforms. From the point of view of the Jewish documents, the most pressing issue was the new tax structure and its system of penalties. Many Jews seem to have lost their property or were sold into slavery in order to meet their tax obligations.

Shapur II (309–379) was an exceptionally gifted politician, administrator, and soldier. He was able to regain the territory that his predecessor's had lost, defeating several Roman armies. He is credited in some texts with creating a Mazdean state-church; however, we have no evidence that he persecuted the Jews, although he did persecute Christians whom he probably connected with his western enemies. The only rabbinic stories that point to the government's persecuting Jews revolve around cases of tax evasion. The Talmud contains five stories about Ifra Hormizd, Shapur's mother, who they claim supported the Jews at her son's court. The few rabbinic stories about Shapur II picture him as curious about some Jewish practices and respectful of others. The rabbinic texts indicate that Jewish life prospered during his administration under the leadership of the rabbis who attempted to disengage themselves from the exilarch's authority. When Shapur II died in 379/380, the Persian Empire was at peace on its western and eastern frontiers and secure under a strong centralized government. This was the state of affairs when Yazdagird I gained the throne in 399. Both the later Persian and rabbinic traditions picture Yazdagird as friendly toward the Jews. The former claim that the emperor had a Jewish wife, and the latter suggest that women in Yazdagird's harem supported the Jewish community and that the exilarch and the emperor were on good terms.

The fifth century was a time of external threat by the Hephthalites and internal instability. Late Jewish sources claim that Yazdagird II (438–457) and Peroz (459–484) issued decrees against Sabbath observance, closed Jewish schools, and abolished the Jewish court system, placing Jews under Persian rather than Jewish law. In addition, the emperors are accused of executing leading rabbis and exilarchs. These activities parallel the emperors' persecution of Christian institutions and holy men. Under Kavad I (488–531) and Khusro I (531–579) the empire again became strong and united. Kavad undertook the reconstruction of the domestic economy and the strengthening of the traditional nobility. Khusro revamped agriculture, reorganized the empire's communication system, and created a new tax system which guaranteed him a steady revenue. He also brought an end to the threat of the Hephthalites. Our sources about the Jewish community at this time are late, but they do not indicate that the Jews suffered under these emperors. Some claim the exilarch and the rabbis founded an independent Jewish state, but if they did, it was short lived. Jewish sources suggest that under Khusro II (591–628) and his successors, the situation of the Jews worsened. They describe the period as a time of persecutions; therefore, it is doubtful that the Jews mourned the passing of the Sassanids and the arrival of the Muslims.

Satan (from Heb., adversary) a member of the heavenly court whose primary adversarial function is to accuse in legal dispute. The noun usually appears with the definite article, indicating a role rather than a personal name. In Zechariah 3 he and the angel of YHWH dispute Joshua's fitness for the high priesthood. In Job 1–2 accusation leads to testing; the prosecutor attempts entrapment. In 1 Chronicles 21:1 satan, rather than God, incites David to sin (cf. 2 Sam. 24:1). The role of the accusatorial adversary is widespread in later literature, even where the title "satan" is not present, and his malevolent intentions predominate (cf. Jub. 1:20, 17:15–18:12, 48:1–12). In general, however, "satan" is relatively infrequent as a designation for the chief evil spirit.

In the New Testament, however, the Greek *satan(as)* and the normal translation of the Hebrew,

diabolos, predominate. The surprising frequency of *satan(as)* suggests that the title had become a veritable proper name, although the word usually appears with the definite article. Most New Testament passages depict this figure as a tempter rather than an accuser, but the old meaning appears in Revelation 12:10 in a version of the myth recounted in Isaiah 14 and the Life of Adam and Eve 12–17.

Satanael name for the leader of the fallen angels in 2 Enoch. In chapter 18 he is the counterpart of Shemihazah, the chief of the watchers according to 1 Enoch 6–11. In 2 Enoch 31, he is identified with the tempter of Eve, and his story parallels the Life of Adam and Eve 12–17.

satrapy a division of the Persian Empire, governed by a satrap, that formed the basic administrative unit. Within his satrapy, the satrap governed with a great deal of autonomy. Herodotus states that the empire was divided into twenty satrapies by Darius I, though the exact number may have changed through history. Satrapies were subdivided into provinces (called medinahs or eparchies) and smaller units. With the Greek conquest, the larger satrapies did not usually remain intact (though Egypt became the Ptolemaic Empire), and the administrative units tended to be the smaller ones.

Saul of Tarsus usually known as Paul (after the Greek form of his name), the apostle Paul, or Saint Paul; a Jew of the first century C.E. who became the most influential early Christian missionary. At least seven of his letters are preserved in the New Testament (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon), and his ideas played a formative role in the development of Christian theology. Knowledge of Paul's life derives from his letters (written in the 50s) and from the Acts of Apostles (c. 90), over half of which is devoted to an account of his missionary journeys. Paul describes himself as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," a Pharisee of the tribe of Benjamin, who was "blameless" in regard to the Torah (Phil. 3:5–6; cf. Gal. 1:13–14). Initially repelled by the Christian preaching of a crucified and resurrected messiah, Paul sought to destroy the church (Gal. 1:13) until a vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus convinced him that he was called to be Jesus' apostle (missionary) to the Gentiles (Gal. 1:15–17; cf. Acts 9). From his base at Antioch in Syria, he journeyed around the Mediterranean world, preaching about Jesus and founding churches in Asia Minor (modern Turkey) and Greece. Paul aroused animosity, not only among Jews but also among many Jewish Christians, by his radical position on the place of Torah in the new Christian faith. Arguing that observance of the Torah played no positive role in Christian salvation, he vigorously opposed Jewish Christian missionaries who attempted to impose Torah observance on his gentile converts (Gal.; Rom. 3–4). Although his views resulted in some tensions with the first Christian community in Jerusalem (cf. Gal. 1–2; Acts 15), Paul championed Christian unity, and as a sign of this he traveled to Jerusalem to deliver a gift of money collected in his mostly gentile churches. On this last visit to Jerusalem, Paul was arrested; he appealed to the emperor and was taken by ship to Rome (Acts 21–28). Acts breaks off the story with Paul under house arrest in Rome; according to Christian tradition, he died during the persecution of Nero in 64 C.E.

The teaching contained in Paul's letters has had enormous influence on Christian theology. Paul says little about the life and teachings of Jesus but focuses on his death and resurrection, which he views as the central act in God's plan for the salvation of all people, both Jews and Gentiles (1 Cor. 15, Rom. 3:21–26). Sharing the perspective of apocalyptic thinkers who contrasted the present evil age to the salvific "age to come" (cf. 2 Esdras 7:112–113), Paul views the death and resurrection of Jesus as the breaking in of the new age, which will be consummated in the final victory over the powers of evil and death at the second coming of Jesus, an event that Paul expects in his own lifetime (1 Cor. 15:19–58). Paul's articulation of salvation in Christ as "justification (appropriated) by faith," apart from the works of the law (Rom. 3:21) was particularly emphasized by Luther and the Protestant Reformation.

savior *see* SALVATION

scales and weights instruments for measuring, which epitomize the notion of justice and fairness; false scales and weights symbolize injustice (Prov. 20:10, 23; Mic. 6:11). The weighing process became a metaphor for the process of justice, whether human (1 Enoch 95:6) or divine (Dan. 5:27). *See also* BALANCE, JUDGMENT.

school (Heb.: *beit midrash,* house of study) rabbinic center for study and prayer. Through the Talmudic period, the school, under exclusive rabbinic control, was distinct from—and, according to some authorities, holier than—the community-run synagogue. B. Megillah 27a reports an amoraic discussion concerning the permissibility of turning a synagogue into a school or vice versa. The underlying premise, supported through a citation of the Tannaitic authority Joshua b. Levi, is that the school, where Torah is exalted, had a higher status.

In general, rabbis held that activity in the school was an essential element of piety. Those who went directly from the synagogue to the school were deemed worthy of the divine Presence (B. Berakhot 64a). Wives were praised for waiting up for husbands who returned home late from the school (B. Berakhot 17a).

The first known appearance of the term *beit midrash* occurs at Ben Sira 51:23: "Draw near to me you who are untaught and lodge in my school." The term and its Aramaic equivalent, *bei midrash,* occur numerous times throughout the rabbinic literature, describing a rabbinic culture in which participation in rabbinical study was the society's highest value. According to B. Ketubot 105a, in Jerusalem alone, there were 394 courts and synagogues and an equal number of schools.

The terms *beit midrash* and *bei midrash* occur in rabbinic sources deriving from both Babylonia and the Land of Israel. The Babylonian usage of these terms, however, occurs almost exclusively in reference to rabbinical institutions in the Land of Israel or in interpretations of verses of scripture. For their own institutions, Babylonian authorities used the term *bei rabbanan* (house of our rabbi/master) or *bei rab* (house of the rabbi/master), to which the name of a specific Amoraic authority often was attached. This terminology reflects the fact that, during the Talmudic period, the large Babylonian academies that would develop in the gaonic period did not exist. The Babylonian school, rather, consisted of a circle of disciples gathered around particular rabbinic master. These circles lacked the formalized institutional culture that would allow them to continue after the death or retirement of that master. Instead, upon the master's death, the circle would disband, and its students would search for a new teacher or would themselves take on students of their own. Rabbinical schooling in Babylonia thus differed from that in the Land of Israel, where formal rabbinical institutions appear to have existed in the Talmudic period. Called *betei midrash,* these schools were equipped with their own staffs and set curriculums and had corporate identities that transcended the particular masters who taught in them in any particular period.

In the post-Talmudic period, words that in the Talmud designated rabbinical courts—the Hebrew word *yeshivah* and its Aramaic equivalent, *metivta*—increasingly were applied to formal academies of higher rabbinic learning. Such academies were separate from the *beit midrash,* which remained open to all men who wished to study. In medieval times, the *beit midrash* often was merged with the synagogue, though it retained its distinctive character as a place for study of rabbinic texts and discussion of Jewish law, in which prayer was a secondary activity.

sciatic nerve in the back of the hip, understood to be the "hollow" of the thigh, put out of joint by the messenger of God who wrestled with Jacob on the evening before Jacob's reunion with Esau (Gen. 32:24–30). As a result of this belief, the sciatic nerve is not eaten and must be removed from all meat slaughtered and consumed under the Jewish dietary laws.

scribes (Heb.: *sofer, soferim;* Gr.: *grammateus, grammateis*) literally, those who can write; more broadly, those who are literate. In ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman society about 90 percent of the population were illiterate, mostly engaged in farming. Thus, those who were literate, the scribes, served in specialized roles as administrative and financial officials, educators, religious functionaries, and so on. The imperial courts in Egypt and Mesopotamia had elaborate systems of scribal training and administration. These patterns were probably imitated in Israel from the time of Solomon on. The chief scribe at the Jerusalem court was a high cabinet officer concerned with finance, policy, and administration (2 Kings 22; Jer. 36:10). Scribes such as Baruch were also associated with the prophets (Jer. 36:32). The development of biblical literature during the Babylonian exile and the proliferation of extrabiblical Jewish literature during the Persian and Greek periods indicate intensive activities of professional scribes among prophetic priestly, apocalyptic, and governing groups. In postexilic Israel, Ezra the Scribe was a community leader, learned in the law (Ezra 7:6), who was given wide authority over the Jewish community by the Persian king (Ezra 7:21–26). Levites also served as scribes (1 Chron. 24:6) and teachers (Neh. 8:7–8). In the Graeco-Roman period, a group of scribes sought reconciliation with the high priest, Alcimus (I Macc. 7:12–14), and Eleazar, a leading scribe, died for the law (2 Macc. 6:18). Scribes appear in the writings of Josephus as lowly village copyists, high Jerusalem officials, and members of the council. In the Gospels, scribes appear with the Pharisees as a group opposed to Jesus of Nazareth. They are best understood as low-level village officials and teachers who were the first to come into conflict with Jesus. Rabbinic literature refers sporadically to scribes (*soferim*) as early authoritative teachers of various rulings and biblical interpretations. The "words of the scribes" are premishnaic traditions, which are less authoritative than scrip-

ture. Because their writings do not form a coherent body of teachings, the term *soferim* probably refers to a variety of learned scholars and teachers in the Hellenistic period about whom little is known. In the Talmuds, scribes appear in several roles. They are skilled copyists of Torah scrolls, which have by then become an object of veneration in the Jewish community. Local scribes continue as literate functionaries who write letters and documents. Some scribes are teachers and interpreters of scripture, but generally the rabbis take over these functions of scribes. In diaspora synagogues, the scribe (Gr.: *grammateus*) sometimes appears as an official subordinate to the leader (*archon*).

scribes, words of the laws assumed to derive from ancient scholars and educators, held to comprise the foundation of the oral law later codified in the rabbinic literature. The exact significance of the designation "words of the scribes" is difficult to ascertain, since in the rabbinic literature, the term "scribes" refers to authorities from a variety of historical periods, not from a discernible social, academic, or political class. Gamaliel refers to his fellow scholars as "scribes" (B. Sotah 15a), suggesting that the term simply denotes legal authorities. By contrast, M. Sotah 9:15 and Leviticus Rabbah 9:2 suggest that the scribes are less learned than rabbis.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae a series of biographies of the Roman emperors in Latin, extending from Hadrian in the early second century C.E. to Numerianus in the late third century C.E. The work is anonymous and claims to have been written by half a dozen authors, but some scholars think there was only one; it was probably composed in the fourth or fifth century C.E. The reliability of the information varies considerably, and the work contains some alleged documents that are now considered suspect, if not outright forgeries. The biography of Hadrian is one of the few sources on the Bar Kokhba Revolt and also seems to be more generally reliable than some of the other biographies. Nevertheless, the statement that the Jews revolted at the time of the Bar Kokhba uprising because they were forbidden to "mutilate their genitals" (usually interpreted as a reference to circumcision) is a controversial one and rejected by many scholars. If such a decree was issued (and some doubt this), it was more likely a consequence than a cause of the revolt. The Life of Hadrian also gives a brief statement that Palestine was included in the 115–117 C.E. revolt, though there is no other evidence of this.

scriptural interpretation **1.** *In the Second Temple period and the New Testament.* The systematic and careful study and exposition of sacred written tradition, well known from the rabbinic writings, has its roots at least in the Hellenistic period, although it is uncertain exactly when collections of written texts began to have canonical authority. Ecclesiasticus is the earliest testimony to a collection of written Israelite sacred traditions that approximates the Hebrew Bible. Writing in the first decades of the second century B.C.E., Ben Sira recounts the accomplishments of Israel's "famous men," in the following order: the Pentateuch; the Former Prophets; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve; and Zerubbabel and Joshua (Ecclus. 44–49). Two generations later, Ben Sira's grandson refers to "the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers" (Ecclus. prologue).

Ben Sira refers explicitly to the detailed study of the collection. The scribe who is learned in the study of the Law of the Most High, seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients and is concerned with prophecies (39:1–3). The verb "search" is used twice of the process (39:1, 3; Gr.: *ekzētō* = Heb.: *darash*). Study presupposes prayer, which results in revelation and inspired teaching, or illumination (vv. 4–8; cf. 24:32–34). Ben Sira's association of Torah and wisdom is noteworthy in two respects; he sees the Mosaic Torah as the embodiment of heavenly wisdom (24:1–29), and the teaching in his book is not in the form of halakhic exposition, but of proverbial instruction.

The Book of Jubilees provides a witness to the study of Scripture almost contemporary with Ben Sira. The book is itself an aggadic elaboration on Genesis 1–Exodus 12, with interpolations into the Pentateuchal narratives that highlight the author's particular understanding of specific laws. The setting for this interpretation is the religious crisis of the Hellenistic period, which, in the author's view, has led to the serious troubles of his own time. The situation is alleviated when the younger generation "begin to study the laws, and to *seek* the commandments, and return to the path of righteousness" (23:26). The process of seeking or searching is necessary and crucial, because Israel's failure properly to understand and observe the Torah is the cause of its suffering the curses of the covenant.

Like Ben Sira's scribe, the Qumran Community (and its sectarian predecessors?) engaged in the interpretation of the Torah and the Prophets. "The searcher of the Torah" (Heb.: *doresh hattorah*) came to Damascus and dug "the Well" of the Torah for the "converts of Judah" (CD 6:2–11), persons who sought how properly to act during the time of

Israel's wickedness. Opponents of the community are called facile interpreters, literally "seekers of slippery things" (Heb.: *dorshe hahalaqot;* 4QpNah 1:2, 7; 2:2, 4; 3:2, 6–7; 1QH 2:32; CD 1:18). Detailed interpretation of prophecy is attested throughout the commentaries (Heb.: *pesharim*), and the process is tied to revelation received by the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 7:4).

Running through all of these texts is the notion of interpretation as "seeking" or "searching" for what is not obvious. For Ben Sira, it is part of the scholar's search for the wisdom that is not easily accessible (cf. Bar. 3:14–4:4). In bad times, this search for the right interpretation of the Torah is a strategy to obtain the covenantal blessing (see also Bar. 3:9–14), and sometimes it involves a kind of sectarianism that damns the other's interpretations.

Interpretation of scripture took many forms: aggadah; commentaries and other ad hoc *pesharim* (e.g., in the Damascus Document); compilations of laws (e.g., CD 9ff.); halakhic exposition of biblical narrative (Jubilees, Temple Scroll); a proverbial exposition of the Torah (Ecclus. 3:1–16). We have only a few hints of the precise setting and "mechanics" of interpretation. Ben Sira invites his readers into his house of study (51:23; Heb.: *beit midrash*). His reference to prayer in chapter 39 is paralleled in Daniel 9, where Daniel's penitential prayer is answered by the appearance of an angel, who interprets Jeremiah's prophecy to refer to seventy weeks of years. It is unclear what role such "revelations" played in the interpretation of the traditional written texts.

It should not be supposed that in all cases "scripture" was limited to the emerging canon of the Hebrew Bible. 1 Enoch is a developing collection of revelatory traditions, each building on and interpreting the other. The Book of Jubilees, although it is an interpretation of Genesis 1–Exodus 12, is presented as itself a sacred tradition dictated to Moses by the angels of God's presence, and the Damascus Document cites it as authoritative (CD 16:2–4) The Temple Scroll seems also to claim to be authoritative Torah.

The New Testament witnesses to a sophisticated process of Jewish scriptural interpretation, but the emphasis falls on the prophets rather than the Torah. John 5:39 highlights this situation. Jesus' response to the Jews in John 5:39 employs technical terminology: "You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify to me." His opponents seek life in the Torah, but he is incarnate wisdom, and the ancient texts, *qua* prophecy, speak about him. Paul employs techniques reminiscent of rabbinic exegesis in his eschatological arguments against the ongoing viability of the Torah in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. Matthew is more conservative about the Torah (chaps. 5–7), and his highly polished eschatological interpretation of prophecy has parallels at Qumran.

2. *In Greek.* In one sense, it is wrong to make a distinction between exegesis in Greek and that in other languages such as Hebrew and Aramaic, for, in theory, the same sorts of methods and forms might be used, whatever the language. Nevertheless, certain types of interpretation tend to predominate in works by Jewish exegetes writing in Greek. Generally, such exegetes have used forms better known in Greek literature than in Hebrew and Aramaic literature.

The first Greek interpretation of the Hebrew Bible was the translation known as the Septuagint. All translations represent interpretations to some extent, and the Septuagint, despite being a fairly literal rendering, imported Greek forms into a Semitic book. It thus provided two important contributions: (1) it made the biblical text available in Greek for those who could not use the original or who found a Greek text easier for their purposes, and (2) it began the interpretive process and smoothed the way for Greek-speaking Jews to carry out their exegesis.

The main forms of interpretation are usually known and used in commentaries and writings in more than one language. Nevertheless, some types tend to be more common in Greek-language interpretation. These include allegory (e.g., Philo of Alexandria), apologetic historiography (e.g., Josephus), and arithmology. On the other hand, "rewritten Bible," etymology, and chronography are found in various languages. Much more Midrash is found in Hebrew and Aramaic, but see the Midrash on the ten plaques in the Wisdom of Solomon 15–19 as an example in Greek. In addition to Philo and Josephus, other major interpreters include the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish writers.

The format of the writings that contain biblical interpretation varies considerably. The strict commentary form, with a verse-by-verse exposition, is best exemplified by Philo, who often makes use of it (though in some of his treatises, he ranges quite widely from the passage being expounded). A favorite method of exposition is to retell the biblical story or some part of it. Josephus does this in the first half of the *Antiquities,* which is primarily a paraphrase of the biblical text but with significant additions, omissions, and changes. Eupolemus tells

the story of the Israelite kings; similarly, Artapanus reinterprets the story of Abraham and Moses. Sometimes the writer will draw on explicitly Greek literary models. For example, Ezekiel the Tragedian produced a version of the Exodus but in drama form, a literary genre not known in the ancient Near East. Josephus presented such biblical figures as Moses and Solomon as models of the Hellenistic sage. In each case, the familiar biblical story is developed to give a new meaning to contemporary readers.

3. *In rabbinic Judaism.* The Hebrew word for biblical interpretation, Midrash, applies to the interpretation of scripture in general; when Midrash produces a rule, it is called Midrash halakah; when it produces a theological or ethical point, it is Midrash Aggadah. Much biblical interpretation takes place through translating scripture in a freehand way, imputing meanings through the way in which verses are rendered into another language. In ancient Judaism, this was called Targum, which means translation, in particular, into Aramaic, the language of Jews in the Land of Israel and Babylonia. A translation into Greek, called the Septuagint, accomplished the same goal. Accepted rules of exegesis governed the reading of scripture. Seven of these rules are attributed to Hillel; thirteen, to Ishmael. In rabbinic Judaism, compilations of interpretations of verses of scripture were made, called Midrashim. The Mishnah's character itself defined a principal task of scriptural exegesis in rabbinic Judaism. Standing by itself, providing few proof-texts to scripture to back up its rules, the Mishnah bore no explanation of why Israel should obey its rules. Brought into relationship to scripture, by contrast, the Mishnah gained access to the source of authority that is by definition operative in Israel, the Jewish people. Accordingly, the work of relating the Mishnah's rules to those of scripture got under way alongside the formation of the Mishnah's rules themselves. It follows that explanations of the sense of the document, including its authority and sources, would draw attention to the written part of the Torah. We may classify the Midrash-compilations in three successive groups: exegetical, propositional, and exegetical-propositional (theological).

Exegetical discourse and the Pentateuch. One important dimension, therefore, of the earliest documents of scriptural exegesis, the Midrash compilations that deal with Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, measures the distance between the Mishnah and scripture and aims to close it. The question persistently addressed in analyzing scripture is, Precisely how does a rule of the Mishnah relate to, or rest upon, a rule of scripture? That question demanded an answer, so that the status of the Mishnah's rules, and, right alongside, of the Mishnah itself, could find a clear definition. Collecting and arranging exegeses of scripture as these related to passages of the Mishnah first reached literary form in Sifra, to Leviticus, and in two books, both called Sifrei, one to Numbers, the other to Deuteronomy. All three compositions accomplished much else. For, even at that early stage, exegeses of passages of scripture in their own context and not only for the sake of Mishnah exegesis attracted attention. But a principal motif in all three books concerned the issue of Mishnah-scripture relationships.

A second, still more fruitful path in formulating Midrash clarifications of scripture also emerged from the labor of Mishnah exegesis. As the work of Mishnah exegesis got under way, in the third century C.E., exegetes of the Mishnah and others undertook a parallel labor. They took an interest in reading scripture in the way in which they were reading the Mishnah itself; that is to say, they began to work through verses of scripture in exactly the same way—word for word, phrase for phrase, line for line—in which, to begin with, the exegetes of the Mishnah pursued the interpretation and explanation of the Mishnah. Precisely the types of exegesis that dictated the way in which sages read the Mishnah now guided their reading of scripture as well. And as people began to collect and organize comments in accord with the order of sentences and paragraphs of the Mishnah, they found the stimulation to collect and organize comments on clauses and verses of scripture. This kind of verse-by-verse exegetical work got under way in the Sifra and the two Sifreis, but reached fulfillment in Genesis Rabbah, which, as its name tells us, presents a line-for-line reading of the book of Genesis. Characteristic of the narrowly exegetical phase of Midrash compilation is the absence of a single, governing proposition, running through the details. It is not possible, for example, to state the main point, expressed through countless cases, in Sifra or Sifrei to Deuteronomy.

From exegesis to proposition. A further group of Midrash compilations altogether transcends the limits of formal exegesis. Beyond the two formal modes of exegesis—search for the sources of the Mishnah in scripture, and line-by-line reading of scripture, as of the Mishnah—lies yet a third, an approach we may call "writing with scripture," that is, using verses of scripture in a context established

by a propositional program independent of scripture itself. To understand it, we have to know how the first of the two Talmuds read the Mishnah. The Yerushalmi's authors not only explained phrases or sentences of the Mishnah in the manner of Mishnah and scripture exegetes; they also investigated the principles and large-scale conceptual problems of the document and of the law given only in cases in the Mishnah itself. In other words, they dealt not only with a given topic, a subject and its rule and the cases that yield the rule, but with an encompassing problem, a principle and its implications for a number of topics and rules.

This far more discursive and philosophical mode of thought produced for Mishnah exegesis sustained essays on principles cutting across specific rules. Predictably, this same intellectual work extended from the Mishnah to scripture. Exegesis of scripture beyond that focused on words, phrases, and sentences produced discursive essays on great principles or problems of theology and morality. Discursive exegesis is represented, to begin with, in Leviticus Rabbah, a document that reached closure, people generally suppose, sometime after Genesis Rabbah, thus about 450, and that marked the shift from verse-by-verse to syllogistic reading of verses of scripture. It was continued in Pesikta deRab Kahana, organized around themes pertinent to various holy days through the liturgical year, and Pesikta Rabbati, a derivative and imitative work.

Typical of discursive exegesis of scripture, Leviticus Rabbah presents not phrase-by-phrase systematic exegeses of verses in the Book of Leviticus, but a set of thirty-seven topical essays. These essays, syllogistic in purpose, take the form of citations and comments on verses of scripture, to be sure. But the compositions range widely over the far reaches of the Hebrew scriptures, while focusing narrowly upon a given theme. They moreover make quite distinctive points about that theme. Their essays constitute compositions, not merely composites. Whether devoted to God's favor to the poor and humble or to the dangers of drunkenness, the essays, exegetical in form, discursive in character, correspond to the equivalent, legal essays, amply represented in the Yerushalmi. The framers of Pesikta deRab Kahana carried forward a still more abstract and discursive mode of discourse, one in which verses of scripture play a subordinate role to the framing of an implicit syllogism, which predominates throughout, both formally and in argument.

Saying one thing through many things. "Writing with scripture" reached its climax in the theological Midrash compilations formed at the end of the development of rabbinic literature. A fusion of the two approaches to Midrash exegesis, the verse-by-verse amplification of successive chapters of scripture and the syllogistic presentation of propositions, arguments, and proofs deriving from the facts of scripture, was accomplished in the third body of Midrash compilations: Ruth Rabbah, Esther Rabbah I, Lamentations Rabbah, and Song of Songs Rabbah. Here we find the verse-by-verse reading of scriptural books. But at the same time, a highly propositional program governs the exegesis, with each of the compilations intended to prove a single, fundamental theological point through the accumulation of detailed comments.

Halakhah and Aggadah, Mishnah and Midrash in a single definitive document. The Talmud of Babylonia, or Bavli, which was the final document of rabbinic literature, also formed the climax and conclusion of the entire canon and defined this Judaism from its time to the present. The Talmud of Babylonia forms the conclusion and the summary of rabbinic literature, the most important document of the entire collection. One of its principal traits is the fusion of Mishnah and scriptural exegesis in a single compilation. The authors of the units of discourse collected in the Talmud of Babylonia, or Bavli, drew together the two, up-to-then distinct, modes of organizing thought, either around the Mishnah or around scripture. They treated both Torahs, oral and written, as equally available in the work of organizing large-scale exercises of sustained inquiry. Thus we find in the Bavli a systematic treatment of some tractates of the Mishnah. And within the same aggregates of discourse, we also find (in somewhat smaller proportion to be sure, roughly 40% to 60% in a sample made of three tractates) a second principle of organizing and redaction. That principle dictates that ideas be laid out in line with verses of scripture, themselves dealt with in cogent sequence, one by one, just as the Mishnah's sentences and paragraphs come under analysis, in cogent order and one by one.

4. *In translation literature.* During the period immediately following its formation, the Hebrew Bible was little more than an idiosyncratic religious document of an internationally powerless region. As long as the Hebrew Bible existed only in Hebrew, few people outside of Palestine could read it. But beginning in the third century B.C.E., the Hebrew Bible was translated first into Greek and later into Aramaic. The Greek version (the Septuagint) made the Bible available to people throughout the eastern Mediterranean region,

while the Aramaic versions (the targums) rendered it accessible to people throughout the Syrian and Mesopotamian worlds. Suddenly the Hebrew Bible could be read in the local languages of people from Athens to Babylon. Of course, it was Jews in these regions who formed the primary audience for these translations, but Christians also used them, especially the Septuagint.

The texts of the Septuagint and the targums differ from the Hebrew Bible. As all scholars of translation know, translation involves interpretation. Although the amount of interpretation contained in these translations varies from passage to passage and from book to book, any interpretation alters the text's meaning. Since all biblical translations present passages that differ from the original, they ultimately constitute a different text. While the notion that translation involves interpretation constitutes a commonplace, a fuller understanding of its implications for the study of biblical interpretation requires us to evaluate different types of interpretation within the translations and to examine the nature, interrelation, and impact of translation and interpretation. In basic terms, translation is the act of recreating a text composed in one language (the source language) in another language (the target language). Scholars usually classify translations as literal or paraphrastic—a distinction that goes back to the time of Cicero and Horace, when translations were designated as either *verbum e verbo* (word for word) or *sensus de sensu* (sense for sense). Both types of translation aim to render a text's meaning in another language, literal translation, by reproducing the meaning of each word, paraphrastic translation, by rendering the meaning of each phrase or sentence. Both processes necessarily introduce some interpretation into the translated text.

Considered in more general terms, translation transforms a text composed in one culture (the source culture) into another culture (the target culture). Because of the language difference, a text's source culture is rarely identical to the target culture. Even when the two cultures are similar, that similarity often masks important differences, since a history of language difference also entails a history of separate cultural development. To bridge this difference, translators often alter the text in ways that make the translation understandable to the target culture, but that change the original meaning. Translators usually accomplish this alteration either by rewriting the text so that the translation no longer matches the original or by adding material to or subtracting material from the translation. These differences—interpretations—have often been designated "paraphrase." But this designation is incorrect, for the differences change meaning rather than attempt to reproduce it. For example, although Targum Neofiti has often been termed paraphrase, it actually combines a highly literal translation—not just word-for-word but often morpheme-for-morpheme—with large amounts of additional material. Even as the targum's writer translates literally, he or she brings in additions that recast the targum—the translation—in the light of the religious world of its translators. This difference between the original text and the translation constitutes interpretation.

Because they stem from the target culture's view of the Hebrew Bible, interpretations in biblical translation neither appear randomly nor incorporate random material. The study of interpretive material in translations thus leads to the scholarly understanding of the religious and mythic beliefs of the target culture as well as the translation process. Two central questions help focus that analysis. First, where does the translator place interpretations in the translation? Second, what inspires the interpretation placed by the translator into the translation? Both questions direct us to specific differences between the source text and the target language and culture. Both enable modern scholars to understand the translation's purpose and the makeup of the culture and religion for which the translation was produced.

The first question—where do interpretations occur in a translation?—guides scholars to locations in which the source text, language, or culture differs from the target language or culture. In some places, textual and linguistic features of the source text force interpretation into the translation because the features do not translate into the target language. For example, some words in the source language have multiple meanings. If the target language represents those meanings by different words, the translator must choose among them or provide an interpretation that includes them all. In addition, some words, phrases, or other semantic units lack any equivalent in the target language, and the translator must provide an interpretation.

Other language differences between the source text and the target language encourage, but do not force, a translator to interpret. The most obvious of these constitute puns, analogies, metaphors, and idioms. These linguistic features depend on a difference between the surface meaning (which usually can be translated) and a deeper meaning. The deeper meaning often defies easy translation, and the translator must choose to ignore it or to find a

semantic or rhetorical analog in the target language. Poetry likewise provides strong encouragement for interpretation, since its dual play of semantics and form defies easy rendering into another language. In the targums, for example, the poetic sections frequently contain large amounts of interpretation. Textual problems also encourage interpretation in translation. The appearance in the source text of inappropriate words, scribal or copyist errors, missing words, or unfinished sentences often brings on interpretation. In addition, geographical terms often receive interpretation, particularly ones that no longer have any identification in the translator's world. For example, Targum Neofiti consistently translates the place name Kadesh-barnea as Reqem de-Gaya.

Cultural differences between the worlds of the source text and the target culture also encourage the translator to incorporate interpretation into translation. Sometimes ordinary words appearing in the source text have taken on important symbolic or theological meaning in the target religion and culture. For example, the word "Torah" in the Hebrew Bible simply refers to a law or a set of laws. By contrast, in rabbinic Judaism, Torah became a central sacred category, identifying scripture and its authoritative interpretation as well as the holy way of life based on it. This new meaning of Torah encouraged the targums' rabbinic translators to emphasize the new meaning when the word appeared in the text. Another occasion for interpretation derives from theological dissonance between the source text and the target religion. A religion rarely wishes its central beliefs refuted by its own sacred texts, so translators modify the text to fit their understanding of it. For instance, in the biblical story of Balaam (Num. 22–24), Balaam appears as a neutral character. Since rabbinic Judaism views Balaam as evil, the (rabbinic) translator of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan recasts the story to portray Balaam as utterly wicked. Another impetus to interpretation lies in the behavior of important ancestors recorded in the biblical narrative. Sometimes the behavior appears inconsistent with a translator's standards of religious or moral behavior. This behavior is often changed or justified by the translator. When Rachel steals her father's idols (Gen. 31:19), for instance, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan makes its clear that she does this to prevent her father from worshiping them, not so that she can worship them.

Not all of the interpretations placed into a translation stem from the difference between the source text and the target culture. Sometimes translators bring their own agenda to their work, one that often has little to do with the accurate translation of the original text. For instance, many of the targum translators believed that God should not be represented in anthropomorphic terms, and they used a number of strategies to avoid the impression that God could talk, hear, stretch out an arm, or perform other human acts.

The issue of the translator's agenda brings us to our second question in the analysis of interpretation in translation, namely, what inspires the content of interpretations inserted into a translation? The answer is that the contents derive from the theological, religious, and cultural beliefs of the target culture. Indeed, the interpretations stem directly from the target culture—Judaism—and cannot be predicted on the basis of the biblical text alone. The interpretations thus provide a window into the religious world of of the Jewish translator behind each translation.

The penetrating nature of these two questions can be demonstrated in a single example. The Hebrew text of Genesis 4:7 provides a clear rationale for interpretation. In English, the passage, where God speaks to Cain after rejecting his sacrifice, reads, "If you do well, will you not be accepted? And if you do not do well, sin is lurking at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it" (NRSV). Although the English translators have glossed over some of the problems in this verse, scholars have long recognized the original Hebrew of this verse as difficult to understand, let alone translate. It contains several noun/pronoun referent problems, grammatical inconsistencies, and unusual syntax. It is not surprising that these difficulties have brought about interpretation in the targums.

Targum Neofiti renders Genesis 4:7 by adding several theological concepts foreign to the verse and even to the Book of Genesis. The targum reads, "Surely, if you make your work in this world to be good, you will be remitted and pardoned in the world to come; but if you do not make your work in this world to be good, your sin will be kept for the day of great judgment; and at the door of your heart your sin crouches. Into your hand, however, I have given the control over the evil inclination and you shall rule it, whether to remain just or to sin." Neofiti explains the passage by introducing several theological concepts important in rabbinic Judaism. These include the distinction between this world and world to come and the idea that actions in this world lead to reward in the next. The notion of the Great Judgment Day also appears, as well as the rabbinic concept of the evil

inclination. None of these notions are native to the Hebrew text, but they stem from the religious world of the translator. In this way, interpretations that originate in the target culture become part of the translated sacred text.

The ramifications of interpretation as translation are far-reaching. The translation of a sacred text is a powerful act; once accepted, the translation replaces the original document. For religious believers who do not understand the language of the sacred text, the translation and its message takes on the status of the original. The interpretations themselves become sacred and reinforce the target culture's own beliefs. A clear example of this phenomenon is the almost exclusive use of the English-language Bible by American Christians and Jews. The translation provides the basis for communicating the divine revelation and its meaning. Indeed, the communication of meaning constitutes the translation's greatest impact. Since translations interpret their original text as well as provide faithful renderings, the interpretations acquire the same status as the rest of the translation: they become holy. Since those who use the translation cannot differentiate between faithful rendition and interpretation, the interpretation's meaning becomes the meaning of the sacred scripture.

The Septuagint and the targums functioned in the same way. For Jews who could not understand Hebrew, these translations replaced the original sacred text; the translation's meaning became the Bible's meaning. Some Jewish authorities recognized that the interpreted translation was being substituted for the holy original and took steps to prevent it. The steps they took were ultimately unsuccessful. In contrast to the interpretive translation of the Septuagint, Aquila produced an extremely literal Greek translation. Unfortunately, its literalness distorted the Greek so much that it could be understood only by people who knew the original Hebrew text. The substitution was also recognized by rabbinic authorities, who took two different steps to combat it. Some rabbis attempted to ban translation. They accomplished this by designating Jews who performed different types of translation as sinners. According to Tosefta Megilla 3:41, Rabbi Judah held, "He who translates a verse just as it is presented in scripture—lo, such a one is a deceiver, but the one who adds to what is written, lo, this person is a blasphemer." The widespread use of translations shows that this attempt to stifle translation never succeeded. Other rabbis attempted to structure scripture reading in the synagogue service so that the sanctity and importance of the original Hebrew text was paramount and the translation clearly appeared in a lesser status. But although the rabbis may have been successful in preventing the translation from being seen as sacred, they could not prevent the translation's meaning from replacing that of the Hebrew text. As long as the average Jew could not distinguish between straight translation and interpretation, the translation served as the vehicle for the interpreted meaning of the divine revelation.

In sum, the ultimate result of interpretation in the translation of sacred scriptures is that the interpretation becomes part of the sacred text. For those who can understand only the targum, the interpretation no longer stands apart from the sacred text as a separate entity—a product of the text—but now functions as the original text. As part of the sacred text, it will now become the basis for future interpretation.

scripture a written phrase, document, or set of documents that is regarded by a religious community as possessing doctrinal significance or authority, or as being "inspired." In a Jewish context, "scripture" normally refers to the Hebrew Bible or some part of it; early Christians extended the phrase to refer to certain authoritative Christian writings.

It is not surprising that the term "scripture," with the connotations indicated above, does not occur explicitly in pre-exilic or exilic Jewish biblical writings, since at this stage there was evidently not yet a "scriptural self-consciousness." In fact, one of the few biblical references of potential significance for the idea of "scripture" occurs in the Septuagint of Ezra 6:18, which states that the returned exiles, in setting up the Second Temple, proceeded "as it is written in the scripture of the book of Moses." Here, as often elsewhere, it is difficult to determine whether the Greek (or Hebrew) words used for "scripture" denote an "authoritative" or "holy" piece of writing, or simply a piece of writing.

With the passage of time in the Second Temple period, certain Jewish writings—portions of what today is known as the Hebrew Bible—were accorded a special, authoritative religious status. It is usually thought that this status was given first to the Torah, then to the "prophets," and finally to certain other "writings." Especially the Torah and the prophets came to be viewed by many Jews of the Second Temple period as not only authoritative but also as inspired repositories of perfect truth that derived directly from God. This understanding of "scripture" is generally prevalent in late Second Temple and subsequent Judaism.

An early noncanonical Jewish usage of the term appears in 1 Enoch 104, where Enoch, giving advice and admonition to his children, predicts that sinners will "invent fictitious stories and write out my scriptures on the basis of their own words" (104:10), whereas "to the righteous and wise shall be given the scriptures of joy" (104:12). The Letter of Aristeas (mid-second century B.C.E.) refers to ordinances that "have been made in scripture" (168) and introduces a biblical citation with the phrase "so we are exhorted through scripture" (155).

It is in Jewish and Christian writings of the first century C.E. and later that the term "scripture" (Gr.: *graphe*) first appears on a consistent basis with its traditional meaning. Both Philo and Josephus regularly use the Greek term to indicate either an individual biblical passage or work, or the Jewish sacred literature as a whole. 4 Maccabees 18:14 prefaces a quotation of Isaiah with the phrase "he reminded you of the scripture of Isaiah. . . . ." The Testament of Zebulon uses "it is written in the scripture of the law of Moses" (3:4) to introduce a reference to Deuteronomy and prefaces an eschatological prediction with the words "In the scripture of the fathers I came to know . . ." (9:5). Likewise, rabbinic literature regularly uses "scripture" or "the holy scriptures" to refer to parts or the whole of the Hebrew Bible.

Earliest Christianity was a form of Second Temple Judaism, and many early Christian thinkers evidence the widespread contemporary Jewish view of the Torah, prophets, and other writings as divinely inspired repositories of truth. This attitude is implied, for example, in some of the sayings attributed to Jesus. In post-Resurrection Christian tradition, the main focus of such a view was to show that the person and actions of Jesus, his messiahship, and various other points of Christian doctrine were already present in "scripture," and thus had been divinely preordained. On the other hand, as "Christianity" grew increasingly distinct from "Judaism," there was also a tendency for Christians to deemphasize the salvific significance of Jewish "scripture." Such an attitude is also suggested in various sayings attributed to Jesus, especially Matthew 5:21–48 and its Lukan parallels.

Virtually every attested phase of early Christian literature bears witness to the classical Jewish notion of "scripture" as a repository of divine truth. In standard rabbinic fashion, Paul appeals to "scripture" to prove many of his theological points. Favorite Pauline expressions for introducing scriptural-proof texts are "the scripture says" (e.g., Rom. 9:17, 11:2) and "what does the scripture say?" (Rom 4:3; Gal. 4:30). In Galatians 3, Paul personifies "scripture": "And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham" (3:8). In keeping with normative early Christian Christology, Paul interprets Jesus' person and actions as being "in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3–4).

The idea of "scripture," and its authority and fulfillment, are especially prominent in the canonical New Testament Gospels, which together use the term more than twenty-five times. One important motif is Jesus' charge that his Jewish opponents, who claim to base their belief in scripture, have missed its which essential points, which support his own attitudes (e.g., Mark 12:24 and parallels; John 5:39). Jesus is depicted as claiming that his own actions and fate conform to and "fulfill" scriptural models. In Mark 14:49 and parallels, for example, Jesus surrenders to the Jewish mob with the words "but let the scriptures be fulfilled," presumably referring to his impending passion. The narrator of the Gospel of John also frequently points out that one or another of the events that he is describing occurred "that the scripture might be fulfilled" (e.g., 7:38, 13:18).

The Book of Acts confirms the idea that the theme of Jesus' fulfillment of scripture was one of the central messages of early Christianity (e.g., 8:35, 17:2) and further extends the theme of scriptural fulfillment to the activities of the early church (1:16).

Several noteworthy points appear in the later letters of the New Testament and in other, noncanonical, early Christian literature. These sources show that, at a relatively early stage, the term "scripture" began to be applied not only to the teachings of Jesus but also to the writings of Paul. In 2 Clement 2:4, a saying of Jesus is labeled "scripture." 2 Peter 3:16 states that "there are some things in [Paul's writings] hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction, as they do the other scriptures." 1 Timothy 4:13 recommends the "public reading of scripture" in Christian meetings; it is unclear whether this refers to "Jewish" or specifically "Christian" scripture.

scripture reading in the synagogue The Hebrew Bible was regularly read in synagogues as early as the first century C.E., but it was not until the end of the second century that we learn any details about how that reading was practiced. The Mishnah rules that scripture should be read on Monday, Thursday, and the Sabbath. The emphasis is on readings from the Torah, but a few passages from the Prophets

(*haftarah*) may also be read. The readings should be read by four to seven different people, with each saying a blessing afterward. Each person should read at least three verses, and each passage should be translated into Aramaic by a second person. Additional readings were added on festivals (e.g., Sukkot, Passover, and the Day of Atonement). By the seventh century C.E. or so, the Torah had been divided into fixed readings; in Palestine, the readings covered the Torah in three years (Triennial Cycle), while in Babylonia, they took only one year (Annual Cycle). There is also evidence that readings from the Writings were interspersed with those from the Prophets.

scroll *see* BOOKS AND SCROLLS

Scroll of Esther the biblical Book of Esther, read in the synagogue at Purim

Scythopolis *see* BETH SHEAN

sea (Heb.: *yam*) a powerful symbol of danger and chaos in ancient Near Eastern thought. Reflecting the experience of travel on the stormy Mediterranean, Canaanite religion personified the sea as the god Yam, who, along with Mot (death), was the opponent of Baal. Such a mythic antagonism lies behind Isaiah 51:9–10, where YHWH's opponent, the sea dragon Rahab, is defeated in the crossing of the sea during the Exodus. Recalling the Canaanite motifs, Daniel 7 depicts the sea as the source of the four great beasts which represent the empires that oppose Israel and are overcome before the appearance of "one like a son of man," the heavenly patron of Israel, who, like Baal, rides to his enthronement on a cloud chariot. Such texts as Psalm 107:23–32, 1 Enoch 101, and Mark 4:35–41 focus on the fearful, destructive power of the sea and on God's ability either to tame it or to use it to punish sinners. According to Revelation 21:1, when heaven and earth are created anew, the sea will no longer exist, because the forces of chaos and death have been finally and completely tamed.

seah (Heb., dry measure) measure of volume of dry produce, yielding 2 hin, 3.5 omer, 6 kab, 12 log

seal a device that identified and authenticated ownership, authorship, or manufacturer. The term could refer either to an impression or to the instrument that made it. The content of documents was authenticated by seals that indicated authorship and secured the document from tampering. In Isaiah 8:16–21, sealing a scroll until a later time symbolizes the belief that its contents will remain unfulfilled until that time. A similar notion occurs in apocalyptic literature in Daniel 12:4 and in Revelation 22:10, where the seer is forbidden to seal the prophecy because the time is near. The progressive breaking of the seven seals in Revelation 5–9 dramatizes the unfolding of the prophecies in the book of human deeds. The idea of a seal can also be used figuratively to refer to something that confirms or attests authenticity (1 Cor. 9:2; Rev. 9:4). In this sense, it is employed of circumcision (Rom. 4:11) and of Christian baptism (2 Clem. 8:6). In the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah 6:25, "the sign of the great seal" refers either to circumcision or Christian baptism. *See also* SEALS AND BULLAE.

seals and bullae The seal is an instrument for making an impression, in lieu of a signature, on an ancient document or on a wet pottery vessel before it is fired, or on other media; the impression itself (bulla; pl., bullae) was usually made on a ball of wet clay on the document. Thus if the document is destroyed in a conflagration, the impression, or bulla, will survive. Seals were signs of personal ownership in the ancient Near East and were used long before the biblical period. A seal is usually carved from stone or even semiprecious stone. It depicts various deities, people, animals, plants, and even geometric designs. From the Iron Age particularly, the name of the owner was inscribed in Hebrew retrograde, so that it could be read properly on the impression or bulla. Seals with Hebrew names are well known. The script in the Persian period especially begins to be the square Aramaic script, replacing the more ancient Phoenician one. The seals of the Persian period are often cone shaped with an octagonal base and with a hole at the top to allow hanging from a cord. Human figures, usually understood to be priests, decorate these seals. The most famous of these seals bear place names: Yahud (Judea), Ha Ir (the city, that is, Jerusalem), and Yerushalayim or Jerusalem. It is thought that these seals were not for personal ownership but for identification of jars for tax purposes and pertaining to the First Temple.

From the Hellenistic period, seals begin to take on a characteristic Hellenistic or Roman form. Hellenistic seals in the shape of scarabs are well known. Two Hellenistic bullae from Jerusalem bear Hebrew inscriptions: "Yehonathan the king" and "Yonathan High Priest Jerusalem M." These are interpreted to refer to Alexander Jannaeus, the Jewish king who called himself by both these titles on his coins. In this period seals appear on imported wine amphora and attest to the contents. In the Roman period seals are most often found on pottery vessels and on documents. On pottery vessels the seals identify the large pottery-producing sites of Italy (Arretium, Puetoli), Egypt (Alexan-

dria), Asia Minor, and Gaul. Seal impressions appear on the handles of jars and identify the Roman consul under whose rule the jar was produced as a standard measure. Roman military kilns also produced bricks, roof tiles, and clay pipes with seal impressions identifying the legion, for example, the "Tenth Legion, the Fretensis" (X Leg Fr and variations). Roman period document seals, on the other hand, have been found in the Judean Desert Caves actually on documents. In these cases, the document was rolled and folded after the witnesses had affixed their signatures, then the document was tied with a palm fiber string. A wet clay ball was formed on the knot and then the clay ball was sealed. The seal attested that the contents of the document were not tampered with. These particular seal impressions, or bullae, show various decorations, such as a bearded man wrestling with a lion, an olive branch, a vine leaf, and a pomegranate. A group of seals from the Roman city of Mampsis in the Negeb date between 106 to 140 C.E. and are stamped with the names of other cities: Petra, Characmoba (biblical Kiriat Moab), and Rabbathmoba (Rabbath of Moab). In the center of each seal is a god or goddess (Tyche as Arabia, Tyche as Antioch on the Orontes, or Ares-Mars). Other seals have signs of the zodiac with their Hebrew names in Greek letters.

In the Byzantine period seals with Christian motifs come to dominate, but others are known, including Jewish seals and Gnostic seals. Wooden seals for marking bread and even cheese are known with Jewish symbols. Other such symbols appear on seals mounted as rings and carved in semiprecious stone, such as carnelian.

Sebaeus Armenian historian. He records that in 614 C.E. the Jews joined the Persians invading Palestine and fought the the Christians in Jerusalem. The Persians besieged Jerusalem, destroyed the churches outside the city walls, plundered the city, burned the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and put the Jews in control.

sebara in talmudic argumentation, a conclusion reached through reasoning; frequently contrasted with that which is known through tradition, as, for example, at B. Baba Batra 77a: "Is this [known] through tradition [*gemara*] or through logical inference [*sebara*]?"

Sebaste the biblical city of Samaria, renamed by Herod the Great in honor of the emperor Augustus (Greek Sebastos, feminine Sebaste). An accidental discovery of papyri in a cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh near Samaria proved to be of the fourth century B.C.E., or just before the time of Alexander. These were invaluable documents of elite citizens of the city who had fled during an uprising. They record marriages, divorces, manumission of slaves, buying and selling of property, loans, and transfer of slaves. The city of Samaria became Hellenized when Alexander the Great settled Greek veterans who took local wives there. Later, Samaria was conquered and destroyed when John Hyrcanus I took the city and began the process of the conversion of its inhabitants to Judaism. The Roman governor Gabinius engaged in construction in the city, according to Josephus (*War* 1.166), about 55 B.C.E. When Herod befriended Augustus, the latter gave it to Herod the Great.

Herod set out to build the city anew as a showplace to rival the other royal cities of Palestine. The city wall and gate were already impressive and had been built in the Hellenistic period. The gate towers, for example, were round and measured 13.8 meters in diameter and stood on square platforms. The platform and staircase of Herod's temple to Augustus has been found. The temple was fully 24 by 33.5 meters and stood on a platform nearly 5 meters high which was about 74 by 95 meters in extent. A small Hellenistic temple to the goddess Korē already stood north of the Augusteum. Herod also built a Hippodrome or stadium in the northeastern part of the lower city. The forum or agora, the major regional market place, stood east of the highest part of the city or the acropolis. Near the forum stood a Herodian basilica, traces of which have been found. Herod may have built the aqueduct, but Severus may have also rebuilt it.

In later centuries, Sebaste continued to be embellished. Under the Roman emperor Septimius Severus it received the title of colony (Colonia Lucia Septimia Sebaste) and all the rights and privileges of a colony. For example, Septimius Severus probably rebuilt the Augusteum after it was destroyed sometime after the rule of Herod the Great. Septimius Severus also added to the city gate and possibly the city walls. Severus honored the city with a great cardo, or colonnaded street, that stretched nearly a kilometer through the city. The cardo measured 12 meters wide with shops and houses on either side, and some of its columns are still erect in the olive groves around the ruins. Severus may have built the theater of the city. The Mishnah mentions the "gardens of Sebaste" in contrast to the "sands of Mahoza" (M. Arakhin 3:2).

Second Temple *see* TEMPLE, SECOND

second tithe a tenth of the crop, to be taken to Jerusalem and eaten there

seder **1.** order
2. a division of the Mishnah
3. the Passover home service; *see also* PASSOVER SEDER

Seder shel Pesaḥ *see* PASSOVER SEDER

Sefer, Waters of location corresponding to Ein Girpah; referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Sefer haRazim (Heb., book of mysteries) an early work of Jewish mysticism, detailing prayers and sacrifices to be offered to pagan and Jewish deities in magical ceremonies, including an invocation of Helios in Greek, transliterated into Hebrew script. Authored by a Jew, the book is written in Mishnaic Hebrew and has a close philological relationship to the language of the magic bowls of the period. On the basis of content and style, the work probably belongs to the Talmudic period, although it possibly contains Graeco-European magical texts from as late as the eighth century. The work includes deliberations on angels and the seven heavens, and about thirty sets of instructions for those seeking to know the future, influence people in power, bring enemies to ruin, be healed, speak with the moon and stars, and fulfill other, similar desires.

The work originally was known from references scattered throughout the Sefer Raziel. It has been reconstructed, apparently in its entirety, by Mordecai Margalioth on the basis of fragments from the Cairo Geniza and Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic manuscripts. The relatively short book now contains about eight hundred lines, divided into seven chapters. While composed in Hebrew, it is replete with transliterated Greek, representing the technical terms of Greek magic. The book includes the names of about seven hundred angels and, following its chapters on the lower six heavens, contains a chapter on the seventh heaven, dealing with God's throne and the throne of great light. Like the magic bowls, this work sheds light on the extent to which the mystical and magical doctrines of the Hellenistic world were familiar to and accepted by the Jews of the Talmudic period.

Sefer Tehillim *see* TEHILLIM

Sefer Torah (Heb., scroll of the Torah) the title of one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. A collection of tannaitic sources in five chapters, which are also found in tractate Soferim, it contains rules for writing, writing materials, and translating the Torah, as well as special precautions for writing and erasing the name of God.

Sefer Yuḥasin *see* YUḤASIN

Sefirah (Heb., counting) a season in the Jewish calendar. It is the same as the Omer, but also called Sefirah, because of the practice of counting the days and the weeks (see Lev. 23:15–16) from the time of the Exodus (Passover) until the reception of Torah at Mount Sinai (Shabuot). It thus features a daily liturgical counting ritual in the synagogue. *See also* LAG BAOMER.

sefirat haOmer the counting of the omer in the Temple; *see also* OMER

Seganzagel *see* ZAGNAZGAEL

sela a weight equal to 48 duponia, that is, 1 sacred or 2 common shekels. In the rabbinic literature, the term also is used in general to refer to a coin, without specific interest in its value or weight.

Seleucus I Nicator (c. 358–281 B.C.E.) one of Alexander the Great's generals. After Alexander's death, he obtained the satrapy of Babylonia in 321, but he was driven out by Antigonus in 316 and fled to Egypt. In 312 he regained Babylon as well as Media and Susiana, and from this date the Seleucid era begins (Oct. 312 in Macedonian calendar, April 311 in Babylonian). The Seleucid dynasty was to last till 64 B.C.E. After the Battle of Ipsus in 301, he received Syria, claimed Coele Syria, and finally won Asia Minor in 281. He was assassinated as he attempted to claim Macedonia. Seleucus founded several great cities including Antioch, where he settled many Jews, probably retired soldiers.

self-righteousness a religious disposition that focuses on the rightness of one's relationship to God, especially as this is established through proper adherence to God's will. The term is particularly used in Christian circles with reference to the attitude attributed to the Pharisees in such texts as Luke 18:9–14, "They trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others." Self-designations like "the chosen," "the pious" (*ḥasidim*), and "the righteous" sometimes do intend a comparison with others who do not meet these qualifications. However, self-righteousness is the potential shadow side of *any* religion that prizes righteous conduct, and it can also appear in systems that contrast orthodoxy (one's claim to have right doctrine) with heterodoxy (labeling as spurious the doctrine of those with whom one does not agree). The stereotype that the Pharisees were generically self-righteous is difficult to sustain or falsify since most of our evidence about first-century Pharisees comes from their opponents, the writers of the New Testament. In any case, Christian theologians, sometimes guided by an anti-Jewish agenda, have generally ignored contemporary Jewish texts that criticize other Jews for playing the hypocrite (Ps. Sol. 4) or "righteously" calling down God's wrath

on sinners (Test. Abr.). *See also* ANTI-JUDAISM, CHRISTIAN; HYPOCRITE.

Selihot penitential prayers, recited before New Year

Semahot a minor rabbinic tractate on death and mourning, published with the Babylonian Talmud; euphemistically titled Joys, though also known as Ebel or Ebel Rabbati, that is, Mourning. Absent from the Talmud's Munich manuscript, Semahot appeared in the first printing of the Babylonian Talmud (Venice, 1523). The earliest references to it are by Franco-German scholars of the eleventh century C.E. Contrary to medieval commentators, it is not clear whether references at B. Moed Katan 24a and 26b to a tractate on mourning attest Semahot in particular.

Scholars place the final redaction of Semahot in the mid-eighth century C.E. Since it is in Mishnaic Hebrew and the latest rabbis it cites are third-century-C.E. contemporaries of Judah the Patriarch, it may contain earlier material. Its fourteen chapters discuss the legal status of a dying man, treatment of corpses of suicides or those who were executed, burial practices, and the laws that apply to mourners in the first seven and thirty days after burial. Chapter 8 contains a detailed martyrology.

semikhah *see* HANDS, LAYING ON OF

Sempronius Senecio *see* SENECIO, LUCIUS SEMPRONIUS

senatus consultum technical term for a decree of the Roman Senate. It was not unusual for a foreign state or kingdom to make a special request to the Senate, and a *senatus consultum* might be issued in response. One of the best known on behalf of the Jews is in 1 Maccabees 8:22–32.

Seneca the Younger (d. 65 C.E.) Roman orator and philosopher. He is known as being the tutor and adviser to Nero for the first part of the latter's reign, but was eventually forced to commit suicide by the emperor. Only a handful of references to Jews are found in his many writings. These show a negative attitude toward Judaism, especially the Sabbath, though he allows that at least the Jews know the origin of their rites. He also mentions the practice of lighting lamps on the Sabbath. His views probably represent a general animosity toward foreign religions, not Judaism in particular.

Senecio, Lucius Sempronius procurator of Judea, early second century C.E. Virtually nothing is known about him. The cursus-inscription that mentions his procuratorship identifies his post as "Judaea," which implies that he was in office before Hadrian renamed the province in 135.

Senoftha location corresponding to Sephina; the most northern location referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Sepphorean log *see* LOG

Sepphoris Jewish city in Upper Galilee, first referred to during the reign of Alexander Yannai (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.12, 5). Later the city was controlled by Herod the Great. A rebellion after his death led to the city's destruction by Varus, who sold Sepphoris's inhabitants into slavery (ibid., 17.10, 9). Rebuilt by Herod Antipas, who made Sepphoris the capital of Galilee (ibid., 18.2, 1), it remained a Roman city with a mixed population until after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Then the large number of Jewish residents revived the Jewish city council. Judah the Patriarch made Sepphoris the seat of the patriarchate and Sanhedrin, a status it retained through the period of his grandson, Judah II. Little is known of the subsequent history of the city.

Sepphoris, archaeology of the survey and excavation of the ancient city of Sepphoris (Heb: Tsippori; Gk: Diocaesarea) in Lower Galilee. Excavations first took place at Sepphoris in 1931 by the University of Michigan. Local workers cut a long trench east of the citadel or fortress on top of the hill and a second northwest of the citadel. The first trench disclosed a large theater seating four thousand that the excavators thought was built by Herod Antipas. A very large cistern was discovered south of the citadel and a large wall, perhaps a defense wall, also south of the citadel and around the acropolis of the city. The excavators identified a Roman and Byzantine structure in his second trench as a church, though others proposed later it was to be understood as a Roman villa. Various rescue operations and accidental discoveries of Greek inscriptions at Sepphoris were published from this time forward, but the next systematic work was initiated from 1975–1985 by Haifa University, on whose behalf the cisterns of Sepphoris were surveyed and the aqueduct was traced. Tel Aviv University cleared the reservoir about one Roman mile east of Sepphoris in 1993 and 1994. These researches added to and greatly clarified the extent of the aqueduct, which extended several miles eastward to er-Reina and Mashhad. The aqueduct entered the reservoir for storage, then conducted water to the city in a lead pipe and tunnel. A large pool is part of the water system near the eastern extent of the city.

In 1983, new excavations were initiated at Sepphoris by the University of South Florida. The foundations of the citadel or fortress were exca-

vated and shown to have been built in mid-fourth century C.E. The erection of the first phase of the citadel coincided with destruction of all structures in the vicinity of the citadel and the filling in of the theater, presumably as a result of Gallus's Revolt in mid-century, followed by the earthquake of 363 C.E. The University of South Florida excavations at Sepphoris also reexcavated the church and showed that it was a villa with *mikvaot,* or Jewish ritual baths, beneath the floors, therefore built and lived in by Jewish families. Up to ten underground chambers beneath the villa were used for storage, work spaces, and ritual baths. A building south of the villa was excavated and was found to contain a series of pools in use from the late first to the middle of the fourth century C.E. It may have been a common ritual bath for the community. Finally, a large Roman building on the east side of the site was excavated. It measured about 40 by 60 meters in extent and contains about 800 square meters of mosaics. The central two carpets are a series of medallions containing fish and birds in fine work with brilliant colors. The second carpet contains geometric designs. The side rooms on the south contained mosaics predominantly in colored geometric designs, but also at least one featured a duck in green tessersae (the stones of the mosaic). The west end of the building went out of use as a beautiful basilica type structure in mid-fourth century C.E. At the east end, on the cardo or colonnaded street, a bath and a glass industrial area were in use from the fifth through the early seventh century C.E. A cache of gold jewelry was found in the glass industrial area in a clear sixth century C.E. context.

Beginning in 1985 a joint project of the Hebrew University and Duke University excavated the Jewish Quarter west of the citadel, finding homes and shops with ritual baths beneath the floors. A spacious villa with a beautiful mosaic featuring Dionysius was found south of the theater. South of the citadel this team also found a huge sixth-century Byzantine building, used perhaps for grain storage. Duke University continued in the Jewish Quarter, while Hebrew University also excavated on the east and northeast side of the hill of Sepphoris, disclosing houses and shops predominantly of the Byzantine period and a fine synagogue mosaic of the Byzantine period showing a zodiac, menorahs, and with dedicatory inscriptions in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. Excavation shows that Sepphoris was a vigorous city from the Roman through the Byzantine periods, only declining in the Arab periods to a large village.

Septuagint oldest Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures, originally produced for the Jews of Egypt in the pre-Christian era; its title is abbreviated as LXX. It contains three types of material: (1) translations of the books in the Hebrew canon of scripture; (2) translations of Hebrew or Aramaic books outside this canon, and sometimes no longer extant in the original language, including Judith, 1 Maccabees, 1 Esdras, Ben Sira (Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus), Tobit, Psalms of Solomon, and Psalm 151; and (3) other noncanonical material, not found in Hebrew or Aramaic, including the Wisdom of Solomon, 2–4 Maccabees, and additions to the books of Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah.

The term Septuagint is from the Latin for "seventy" and arose from an account of the origin of the Greek translation of the Torah, given in the so-called Letter of Aristeas. This work purports to tell how the king of Egypt, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–247 B.C.E.), wished to acquire the law books of the Jews for his library. Seventy-two elders, six from each tribe of Israel, were sent by the high priest in Jerusalem to work on the translation and finished it in seventy-two days. It was approved by the Egyptian king and by the local Jewish population, and a curse was pronounced on anyone who tried to alter the text in any way. This story was embellished over the years, probably in order to defend the Septuagint against detractors or rival versions. In the mid-first century C.E., Philo stressed its divine inspiration, and some church fathers knew a miraculous version: although the seventy-two translators were divided up into thirty-six separate pairs, each pair came up with an identical translation of the entire Old Testament. Such a version of the story was necessary to prove that the Septuagint was as inspired as the Hebrew Bible and more authoritative than later Jewish Greek revisions.

In fact, the Septuagint took form over many years, section by section, in various places and through different translators. It is more than likely that the Torah was the first part to be translated, as being of fundamental importance to Judaism, and that the translation was carried out in Egypt, where there was a very large Jewish community, principally in Alexandria. These Jews had little or no knowledge of Hebrew and required a version in Greek for synagogue and study purposes. Probably Isaiah was also translated there, since it, too, has many linguistic parallels with Egyptian Greek papyri. The rest of the Latter Prophets probably followed, then parts of the Former Prophets, and lastly the Writings. Sirach, the translation of the

Book of Ben Sira, can be dated by his preface to the years after 132 B.C.E. Since this preface also mentions existing translations of "the Law, the Prophets and the rest of the Writings," we can be fairly sure that most of the Septuagint was in existence by this date.

Somewhat ironically, it was the Church where the Septuagint had the most profound influence; Greek-speaking Christians adopted it as holy scripture at a very early date. In the Greek New Testament, most citations of the Jewish Scriptures are in the form found in the Septuagint, and though the same is true for the first-century Jewish Greek writers Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus, the Septuagint fell out of favor among Jews as its importance grew among Christians. It was translated into Latin for Christians further west, though this Old Latin version was eventually superseded by Jerome's Vulgate, which was a translation of the Hebrew text current in his day; Jerome himself challenged the miraculous details in the story of the origins of the Septuagint, preferring the "Hebrew truth." The Septuagint text was also the main influence on many other ancient translations, such as the Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, and Arabic versions.

Even before the Church took it over, there was some Jewish dissatisfaction with the Septuagint as a version, particularly if we understand the Letter of Aristeas as a defense of its authority, cursing those who tampered with it. In addition, there had developed in Palestine a Hebrew text of scripture that differed from the one underlying the Septuagint. Fragments of a Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets, discovered at Qumran in 1952 and 1961, reflect a mid-first-century C.E. revision toward the Palestinian Hebrew text then current. This revision is very closely related to the one called Theodotion, one of the three named Jewish revisions of the Septuagint, the others being Aquila and Symmachus.

Christians, too, became aware of the discrepancies between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible. Although there was a strong tendency to explain these differences by accusing the Jews of having altered the Hebrew text, some scholars accepted that it might be the Septuagint that needed revision, since the Greek manuscripts themselves often differed from one another to some degree. In the mid-third century C.E., Origen in particular saw that the differences between the two versions, which were often substantial, greatly hindered Christians in their disputations with Jews. These two factors, the desire for a standard text of the Septuagint and the need to know exactly where and why the Greek and Hebrew diverged, led to Origen's monumental work, the Hexapla. The Hexapla not only enabled comparison of the Septuagint with the Hebrew and with the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, but introduced an edited Septuagint text, with marks showing additions and omissions. Though the Septuagint column of the Hexapla suffered in transmission, as copyists tended to leave out some or all of the markings, manuscripts stemming from it display some revision toward the Hebrew text. Other groups of manuscripts have also undergone revision, those of the Lucianic or Antiochene recension, for example, showing some stylistic revision of the Greek. Such revisions make reconstruction a frustrating task for modern scholars who would like to get as close as possible to the original Septuagint, both for its own sake and also to give a clearer indication of the Hebrew text used by the Greek translators.

seraphim (from Heb.: *saraf,* to burn) six-winged attendants at God's throne, probably with fiery, serpentine bodies (Isa. 6:1–7, cf. Num. 21:6; Isa. 14:29). 1 Enoch 61:10 and 71:7 list them with the cherubim and ofanim. *See also* ANGEL; CHERUBIM; OFANIM.

Serekh haYaḥad *see* COMMUNITY RULE

Seron Seleucid general; referred to as "commander of the Syrian army" in 1 Maccabees 3:13. He led an army against the forces of Judas Maccabeus in 166–165 B.C.E. In the narrow pass at Beth Horon, Judas's forces routed the Syrian army.

serpent snake. In Genesis 3, the serpent deceives Eve into eating the forbidden fruit (cf. LAB 13:8; Jub. 3:17–25). As a result, God decrees eternal enmity between humans and snakes. Later tradition identifies the serpent with Satan (*Vita* 33:3; Rev. 12:9; *Lives* 12:13; Apoc. Moses 16:5). Sibylline Oracles 1:38–64 emphasizes the serpent's craftiness (cf. Gen. 3:1; Matt. 10:16; Rev. 2:9). In *Vita* 37–39, the serpent (Satan) attacks Adam's son Seth, the image of God (cf. Gen. 5:1, 3).

Serpents are venomous creatures (Ps. 58:4; Eccl. 10:8, 11; Amos 5:19; Sir. 12:13, 21:2, 25:15; Matt. 7:10) that are sometimes instruments of divine punishment (Isa. 14:29–30; Jer. 8:17; 1 Cor. 10:9; Wisd. 16:5; 3 Bar. 4–5). Protection from serpents indicates divine favor (Deut. 8:15; Mark 16:18; Luke 10:19). When God uses serpents to punish the people, Moses fabricates a bronze serpent to heal them (Num. 21:4–9; cf. John 3:14). This incident is an etiological explanation of an idolatrous bronze serpent in the Temple that was called Nehushtan, which Hezekiah destroys (2 Kings 18:4).

Ancient Near Eastern myths contain a serpentine monster, called Leviathan or Rahab in the Bible, who represents chaos opposed to divine order. Creation involved the conquest of this monster, which will be definitively defeated in the future. Revelation develops the eschatological implications of this imagery (12:9, 14, 15, 20:2). *See also* LEVIATHAN; SNAKE.

servant of the Lord a multivalent biblical term whose usage in Second Isaiah is crucial in Jewish texts and formative for early christology. The servant of YHWH in Isaiah 40–55 denotes both Israel, God's chosen one (42:1–4; cf. 41:8, 43:10), and a figure with a mission to Israel (49:1–7). Depicted in personal terms, the servant has features and functions traditionally ascribed to the king and to Israel's prophets. He is the executor of God's justice (42:1, 4), whose speech is provided by God (49:2; cf. Isa. 11:3–4), and he is exalted in the sight of the kings and the nations (49:7, 52:13–15). He is also the suffering and vindicated prophet (50:4–9, 52:13–53:12). In this capacity, he is persecuted (50:6–9, 53:5–7a) and put to death (53:7b–9). Although his suffering and death are perceived as divine punishment, his prophetic activity and his death benefit others (53:10–12).

Third Isaiah is the earliest interpreter of Second Isaiah's servant. Faced with a nation that as a whole he could not describe as God's servant, he distinguished the servants and chosen ones from the rebels who have forsaken God (Isa. 65:1–15). Haggai and Zechariah, Third Isaiah's contemporaries, may draw on the kingly dimension of the servant's description, as they refer to Zerubbabel as God's servant and chosen one (Hag. 2:23; Zech. 3:8).

Taking up the prophetic aspect of the servant's work, Daniel 12:3 promises heavenly exaltation to "the wise" (Heb.: *maskilim;* cf. *yaskil,* Isa. 52:13), the suffering teachers, who, by their knowledge of God's will, "bring many to righteousness" (cf. Isa. 53:11; cf. Dan. 11:32–33) during the persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5 explicates this interpretation in a description of the persecution, exaltation, and vindication of the righteous one, the wise spokesman of the Lord that shapes language and motifs of Isaiah 52–53 with narrative elements from the traditional genre about the persecuted and exalted court sage (cf. Gen. 37–45; Dan. 6). The teacher in the Qumran Hodayot 7:10–12 and 8:36 describes his mission in the words of Isaiah 50:4. 2 Maccabees 7 employs servant motifs, referring to the seven brothers' deaths in behalf of Israel and to their vindication through resurrection. In 1 Enoch 37–71, the chosen one is a transcendent figure, God's anointed one, the protagonist of the suffering righteous and the judge of their persecutors. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of Isaiah 52:13 also distinguishes between the glorious servant, God's militant anointed one, and suffering Israel whom he delivers.

Although scholars dispute the extent of Second Isaiah's influence on New Testament christology, certain connections seem probable. Early creeds and an early hymn have been shaped by the pattern of the suffering and exaltation/vindication of the servant (Rom. 4:25; Phil. 2:6–11). The gospel narratives about Jesus' passion and death employ the genre of the persecuted and vindicated courtier, especially as it has been shaped in the Wisdom of Solomon (Matt. 26–28; Mark 14–16; Luke 22–24; John 12, 19–20), and Jesus' announcements of the son of man's death and resurrection reflect the persecution-vindication pattern (Mark 8:31, 9:31, 10:33–34; cf. Acts 2:36, 3:13–15). Some references to Jesus' death for others may also interpret Isaiah 53 (e.g., Mark 10:45, 14:24; Rom. 4:25; cf. Isa. 53:11–12) in light of motifs in classical Greek thought. Paul applies Isaiah 50:8–9 to the suffering and vindication of God's chosen ones (Rom. 8:31–34). *See also* CHOSEN ONE; CHOSEN ONES; RIGHTEOUS ONE; SON OF MAN.

servants *see* SLAVERY

service (Heb.: *ʿabodah*) narrative of the Temple rite on the Day of Atonement paraphrasing Leviticus 16, recited in the Additional Service at synagogue worship on the Day of Atonement; more generally, divine worship

Seth third son of Adam and Eve (Gen. 4:25). Genesis 5:1 recalls humanity's creation in God's image, and Genesis 5:3 declares that Seth is Adam's image, implying that the divine image is transmitted through him. In Jewish tradition, Seth represents righteous humanity and is the mediator of esoteric revelation. In Life of Adam and Eve 25–29, Adam gives Seth secret knowledge, including information about history, eschatology, and Adam's ascent to heaven (cf. Test. Adam 3). In Apocalypse of Moses 10:3 and 12:1, Seth is the image of God. Seth sees Adam's reception by God in heaven when Adam dies (Apoc. Moses 35–36). When God comes to the earthly Paradise to bury Adam's body, only Seth stays awake to hear the promise of resurrection (Apoc. Moses 38:4). In Life of Adam and Eve 50:1–2, Adam tells his children to write what Eve and he have said on two tablets, one stone and one brick. Stone resists water, and brick resists fire. Josephus (*Ant.* 1.2.3, secs. 68–71) says that Seth and his progeny knew astrological wisdom and

wrote it on two steles, one stone and the other brick, to resist water and fire. Josephus emphasizes the righteousness of Seth and his descendants (see also 1 Enoch 85). Sethian Gnosticism sees Seth as the progenitor of the perfect humans, the Gnostics. A number of Gnostic treatises are attributed to him: Paraphrase of Seth, Second Treatise of the Great Seth, and Three Steles of Seth. The only mention of Seth in the New Testament is in Luke's genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:38).

seudah shel mitzva a banquet in fulfillment of a religious duty, for example, a wedding banquet, which is part of the marriage rite

seven a sacred, special, and symbolic number in the ancient world. References to seven-day periods can be found in cuneiform texts from the twenty-third century B.C.E., and the notion of seven planets was widespread in antiquity. The number seven is so frequently used to refer to so many different things that often it is difficult to define its specific significance. In part it appears to denote completeness, perfection, or consummation. In any case, when the number seven or seventy occurs in a text, one must be cautious about taking it as a literal enumeration of the objects or persons described.

Seven Blessings (Heb.: *sheḇa berakhot*) the seven blessings recited over a cup of wine at a wedding ceremony. They are as follows: "[1] Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine. [2] Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who created all things for your glory. [3] Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Creator of Adam. [4] Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who created man and woman in his image, fashioning woman from man as his mate, that together they might perpetuate life. Praised are You, O Lord, Creator of man. [5] May Zion rejoice as her children are restored to her in joy. Praised are You, O Lord, who causes Zion to rejoice at her children's return. [6] Grant perfect joy to these loving companions, as You did to the first man and woman in the Garden of Eden. Praised are You, O Lord, who grants the joy of bride and groom. [7] Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who created joy and gladness, bride and groom, mirth, song, delight and rejoicing, love and harmony, peace and companionship. O Lord our God, may there ever be 'heard in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem voices of joy and gladness, voices of bride and groom, the jubilant voices of those joined in marriage under the bridal canopy, the voices of young people feasting and singing.' Praised are You, O Lord, who causes the groom to rejoice with his bride."

Seventeenth of Tammuz (Heb.: *sheḇa asar be-Tammuz*) fast day commemorating five catastrophes: Moses' breaking the first tablets of the Torah; the cancellation of the daily whole offering; the breaching of the city wall of Jerusalem by the Romans; Apostemos's burning the Torah; and setting up an idol in the Temple

Seventh of Adar anniversary of the birth and the death of Moses

seventh year *see* SABBATICAL YEAR

Severus governor of Palestine, around 310 C.E. The Acta Martyrum, a source of questionable historical value, mentions Severus as governor of Palestine. The text states that he was responsible for a martyrdom under Maximian, presumed by scholars to be Galerius Maximian, who was chosen Caesar of the East by Diocletian in 293.

Severus, Gaius Julius legate of Palestine (155–161 C.E.). The position in Palestine was his first provincial office, other than serving in two Roman legions. His father had held posts under Hadrian and Antonius Pius. His parents seem to have been descendants of several eastern client princes, including Herod the Great.

Severus, Lucius Septimius Roman emperor (192–211 C.E.). He was born in North Africa in 145 or 146. Upon becoming emperor, he disbanded the Praetorian Guard and created a new guard in which any legionary could serve. His claim to be emperor was challenged by Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria who was proclaimed emperor by his forces. After defeating his challenger, he divided Syria into two provinces, Coele and Phoenice, in order to prevent further disturbances. Eusebius and Orosius both mention a Jewish and Samaritan war, for which Caracalla was awarded a triumph, but no other Roman or Jewish sources mention it. It is possible that the Jews in specific localities sided with Niger against the emperor. Dio refers to a brigand Clausius who caused trouble in Palestine and Syria. Although there is no evidence that he was Jewish, the Babylonian Talmud does refer to two rabbis aiding the Roman authorities in capturing some brigands, much to the dismay of their fellow Jews. Parthia had supported Niger, so the emperor moved against Vologases IV. In 197 he took Ctesiphon from Parthia, and in 199 he annexed the kingdom of Osroene and Mesopotamia for the Roman empire.

The emperor remained in Syria and Egypt for the next two years. The emperor undertook a program of urbanization in Palestine, founding the city of

Lucia Septimia Eluetheropolis on the site of Beth Gabra between Jerusalem and Gaza and Lucia Septimia Severa Diospolis on the site of Lydda. Under Severus, Jews were allowed to serve on local councils and hold magistracies, but they had to perform only those duties that did not conflict with their religion. The Historia Augusta states that Severus, "under heavy penalty," prohibited people from becoming Jews. Although this statement is not collaborated by any legal texts or other writers, it is in line with the policy inaugurated by Antonius Pius of accepting Judaism as licit religion for the Jews but opposing Gentiles from adopting the religion. The passage implies that Severus applied the ruling to women as well as men, and it seems also to prohibit non-Jews from adopting Jewish practices as well as converting. The ambiguous nature of the text does not allow us to ascertain what sort of penalties were applied to those who violated the edict. If there was a ban on conversion, the Jewish and Christian writers suggest that it was not strictly adhered to, for they both mention converts to Judaism at this time.

Severus Alexander Roman emperor (r. 222–235 C.E.). In 230 the Persians invaded Mesopotamia, and in 231 the emperor and his mother left Rome for Antioch to regain Mesopotamia. At this time Furius Timestheus, procurator of Palestine, was ordered to collect the remainder of the *annona* for support of the emperor's military expedition. Under the Severian emperors the *annona* had become a regular tax, and it appears that it had not been successfully collected. Severus Alexander's campaign was not totally successful, but he did manage to regain Mesopotamia. The Scriptores Historiae Augustae states that he continued the Jews' privileges enacted by his predecessors.

sexuality Concerns with and about sexuality and the desiring/desired body permeated the literature of the ancient world: sexual metaphors shape theology (e.g., Hosea) and poetry (Song of Solomon); discussions of restraining sexuality and containing desire pervade wisdom literature (e.g., Ben Sira) and epistles (1 Corinthians); expressions of sexual allure and its dangers accompany depictions of personal relationships (e.g., Testament of Reuben). Although it is a scholarly commonplace to contrast the more ascetically inclined or spiritual Graeco-Roman and later Christian traditions with the more earthy, carnal emphases of Judaism, both categorizations are reductive and misleading. Some Jews practiced celibacy (e.g., the Therapeutae, perhaps some Essenes, Paul); some Christians preached the value of marriage and children (e.g., the pastoral Epistles). Both groups were influenced by Hellenism and so by the Platonic distinction between the spiritual and the corporeal, and both found differing means to address it. Moreover, it appears neither group viewed sexuality as an autonomous category; rather, the management of desire is not separable from structures of power.

In the biblical tradition, women are occasionally depicted as suggesting sexual availability to allure men (Tamar [Gen. 38]; Ruth 2; Judith, perhaps Jael [Judg. 4–5]; etc.). Generally, physical expressions of love were to take place within marriage; rape, incest, adultery, and fornication are all condemned. A man's sexuality was his own to control; a woman's sexuality was the responsibility of her father or guardian to protect and the property of her husband to utilize. To prevent abuse of the system, the woman was granted specific conjugal and economic rights. While children were desired, they were not the focus of all depictions of sexuality and marriage. The most notable celebration of sexual love apart from procreation is the Song of Solomon. In both Jewish and Christian traditions, however, the Song is allegorized and so spiritualized into representing the love of God for Israel or of Christ for the Church.

The sexuality of the deity remained veiled throughout antiquity. Although humankind was created in the image of God, male and female (Gen. 1:27), and although ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman gods frequently displayed sexual desires and prowess, the sexuality of the biblical God beyond the use of masculine grammatical forms remained virgin territory (e.g., Ezek. 1:27).

Complicated also is the sexuality of that first human created in Genesis: For Philo, the first Adam was a spiritual androgyne (cf. Empedocles, Plato's *Symposium*); Genesis 2 then introduces woman, sexuality, and the consequent fall from bliss. Philo's distinction between spirit and corporeality is Platonic, and its incarnation for him is also expressed in the practices of the celibate Therapeutae.

Desire assumes a dualistic form in Ben Sira, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1QS, and elsewhere: the evil inclination vies with the good (see also Deut. 30:15ff.; Josh. 24:15; Jer. 21:8–14). Woman often represents the threat of sexual desire: the Testament of Reuben exhorts its listeners to "guard against sexual promiscuity, and if you want to remain pure in your mind, protect your senses from women" (6:1). Her unconstrained sexuality symbolizes unfaithful Israel (Hosea; Isa. 3:16–4:1) and idolatrous Rome (the Whore of Babylon in

Rev. 17), and these woman-identified communities are then according to prophetic discourse punished by sexual humiliation and rape (Isa. 3:17; Ezek. 23; Rev. 2:22). Positively channeled, desire is devoted to (female) Torah and Wisdom (cf. Prov. 8:1–9:12; Wis. 10:1–11:26).

In Matthew 19:12, Jesus states that some make themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus' own sexuality is not explored in canonical texts, but the majority of church documents suggest he was a virgin as was his mother (cf. Matt 1; Luke 2). Paul recognizes the power of sexual desire and emphasizes physical mutuality in marriage, yet he prefers the gift of celibacy (1 Cor. 7).

Rabbinic Judaism provides a detailed system of laws permitting sexual relations only within legitimate marriages. These laws develop scripture's precepts, which range from general prohibitions against lewdness and immodest conduct to specific mandates against homosexuality, adultery, pederasty, incest, and other sexual practices deemed deviant. Underlying the rabbinic treatment of this topic is the perspective that within marriage sexual intercourse is a positive and natural aspect of human conduct. Sexual intimacy is neither sinful nor shameful. At the same time, the rabbis are conscious of the potential of the sex drive to lead the individual into sin. Therefore, while celibacy is discouraged, a person's ability to control the sexual urge is viewed as an aspect of piety. Rabbinic law holds that any breach of the rules of sexual conduct comprises a serious threat to the structure of society and is to be punished severely. Prohibited unions are a particular concern, seen both as threatening normative society and as violating the order of creation. Bestiality, for instance, comprises an illegitimate commingling of beings that God created as distinct, and homosexuality threatens the integrity of the distinction made by God at the time of creation between male and female. Accordingly, through the legislation on sexual relations, the rabbis attempt to support and maintain what they view as the God-given order of creation.

The rabbis read Exodus 21:10's statement that a wife has marital rights to imply a husband's duty to have sexual relations with her. M. Ketubot 5:6 details this obligation and states that a man's vow not to have sexual relations with his wife is valid for no more than two weeks, according to the House of Shammai, or, according to the House of Hillel, for only one week. The same passage details the minimum frequency with which men must fulfill their sexual duty: rabbinic disciples may leave their wives for thirty days and workers for one week. In Eliezer's view, those of independent means who do not work must have sexual relations every day; workers, twice a week; ass drivers, once a week; camel drivers, once in thirty days; and sailors, once in six months. According to M. Ketubot 5:7, either a husband or wife who refuses to perform normal marital duties is subject to a monetary penalty.

Mishnah Ketubot 5:6 makes clear sexual relations are a central aspect of the relationship between husband and wife. The rabbinic legal system assures that within this setting intercourse occurs only within strict parameters established by rules of purity that preclude intercourse during menstruation (see Lev. 19:19, 20:18). Scripture punishes violation of this precept with karet, to be cut off from the people. According to Mishnah Makkot 3:1, this act, as well as sexual intercourse with relatives, is punishable by flogging. Other sexual offenses—adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, and homosexuality—are capital offenses under biblical and rabbinic law. Their perpetrators are to be stoned to death (M. Sanhedrin 7:4). Likewise, upon marriage, a woman who is found not to be a virgin, having consented to intercourse with a seducer, is punished along with her lover by stoning. *See also* ADULTERY; BETROTHAL; CELIBACY; FORNICATION; HOMOSEXUALITY; INCEST; MARRIAGE; VIRGIN.

shaatnez (Heb., mingled stuff) Deuteronomy 22:11's term for a mixture of wool and linen, which Israelites are prohibited from wearing. The earliest rabbinic discussion of the prohibition occurs at M. Kilaim 9:1–10, which defines what constitutes a garment or type of cloth subject to the restriction.

Shabbat **1.** the Sabbath, the seventh day, commemorating the day on which God rested after the six days of Creation

2. Mishnah tractate on the observance of the Sabbath. The first fifteen chapters discuss general principles of Sabbath observance (chap. 1); preparing for the Sabbath, with special reference to light, food, and clothing (chaps. 2–6); and prohibited acts of labor on the Sabbath (chaps. 7–15). Chapters 16 through 24 discuss other taboos associated with the Sabbath, for example, the taboo against fire; circumcision on the Sabbath; permitted procedures in connection with food for human beings and beasts; and seemly and unseemly behavior on the Sabbath.

Shabbat haGadol (Heb., the great Sabbath) refers to the Sabbath before Passover. It probably gets its name from the *haftarah* (the prophetic lection) of the day, Malachi 3:23, promising the coming of the "great and terrible day of the Lord." It is not men-

tioned in early Jewish sources but is cited in John 19:31 and other early Church documents.

Shabbat haḤodesh (Heb., Sabbath of the month) one of four Sabbaths designated by special Torah lections. It falls on the Sabbath prior to the month of Nisan and features Exodus 12:1–20, which advocates preparation for Passover.

Shabbat Ḥazon (Heb., Sabbath of the vision) the Sabbath preceding the Ninth of Aḇ. It features the *haftarah* reading of Isaiah 1, which envisions Jerusalem's destruction.

Shabbat Naḥamu (Heb., Sabbath of comfort) the Sabbath following the Ninth of Aḇ. It features the *haftarah* reading of Isaiah 40, which urges comfort for Israel despite the Temple's fall.

Shabbat Parah (Heb., Sabbath of the heifer) one of four Sabbaths designated by special Torah lections. It falls at the beginning of the period leading up to Passover (but before Shabbat haḤodesh) and demands the reading of Numbers 19:1–22, an account of sacrificial cleansing, that is, cultic purification of the Temple before Passover, which was interpreted as signifying a spiritual preparation for the Passover feast.

Shabbat Shekalim (Heb., Sabbath of the shekels) one of four Sabbaths designated by special Torah lections. It falls roughly two weeks prior to Purim and features the reading of Exodus 30:11–16, an account of the annual shekel tax for the ancient Temple.

Shabbat Shuḇah (Heb., Sabbath of return) the Sabbath falling between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. It features a call to repentance, especially through its *haftarah* reading of Hosea 14:2–10 (vv. 1–9 in translation), which begins, "Return, O Israel, unto the Lord."

Shabbat Zakhor (Heb., Sabbath on which to remember) one of four Sabbaths designated by special Torah lections. It falls immediately before Purim and recollects Purim's archenemy, Haman, in the Book of Esther, by the recitation of Deuteronomy 25:17–19, which urges Jews always to remember Amalek, an Israelite foe traditionally identified as Haman's ancestor.

Shabbos *see* SHABBAT

Shaḇuot (Heb., weeks) the festival of Pentecost, called in the Bible Ḥag Shaḇuot (Feast of Weeks, Exod. 34:22; Deut. 16:10), Ḥag haKatzir (Feast of the Harvest, Exod. 23:16), and Yom haBikkurim (Day of Firstfruits, Num. 28:26). The rabbinic name for the festival is Atzeret (M. Rosh Hashanah 1:2; M. Ḥagigah 2:4), a term which in scripture designates the day following the festival of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35), and which generally is translated as "solemn assembly." As suggested by the Pesikta deRab Kahana 192a–193a, it appears that rabbis viewed Pentecost as a conclusion to Passover.

Pentecost is celebrated in the Land of Israel on the sixth of Sivan; in the diaspora, it is celebrated on the seventh as well. It is one of the three biblical pilgrimage holidays and marked the conclusion of the barley harvest (Passover) and the beginning of the midsummer wheat harvest. Leviticus 23:15–16 describes the festival as follows: "You shall count from the day after the sabbath, from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering. Seven full weeks shall they be, counting fifty days to the morrow after the seventh sabbath. Then you shall present a cereal offering of new grain to the Lord." The "sheaf of the wave offering" refers to the sheaf waved on the day after the "sabbath" of the festival of Passover. Taking the reference to designate a Sabbath literally, the Sadducees understood Pentecost always to fall on a Sunday. The Pharisees, by contrast, understood "sabbath" to mean, simply, "day of rest" and, in this context, to refer to the first day of Passover. In their view, which has become normative, Pentecost falls on the fifty-first day from the first day of Passover.

In scripture, Pentecost occasioned the bringing of firstfruits to the Temple sanctuary and a declaration of God's role in taking the Israelites from Egyptian bondage and giving them a land flowing with milk and honey (Deut. 26:1–11). In M. Bikkurim, this ceremony is understood to take place anytime between Pentecost and Tabernacles and to be accompanied by a large celebration, in which pilgrims gather in the towns of their district and go as a group with their ripe produce to Jerusalem. There they are greeted by levitical singing and celebration.

In rabbinic interpretation, the festival of Pentecost also took on a meaning totally absent from scripture. Leviticus 19:1 states that the Israelites came into the wilderness of Sinai on the third new moon after they left the land of Egypt. Beginning in the second century C.E., rabbis associated the arrival at Sinai with Pentecost and hence deemed Pentecost to commemorate God's revealing of the Torah. In the liturgy, Pentecost is referred to as "the occasion of the giving of our Torah." This transformation is in line with a larger process evident in rabbinic times as well as in the Bible itself, in which agricultural holidays were associated with historical and religious events in the life of the Israelite nation.

shaḥarit (Heb.) morning service; dawn. This service comprises psalms of praise (pesukei deZimra),

the recitation of the Shema, with blessings for Creation and revelation recited beforehand and a blessing for redemption recited afterward; the Eighteen Benedictions; and the Aleinu prayer. On Mondays and Thursdays, the Torah-portion for the week is read in part; on Sabbaths and festivals, the Torah-lection for those occasions is read in full. Morning worship is required in Judaism every day of the year; it normally takes place soon after dawn, since the Shema is recited at early light. But the morning Prayer (the Eighteen Benedictions) may be recited until midday. The afternoon prayer may be recited until the evening. The evening prayer has no fixed time. One may stand to pray only in a solemn frame of mind. The Mishnah teaches that the early pious ones used to tarry in meditation for one hour before they would pray, "so that they could direct their hearts to the Omnipresent."

Shahrbaraz Persian general, whose name means "wild boar." After taking Damascus in 613 C.E., he sacked Jerusalem in 614, with Jewish help. Defeated by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius in 622, he returned to Persia. In 629, after seeking Roman support, he captured Ctesiphon, but was assassinated soon thereafter.

shalom (Heb., wholeness, completeness; peace) From this root idea comes a wide range of meanings in the Hebrew Bible. *Shalom* characterizes a cessation of hostilities between nations (Josh. 10:1) as well as their safety, security, and prosperity (Lev. 26:6; Ps. 122:7; Deut. 23:6). An individual's personal welfare or health can be referred to as *shalom* (Isa. 38:17; 1 Kings 22:17), and thus the term came to be used as a greeting or as a farewell (Judg. 6:23; 1 Sam. 15:9). For individuals and nations, *shalom* depends on righteousness (Ps. 85:10; Isa. 32:17); consequently, the wicked have no *shalom* (Isa. 48:22). In the Septuagint, "shalom" is usually translated mechanically by the Greek *eirene,* which has the usual meaning of a nonwarring state between nations. Thus, the lexical range of *eirene* is expanded to that of *shalom* in Jewish-Greek literature and in the New Testament. In much of this literature, the notion of *shalom/eirene* can have eschatological significance. *Shalom* is anticipated as integral to the eschatological time (Ps. 85:8–10; Isa. 55:12), and Ezekiel describes a covenant of *shalom* that will usher in a time of blessing and security (34:25–31).

The rabbinic literature extols peace among people as the greatest possible blessing, which encompasses all other blessings (Lev. Rabbah 9:9; Mishnah Uksin 3:12). Achieving peace is the purpose of the entire Torah (B. Gittin 59b). Acts that bring peace between people have both a concrete benefit in this world and bring a reward from God in the world to come (Mishnah Peah 1:1). For the sake of peace, behaviors that might otherwise be forbidden are permissible, for example, assisting Gentiles who do not follow Israelite agricultural rules or lending domestic items to Jews who might use them illicitly (Mishnah Shebiit 5:9). To assure peace, even truth may be sacrificed (B. Yebamot 65b). Hillel defines the heart of Judaism with the maxim, "Love peace and pursue it" (M. Abot 1:12).

Shalshalat one of the Samaritan Chronicles, also known as Chronicle 5. It is made up mainly of a list of high priests, along with lengths of office. These are correlated with various world eras. In its present form it extends from Adam to the nineteenth century. The name Shalshalat derives from the Hebrew word meaning "chain."

Shamḥazai According to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan's account of Genesis 6:4, Shamḥazai (also known as Shemyazza and Semyaz) is an angel who lusted after human women and fell to earth with Azael. The Babylonian Talmud (Nid. 61a) states that Shamḥazai is the grandfather of the wicked kings Sihon and Og. The First Book of Enoch indicates that Shamḥazai is punished along with the other fallen angels.

Shammai first-century Pharisaic sage; colleague of Hillel

Shammai, Houses of *see* HILLEL AND SHAMMAI, HOUSES OF

Shapur I Sassanid king (r. 241–272 C.E.). Shapur I was successful in regaining most of the territory that the Achaemenids had held in the west. He easily subdued the Armeanians and conquered Hatra in the east. In the west he took Nisibis in 238 after a prolonged siege, but he held the city for only a short time. After a period of peace with the Romans, Shapur again moved west sometime between 253 and 256, retaking Nisibis, Carrhae (Harran), Edessa, and Antioch. He attempted to place his own candidates on the Roman throne in 260, after retaking Edessa and Antioch. For ten years, 263–273, Shapur faced the threat of Odenathus and Zenobia in Palmyra until they were destroyed by the Romans. Shapur reversed Ardashir's policies of persecuting other religions and attempting to forcibly unify the empire under a pure Zoroastrian state-church. Although Shapur was more tolerant and supported Mani's attempt to bring together Christianity, Buddhism, and the Iranian religions into one cult, his plans were foiled by Kartir's execution of Mani. Shapur and Samuel worked out an agreement by which the

Jews recognized the legitimacy of the Persian government and its legal system, while the government allowed the Jews to govern their own affairs as long as the Persians deemed them unimportant and in conformity with Sassanid policy. This allowed the rabbis to create a Jewish community that was fairly independent of the Sassanids in its daily way of life.

Shapur II Sassanid king (r. 309–379 C.E.). Shapur II was an extremely able leader, administrator, and soldier. Through diplomatic means he was able to gain possession of Nisibis and to dominate Mesopotamia, Armeania, and the Caucasus. Although he often faced superior Roman armies, in the end he was able to convince his foes to give him what he wanted. The rabbinic sources indicate that the Jewish communities suffered along with the rest of the country; but it does not appear that the Jews were singled out by either the Roman or Persian forces. Later Iranian sources credited Shapur with establishing a Mazdean state-church and with producing scriptures in order to ensure orthodoxy. It appears that in the 340s he began a rather extensive period during which the Christians were persecuted. The rabbinic sources paint a flattering picture of Shapur II. They describe his curiosity concerning some Jewish practices and his general support of the Jews. However, Shapur's many wars forced him to amass a considerable amount of money, and the talmudic stories focus on his policy of taxation and the penalties suffered by Jews who attempted to evade their financial responsibilities toward the government. The Talmud also contains five stories about Ifra Hormizd, Shapur's mother, which describe her as a friend of the Jews and one who supported them in government circles.

Shapur III Sassanid king (r. 383–388 C.E.). Shapur III gained the throne when his father Ardashir II was deposed in 383. He continued his father's policy concerning Armeania, accepting its partition with Byzantium. The Arabic historians call him "the warlike" because he apparently attacked an Arab tribe.

Sharon, Plain of the coastal plain of ancient Palestine from Joppa north to Mount Carmel. The name may mean "forested country." Its two main port cities in the biblical period until the construction of Caesarea by Herod the Great at Strato's Tower were Joppa and Dor (Dora). In the Persian period the whole of the Sharon was formed into a single Persian province named after its northern port, Dor or Duru. From literary sources in the fourth century B.C.E. it is possible to deduce that Tyre and Sidon controlled the coastal cities of Duru alternately from the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. Sidon controlled the city of Dor, and the next city south, name unknown, was controlled by Tyre. South of Strato's Tower was ancient Arsuf, which presumably belong to Tyre. The next city is Joppa, which belonged to the territory of the city of Azotus or biblical Ashdod.

Following the death of Alexander the Great, rule of Palestine passed first to his successors in Egypt, the Ptolemies. The old Persian province of Duru was revived as a hyparchy (a Greek name for a political entity ruled by a hyparch or viceroy) with two Hellenistic cities, Corcodilonpolis and Bucolonpolis. The capital of the province was probably Strato's Tower and Dor became a royal fortress and emporium. By 129 B.C.E., the Jewish king John Hyrcanus I had added Apollonia in the Sharon Plain to his kingdom. In 104 B.C.E., the new Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 B.C.E.) deposed a certain Zoilus who ruled in Dora and Strato's Tower, and thereby annexed the main part of the Sharon to his kingdom under the Greek name of Paralia, meaning seacoast.

With the coming of Rome in 63 B.C.E. the Roman general Pompey recognized the separate character of the Sharon and kept it independent in three city territories: Dor, Strato's Tower, and Apollonia. Under Herod the Great, the Sharon was added to his domain, except for Dora (Dor), which was maintained as an independent city. Dor remained independent until the outbreak of the first revolt against Rome in 66 C.E. The Roman general Vespasian relied on the coastal road to move his troops from Caesarea to Dor to his headquarters in Acco-Ptolemais. Dora remained independent of Palestine after the revolt through the Bar Kosiba Revolt. It was only from the time of the eastern emperor Diocletian (284–305 C.E.) that Dor is to be found listed as a city of Palestine. Therefore, during the Byzantine period Dor and the rest of the Sharon belonged to the Byzantine province of Palestina Prima.

Shavei Zion modern name for an ancient village site about 6 kilometers north of Acco on the Mediterranean coast. Shavei Zion is best known for its sixth-century-C.E. Byzantine church, but it is also important for an underwater shipwreck site of the fifth century B.C.E., or the Persian period. The cargo of this ship was hundreds of terra cotta figurines of the goddess Tanit, a Phoenician-Punic deity. She is depicted with her right arm raised in benediction, her head covered, fully draped, and her left arm folded against her chest. Other items in the cargo include an elephant's tusk, amphorae (perhaps for

wine), bowls, and juglets. Analysis of the clay of the figurines showed that they were manufactured on the Palestine coast between Sidon and Achzib, apparently for export to Tanit cultic centers to the west. These finds illustrate the common appellation of the northern coast in this period as "Phoenician." Another shipwreck site about one kilometer north of Acco revealed a load of amphorae with wine of a variety of grape known to be used for raisin wine. This shipwreck is dated to about 500 B.C.E., the Persian period.

Sheba asar beTammuz (Heb., the 17th of Tammuz) one of several fast days on the traditional Jewish calendar associated with events leading to the destruction of the First and Second Temples, and understood as derived from Zechariah 8:19. In traditional circles, it introduces three weeks of mourning behavior (e.g., weddings are forbidden), culminating in the Ninth of Ab.

Sheba Berakhot *see* SEVEN BLESSINGS

Shebat fifth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to January/February

Shebat, Fifteenth of *see* FIFTEENTH OF SHEBAT

shebiit *see* SABBATICAL YEAR

Shebiit Mishnah tractate on conduct of farming before, during, and after the Sabbatical year. The tractate discusses the sixth year of the Sabbatical cycle (chaps. 1–2); the Sabbatical year itself (chaps. 3–9), covering field labor that may or may not be done and permitted and forbidden uses of produce grown in the Sabbatical year; and the release of debts at the end of the Sabbatical year and the prosbul, the document that allows the lender to assign his debts to the court in order to avoid remitting them in the Sabbatical year (chap. 10). *See also* PROSBUL.

Shebuot Mishnah tractate elucidating the issues of Leviticus, chapters 5 and 6, concerning those who are liable to present a sin-offering. The tractate discusses the uncleanness of the cult and its Holy Things and the sin-offerings (chaps. 1–2); oaths in general, the rash oath, and the vain oath (chap. 3); the oath of testimony (Lev. 5:1) (chap. 4); the oath of bailment (Lev. 6:2ff.) (chap. 5); the oath imposed by the judges (chaps. 6–7); and oaths and bailments (chap. 8).

Shechem city located in the pass between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim 2 miles east of what is now Nablus. It was called Shechem, meaning shoulder, because of its placement relative to Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim. Tell Balata was identified as Shechem by Hermann Thiersch in the twentieth century. It was excavated by Ernst Sellin, G. Welter, and Hans Steckeweh, respectively (German Archaeological Institute); then by George Ernest Wright and B. W. Anderson; and subsequently by R. Boling, J. Seger, and W. G. Dever (Drew University, McCormick Theological Seminary, and the American Schools of Oriental Research). A survey of the Shechem region was conducted by E. F. Campbell, Jr.

Shechem was abandoned during the Persian period. In 331/330 B.C.E., it was reoccupied by the Samaritans, who had been expelled from Samaria as punishment for the revolt of their mercenaries against Alexander the Great. In addition to the archaeological data from Tell Balata, the Samaria papyri found in Wadi ed-Daliyah are informative about the Samaritan occupation of Shechem. During the period of Samaritan inhabitation, Shechem became a flourishing city that remained politically significant until John Hyrcanus destroyed it around 107 B.C.E. Ben Sira's reference to the Samaritans, whom he dogmatically deems a senseless, nonpeople living at Shechem, is an ideologically oriented reflection from the Jerusalemite rivals and enemies of the Samaritans.

After Shechem was destroyed by Hyrcanus, an insignificant village was established on its site. This village remained in existence throughout antiquity, although there is some question about its name. In late antiquity, Neapolis and Shechem were identified as one and the same place, but they were also identified as different. Perhaps this confusion emanates from Josephus's statement that Vespasian built Flavius Neapolis just slightly west of ancient Shechem in 72 C.E.

sheep, shepherd In both a literal and figurature sense, sheep and shepherds appear frequently in the Hebrew Bible and in subsequent Jewish and Christian writings. The sheep was one of the most commonly kept animals in the Near East, and it also figured prominently in the Jewish sacrificial cult. Its nonaggressive nature, defenselessness, and constant need of supervision, together with its dependence on the vigilant shepherd, made the sheep an apt metaphor in various contexts.

The most common usage of sheep and shepherd imagery in early Jewish literature is that of the people of Israel as a flock of sheep and of God as the protective shepherd. In some passages, the human rulers of Israel are also depicted as "shepherds" of the people. Ezekiel (chap. 34) attacks contemporary leaders as evil and irresponsible shepherds who have led the people astray. The "Animal Apocalypse" in 1 Enoch 85–90 also employs sheep-shepherd imagery to portray relations between the Jewish people and their leaders.

Sheep and shepherds also figure prominently in early Christian literature, mainly in a metaphorical sense. Here the main theme is that of Jesus as a shepherd and of his followers, or all of humanity, as sheep. This image is especially highly developed in John 10.

Shefar Am Jewish village in Lower Galilee in the city-territory of Sepphoris and about 12 kilometers to the west of Sepphoris. This village was known to the rabbis as the seat of the Sanhedrin for a time after the Bar Kokhba War (T. Mikvaoth 6.2). It is not mentioned in Josephus or other first-century sources. Many tombs north and south of the town were discovered there in the nineteenth century. One of them is decorated on its facade with a grape vine trellis. Small figures of birds are to be found here and there in the trellis. Effaced Greek inscriptions were found on either side of the door. The tomb featured a vestibule with lions on either side carved in low relief. It is noticed that the tombs of the Early and Middle Roman periods resemble Jewish tombs from other sites, including tombs with rolling stone doors. On the other hand, the Byzantine tombs often have Christian crosses in them. It appears that the village became Christian in its later history.

Shehehiyanu *see* BIRKAT HAZEMAN

shehitah (Heb.) Jewish ritual slaughter, required to prepare animals or birds for use as food. According to rabbinic law, the animal must be killed with a single, swift cut across the its throat, severing the trachea, esophagus, jugular veins, and carotid arteries.

Sheiltot Aramaic expositions by Aha of Shabha (Israel, 8th c. C.E.) of biblical and rabbinic moral precepts organized around the weekly Torah readings and based on the Talmud and Midrash. Aimed at a popular audience rather than only at sages, the material was cited widely by the geonim and medieval rabbinic commentators.

Shekalim Mishnah tractate on collecting and using the half-shekel collected from all Israelites to support the daily whole offerings for collective atonement presented in the Temple in Jerusalem. The tractate discusses collecting the shekel (chaps. 1–2); using the shekel for Temple offerings for the altar (chaps. 3–4); and the Temple administration and its procedures (chaps. 5–8).

shekel a unit of weight in the ancient Near East (known in Aramaic as *tekel,* as in Daniel 5). Like most weights and measures, it was never standardized over the region, but archaeological remains indicate that it was slightly less than half an ounce (roughly 10 g) in Israel, with variations.

shekhinah (Heb.; Aram: *shekhinta*; from the verbal root *sh-kh-n,* to dwell, or to reside). In the targums and in rabbinic literature, the word *shekhinah* at first appears to be used as a circumlocution to avoid the use of anthropomorphisms; for example, Genesis 9:27 says, "let him [God] dwell in the tents of Shem," which Targum Neofiti renders as, "may the Glory of his *shekhinah* dwell in the midst of the tents of Shem." But it means more than that, for wherever it appears, *shekhinah* designates the attribute of God's presence, often to specify his presence in the Temple or the Tabernacle. The destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. led to the idea that God removed his presence—his *shekhinah*—to the heavens. Later, in the Babylonian Talmud, it was also suggested that God's *shekhinah* went into exile with Israel.

Shela Babylonian amora active at the beginning of the third century C.E.; head of the academy at Nehardea. His authority and renown were diminished when Rab returned to Babylonia from the Land of Israel and, in a number of recorded instances, disapproved of Shela's rulings (B. Yoma 20b; B. Yebamot 121a).

Sheliah Tzibbur (Heb., agent of the congregation) technical term employed for the leader of public worship. Theologically, the person is charged with representing the community's prayers to God.

shelihut *see* AGENCY

shell (or scallop shell) a major motif in Jewish art, often incorrectly called a conch in reference works. This shell, however, is an artistic convention, not an attempt to produce an accurate picture of the shell of a sea creature. The same shell was a minor decorative element in Graeco-Roman art, but it became conventional in some surprising contexts in Jewish art of the Roman and Byzantine periods. For example, the shell appears as the central decoration on a lamp of the second or third century C.E. Here it appears to be a simple artistic convention exactly as in Roman art, even if the tomb in which it was found was Jewish. The shell appears above all in synagogue art where it is the central decorative element within the pediment of the Torah shrine or aedicula. This pattern was borrowed directly from Graeco-Roman art where a shell above two columns forms the frame for a niche in which a statue appears, as at Caesarea Phillipi-Panias. This pattern of scallop shell within a triangular pediment and above two or four columns is so common in synagogue art that it serves as a kind of marker for the investigator. When this pattern appears on sarcophagi in Beth Shearim, for

example, the viewer knows immediately that this is a Jewish motif and that what is depicted is like a Torah shrine. This is the case even with the windows of the Capernaum Synagogue, which appear to have been built after this pattern. In later Byzantine mosaics depicting the Torah shrine, the shell is reduced to a generic figure and is not produced with care, but it is recognizable. Otherwise the shell appears in the center of a wreath or within a circlet of acanthus leaves, but it is simply filling space with an artistic motif.

Shema proclamation of unity of God: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, is the one God" (Deut. 6:4–9, 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41)

shemad *see* APOSTASY

Shemayah prerabbinic sage of the first century B.C.E.; in the chain of tradition at M. Abot 1:1–18, listed along with Abtalion as a pair, directly preceding Hillel and Shammai. Shemayah is quoted as saying: "Love work. Hate authority. Don't get friendly with the government" (M. Abot 1:10).

Shemiḥazah (Heb., he has seen my name) one of the two chieftains of the rebellious watchers in 1 Enoch 6–16. The tradition builds on the story in Genesis 6:1–4 and describes a revolt of heavenly beings who bring evil to earth by revealing magic, medicine, and astrology and by mating with women and begetting giants whose bellicose deeds decimate the earth and humanity. Shemiḥazah, his associates, and their progeny are judged at the time of the Deluge. The story in 1 Enoch may parody claims that gods had fathered the successors of Alexander the Great.

Shemini Atzeret eighth day of solemn assembly (Num. 30:35); last day of Sukkot. This is a holy day in itself.

shemoneh esrei the Eighteen Benedictions; *see also* AMIDAH

Shemot Rabbah *see* EXODUS RABBAH

Shemuel *see* SAMUEL

Sheol the underworld, the place of the dead. The word is widely supposed to derive from Hebrew *shaal,* "to ask, inquire," perhaps referring to the practice of necromancy or the notion of calling the dead to account. In biblical texts, Sheol is the land of dust, darkness, forgetfulness, where the "shades" of the dead (*refaim*) are gathered (Isa. 14:8–20, 26:19, 38:10–20; Ps. 88:3–12), although there is a tendency to associate the place with premature or evil death. Sheol is sometimes combined with "destruction" (*abaddon*) and "the pit" (*shaḥat, bor*), and "death" (*mavet*) is sometimes a metonymy for it. Second Temple Jewish texts continue biblical usage, but indicate some tendency to see Sheol as a place where distinctions are made between the righteous and the wicked (1 Enoch 22) and everlasting punishment is exacted (1 Enoch 103:5–8, contrast 102:5). Playing on the notion that death and life are spheres that permeate into the present existence of the wicked and righteous respectively, one Qumran psalmist thanks God for deliverance from the pit (*shaḥat*), Sheol Abaddon (1QH 3:19). The normal Septuagint translation of Sheol is Hades, the classical word for the underworld. In the New Testament, Hades designates both the place of the dead (Rev. 1:18) and the place of fiery punishment (Luke 16:23).

Sher, Tower of location referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel; possibly the Tower of Satraton (Sharshon)

Sherira, ben Hanina Gaon (c. 906–1006 C.E.) medieval Jewish scholar. He followed his father and his grandfather, R. Judah, as head of the academy at Pumbedita. He became head of the academy when he was seventy. Sherira's personality and scholarly reputation helped to reestablish Pumbedita's prestige, and students came from all over the world to study with him. Sherira helped to establish the Babylonian Talmud as the central document in the Jewish world. He composed a large number of responsa on religious practices and commentaries to some of the talmudic tractates. The *Igeret Rab Sherira Gaon,* written in 987, traces the history of rabbinic institutions and documents from Moses to his own time.

Sheshet Babylonian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; taught in Nehardea and Maḥoza and founded the academy at Shilḥe; known for his focus upon legal precedent. Sheshet was sickly and blind (B. Pesaḥim 108a; B. Berakhot 58a), but with the aid of a reader (B. Sanhedrin 86a), he became one of the leading scholars of his day.

Shezur town in the Galilee, west of Kefar Anan; in the rabbinic literature, known primarily as the home of Simeon Shezuri

Shiba (Heb., seven) seven days of mourning following the burial of a close relative

Shikhin village of Lower Galilee famous in the Talmuds for its hard clays and for the vessels that the potters manufactured there. Shikhin was known to Josephus as Asochis, a Greek form of the name. He says that Shikhin (Asochis) lies "a little way" from Sepphoris (*Ant.* 13.12.5 or 338), and elsewhere says it was down the hill from Sepphoris (*Vita* 45, p. 233). The rabbis often mention Shikhin in the same breath as Sepphoris, which implies that they were close together. The rabbis also pre-

serve the memory that Shikhin was a pottery-making center (B. Shabbat 120b). In field survey it was possible to locate the site of ancient Shikhin 1.5 kilometers north-northwest of Sepphoris on the south edge of the Beth Netopha Valley. Pottery wasters found at the site confirm that pottery was manufactured there, and the remnants of a great pit confirmed the mining of clay at the site. Neutron activation analysis of the wasters from the pottery-manufacturing process confirmed that they are of the same clays as the storage jars that are found all over Galilee, but whose origin has not been known. The site was an Iron Age village, but principally a Jewish village in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Shikmona site of ancient Sycaminum or Sycamina (Sycamore), a coastal city west of Mount Carmel. In the fifth century B.C.E. Strabo mentions Sycaminopolis in Phoenician territory, but says that only the name survives. By the fourth century C.E. a Christian pilgrim from Bordeaux knew Sycaminum as a place to overnight near Mt. Carmel. By the sixth century, the Piacenza Pilgrim knew that Sycamina was a Jewish town one-half mile straight across the sea from Acco-Ptolemais, but six miles by land. Archaeological investigations at Shikmona do indeed reveal a gap in settlement during the earliest part of the Persian period, but the site is repopulated in the early sixth century B.C.E. Two intersecting, well-paved streets with three-roomed houses on both sides of the streets were discovered. One entered an unroofed courtyard from the street into each house. One such house had a room for the sale of perfumes. During the fourth century B.C.E. a fortress was hastily built. The storage jars found in its basement had Phoenician inscriptions. This fort and its scattered houses suffered a violent end, evidently in the wars between Alexander's successors. A new fortress was built in the Hellenistic period. Now the language on storejars shifted to Greek. One bore the seal of the overseer of markets of the year 131 B.C.E. This fortress was destroyed in 130 B.C.E. during the reign of the Jewish king John Hyrcanus I. During the second half of the first century C.E. a Roman fort was built at Shikmona that was used until the middle of the third century C.E. This structure provided a core around which the Jewish town gradually grew, though by the Byzantine period Christians also lived there. The houses of the Byzantine period featured mosaic floors in geometric patterns and walls decorated with frescoes. There were also shops and artisan's quarters and at least one church. A synagogue has not been found.

Shikmonah *see* SIMEON OF SHIKMONAH

Shiloh a Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine period village that occupied the ancient site of biblical Shiloh (Josh. 18:1) about 30 kilometers north of Jerusalem. Although there are scant traces of Persian pottery at the site, it is only possible to show that Shiloh was actively reoccupied from the Hellenistic period. In the Roman period the village extended from the top of the hill down the north slope, but it is in the Byzantine period that Shiloh had its maximum population, judging from the size of the site. Shiloh had become a place of Christian pilgrimage with no detectable Jewish presence. Two Christian churches dominated the site in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.

Shimon *see under* SIMEON

Shinena *see* JUDAH B. EZEKIEL

shofar ram's horn, sounded during the period of the high holy days, from a month before New Year until the end of Yom Kippur

Shofarot a liturgy with biblical passages concerning the ram's horn, contained in the third section of the core liturgy of the additional prayer for the New Year. It expresses the Rosh Hashanah themes of revelation and redemption. The shofar is sounded at the conclusion of this section, just as it is done at the conclusion of the two preceding liturgical divisions, the Malkuyyot and Zikronot. The passages of scripture include three from the Torah, three from the Writings, and three from the Prophets, with one final verse from the Torah: "On the morning of the third day there was thunder and lightning, as well as a thick cloud on the mountain, and a blast of the shofar so loud that all the people in the camp trembled" (Exod. 19:16); "As the blast of the shofar grew louder and louder, Moses would speak and God would answer him in thunder" (Exod. 19:19); "When all the people witnessed the thunder and lightning, the sound of the shofar, and the mountain smoking, they were afraid and trembled and stood at a distance" (Exod. 20:18); "God has gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a shofar" (Ps. 47:5); "With trumpets and the sound of the shofar make a joyful noise before the King, the Lord" (Ps. 98:6). "Praise the Lord! Praise God in his sanctuary; praise him in his mighty firmament. Praise him for his mighty deeds; praise him according to his surpassing greatness! Praise him with shofar sound; praise him with lute and harp! Praise him with tambourine and dance; praise him with strings and pipe! Praise him with clanging symbols; praise him with loud clashing cymbals! Let everything that breathes praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!" (Ps. 150:1–6); "All

you inhabitants of the world, you who live on the earth, when a signal is raised on the mountains, look! When a shofar is blown, listen!" (Isa. 18:3); "And on that day a great shofar will be blown, and those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship the Lord on the holy mountain at Jerusalem" (Isa. 27:13); "Then the Lord will appear over them and his arrow go forth like lightning; the Lord God will sound the shofar and march forth in the whirlwinds of the south. The Lord of hosts will protect them." (Zech. 9:14–15); and "Also on your days of rejoicing, at your appointed festivals, and at the beginnings of your months, you shall blow the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over your sacrifices of well-being; they shall serve as a reminder on your behalf before the Lord your God: I am the Lord your God" (Num. 10:10). The liturgy concludes with the blessing formula, "Blessed art thou . . . who listens to the sound of the shofar blast of his people Israel with mercy," after which the shofar is sounded.

shoḥet *see* RITUAL SLAUGHTERER

showbread bread of the presence; the twelve loaves of unleavened bread that, in accordance with Leviticus 24:5–9, were displayed in the Temple sanctuary, symbolizing the covenant between God and the tribes of Israel. M. Menaḥot presents a complete picture of the rules regarding the production and display of the showbread. According to the Mishnah, the showbread was not required to be waved or brought near to the altar. It was deemed to belong to the priests alone, so none of it was burned on the altar. The loaves were kneaded one by one, and then baked in a double mold. Upon removal, they were placed in a second mold, so that their shape would not be spoiled. The showbread loaves were 10 handbreadths long and 5 handbreadths wide and had horns seven fingerbreadths long.

show-fringes (Heb.: *tzitzit*) knots that are attached to the corners of a garment, to serve as reminders of God's commandments

Sibylline Oracles attested from the fifth century B.C.E. in the Greek-speaking world. The phenomenon seems to have originated in Asia Minor and it spread westward to Italy, where there was a famous shrine at Cumae. The sibyl was always depicted as an aged woman, uttering ecstatic prophecies. By the Hellenistic period, several areas of the eastern Mediterranean laid claim to a sibyl, and sibylline oracles proliferated as literary productions.

The standard collection of Sibylline Oracles has twelve books, numbered 1–8 and 11–14. Two manuscripts were combined. (Books 9 and 10 duplicated material in other books.) The main Jewish oracles are found in Books 3–5. They date from the mid-second century B.C.E. to the early second century C.E. Jewish oracles can also be identified in Books 1–2 and in Book 8, but these have been reworked by Christian editors. Books 11–14 may also be Jewish, but these are from a later period, extending down to the seventh century C.E., and are almost exclusively concerned with political history.

The most characteristic feature of the Sibylline Oracles is the prediction of woes and disasters to come upon humanity. Books 3–5 bear considerable similarity to apocalypses of the historical type. Like the apocalypses, they speak of successive kingdoms, often divided into schematic numbers (four or ten), and "predict" events after the fact. They differ from the apocalypses in the manner of revelation, as they contain no visions or heavenly journeys. Only Sibylline Oracle 4 expects the resurrection of the dead. Oracles 3 and 5 are closer to the Hebrew prophets than to the apocalypses in this respect. The Oracles are always written in Greek hexameters, and so are distinctively a product of Greek-speaking Judaism.

Book 3 is a loose collection of oracles, covering a range of about two hundred years. The main corpus, in verses 97–294 and 545–808, was composed in Egypt in the middle of the second century B.C.E. This is shown by the fact that the turning point of history is expected in the reign of the seventh king of Egypt from the line of the Greeks (vv. 193, 318, 608), either Ptolemy VI Philometor or his short-lived successor Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator. Philometor was especially favorable to the Jews. He gave Onias IV, the high priest who had fled from Jerusalem at the time of the Maccabean revolt, land to build a temple at Leontopolis in Egypt. Onias was also a general in Philometor's army. The Jewish philosopher Aristobulus was allegedly a teacher of Philometor. The sibyl speaks of "a king from the sun" who will bring peace to the earth by the counsels of God (vv. 652–656). The expression "a king from the sun" is an allusion to Egyptian mythology, where the king was regarded as an incarnation of the sun-god Re. The Ptolemies used the old Pharaonic titles with reference to themselves. It appears, then, that the sibyl looked to the Ptolemaic line for a savior king. The political oracles, however, are accompanied by strong propaganda for Judaism.

Idolatry is denounced repeatedly, as are adultery and homosexuality. The sibyl calls on the Greeks to send gifts to the Jerusalem Temple and sacrifice to the true God.

Later additions to Book 3 also have a strong political interest. Oracle 3:350–380 speaks of a lady who will exact vengeance on Rome on behalf of Asia. The lady should be identified as Cleopatra. Another oracle in verses 63–74 speaks of the coming of "Beliar from the Sebasteni." The reference is to Nero, from the line of Augustus, who was regarded as Beliar incarnate. Some other oracles are more spiritual in nature and denounce idolatry (3:1–45).

Oracle 5 represents a later stage of the Egyptian Sibylline tradition, from around the time of the great diaspora revolt of 115–117 C.E. There is no longer any hope for a benevolent gentile ruler. The oracles repeatedly refer to the legend of Nero's return, and portray Nero as a virtual antichrist. The Oracles denounce Egypt, but are much more vehement against Rome. Twice, in verses 256 and 414, the sibyl speaks of a "man from heaven" as a savior figure, but the dominant tone of these oracles is pessimistic.

Book 4 stands in a somewhat different tradition. It builds on an oracle that divided history into four kingdoms and ten generations, but then extends this oracle to include Rome, which is not fitted into the numerical sequence. The latest event to which the oracle refers is the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E. This oracle has a number of distinctive theological features. In marked contrast to the other Sibylline books, it declares that God "does not have a house, stone set up as a temple" (v. 8). To avoid disaster people should refrain from violence, "wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers" (v. 165), and supplicate God. It is, apparently, a rare witness to the Jewish practice of baptism in an eschatological context. It ends with a prediction of conflagration and resurrection.

The Sibylline Oracles originated as an attempt to express Jewish religious values in a Greek medium. They also lent themselves to political propaganda. By the time Oracle 5 was written, hopes for rapprochement between Judaism and the Greek-speaking world had declined severely, at least in Egypt. The Sibylline tradition was taken up enthusiastically in Christianity, however, and continued to flourish down to the Middle Ages.

Sicarii (Lat., dagger men) Jewish assassins who murdered their opponents in Jerusalem, especially during festivals. They arose during the procuratorship of Festus (52–60). The historian Josephus lumped them together with the bandits and others whom he blames for the civil unrest that caused the war with Rome. Under the procurator Albinus (62–64), the Sicarii opposed the high priest Ananias and kidnapped members of his family and faction to get their own members out of jail. They played a prominent role at the beginning of the war against Rome in 66 when, under the leadership of Menahem, son of Judas the Galilean, they captured the fortress at Masada. Then they returned to Jerusalem, heavily armed, to take over leadership of the people's uprising against the Romans and Jewish governing class. In the conflicts among Jewish revolutionary groups, Menahem and the Sicarii were defeated by the forces of Eleazar ben Ananias, another leader of the revolt, and most of the rebels, including Menahem, were killed. A few escaped from Jerusalem under the leadership of Eleazar, son of Jair, and spent the rest of the war in Masada. Three years after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the Romans besieged the Sicarii at Masada and in the spring of 74 took the fortress. According to Josephus, all the defenders, except seven who hid themselves, committed suicide rather than risk capture by the Romans. Over six hundred Sicarii had escaped to Alexandria where they assassinated some of the leaders of the Jewish community and resisted Roman rule. The Alexandrian Jewish council of elders and community, however, turned them over to the Romans, who tortured them. They died as they had lived, refusing to submit to Caesar.

sick, visiting It is a deed of charity in rabbinic practice to visit the ill to alleviate their isolation and suffering. Rabbis emphasize that the act is an imitation of God himself, who visited Abraham when he was ill after his circumcision (Gen. 17:26–18:1). Each person who visits a sick individual takes a portion of his illness, according to a more mystical rabbinic view of this obligation (Ned. 3qb).

Siddur Jewish prayer book for all days except holy days. The Siddur (Heb., order) contains the order of service for the morning, afternoon, and evening worship on weekdays, the Sabbath, and festivals, and also deals with rites of home and family, including Grace after Meals, the Wedding Service, and other liturgies. All morning and evening services follow a single paradigm of prayer (Heb.: *matbea shel tefillah*): the recitation of the Shema ("Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one") followed by the Prayer (the Eighteen Benedictions), and then the Aleinu prayer ("It is incumbent upon us to praise the Lord of all being"). The afternoon

service omits the Shema, and the Sabbath service adds a liturgy for the proclamation of the Torah and also an Additional Service (Mussaf).

Sidon port city, north of Tyre, in Lebanon. After 111 B.C.E., the city was autonomous of Seleucid rule; in 64 B.C.E. its autonomy was recognized by Pompey as well. Evidence of inscriptions and references in the New Testament (e.g., Matt. 11:22; Mark 7:24) suggest a large Jewish population in this period. Josephus (*War* 2:479) states that in 66 C.E., so many Jews dwelled in Sidon that gentile Sidonians were afraid to attack them, in contrast to what occurred in other Greek towns.

Sifra commentary to the Book of Leviticus, written by sages, probably between 250 and 350 C.E. Sifra consists of a systematic commentary on the verses of Leviticus, explaining the sense of scripture and showing the relationship between the rules of the Mishnah on the topics covered by the book of Leviticus and the laws of that book; the main point is that the rules of the Mishnah derive from the laws of Leviticus. For sizable passages, the sole point of coherence for the discrete sentences or paragraphs of Sifra's authorship derives from the base-verse of scripture that is subject to commentary. A sizable proportion of Sifra consists simply in the association of completed statements of the oral Torah with the exposition of the written Torah, the whole re-presenting as one whole Torah the dual Torah received by Moses at Sinai. Without the Mishnah or the Tosefta, Sifra's authorship would have had virtually nothing to say about numerous passages of the book of Leviticus. Sifra re-presents the written Torah—the Book of Leviticus—in topic, in program, and in the logic of cogent discourse, and within that rewriting of the written Torah, it re-presents the oral Torah—the Mishnah and the Tosefta—in its paramount proposition and in many of its substantive propositions. In order to do so, the authorship constructed through its document, first, a sustained critique of the Mishnah's *Listenwissenschaft,* and then, a defense of the Mishnah's propositions on the foundation of scriptural principles of taxonomy, in particular, hierarchical classification.

Sifrei Bamidbar *see* SIFREI TO NUMBERS

Sifrei Devarim *see* SIFREI TO DEUTERONOMY

Sifrei Qatan *see* SIFREI ZUTTA

Sifrei Shel Panim Aherim *see* SIFREI ZUTTA

Sifrei to Deuteronomy verse-by verse commentary to the Book of Deuteronomy, written c. 250–350 C.E., often citing passages of the Mishnah and the Tosefta. In this commentary, sages maintained that Israel stands in a special relationship with God, defined by the contract, or covenant, that God made with Israel. The covenant comes to particular expression, in Sifrei to Deuteronomy, in two matters: first, the land, and second, the Torah. Each marks Israel as different from all other nations, on the one hand, and as selected by God, on the other. In these propositions, sages situate Israel in the realm of heaven, finding on earth the stigmata of covenanted election and concomitant requirement of loyalty and obedience to the covenant. First comes the definition of those traits of God that the authorship finds pertinent: God sits in judgment upon the world, and his judgment is true and righteous. God punishes faithlessness. Second, the contract, or covenant, produces the result that God has acquired Israel, which God created. The reason is that only Israel accepted the Torah, among all the nations, and that is why God made the covenant with Israel in particular. Why is the covenant made only with Israel? The Gentiles did not accept the Torah, Israel did, and that has made all the difference. Israel recognized God forthwith; the very peace of the world and of nature depends upon God's giving the Torah to Israel.

Sifrei to Deuteronomy also presents an account of the structure of the intellect. The explicit propositional program of the document is joined by a set of implicit propositions, which have to do with the modes of correct analysis and inquiry that pertain to the Torah. The systematic and orderly character of scripture is repeatedly demonstrated, with the result that out of numerous instances, we may on our own reach the correct conclusion. Two implicit propositions predominate. The first, also stated in Sifrei to Numbers and in Sifra, is that pure reason does not suffice to produce reliable results. Only through linking our conclusions to verses of scripture may we come to final and fixed conclusions. The implicit proposition, demonstrated many times, may therefore be stated very simply. The written Torah is the sole source of reliable information. Reason undisciplined by the Torah yields unreliable results. The second of the two recurrent modes of thought is the demonstration that many things conform to a single structure and pattern. We can show this uniformity of the law by addressing the same questions to disparate cases and, in so doing, composing general laws that transcend cases and form a cogent system.

Sifrei to Numbers a commentary to the Book of Numbers, written c. 250–350 C.E., by sages in the Land of Israel. The document presents exegeses of verses in Numbers both in terms of the theme or

problems of the verse—hence, intrinsic exegesis—and in terms of a theme or polemic not particular to the verse—hence, extrinsic exegesis. The document explicates the role of scripture in syllogistic composition. Scripture supplies hard facts, which, properly classified, generate syllogisms. By collecting and classifying facts of scripture, therefore, we may produce firm laws of history, society, and Israel's everyday life. The fallibility of reason unguided by scriptural exegesis is emphasized. Scripture alone supplies a reliable basis for speculation. Laws cannot be generated by reason or logic unguided by scripture. Scripture stands paramount, logic, reason, and analytical processes of classification and differentiation, are secondary. Reason not built on scriptural foundations yields uncertain results. The Mishnah itself demands scriptural bases.

Sifrei Yerushalmi *see* SIFREI ZUTTA

Sifrei Zutta a midrashic compilation on the Book of Numbers, distinct from the better known Sifrei to Numbers. The document was well known in the medieval period, when it was cited under a variety of names, including Baraita deSifrei, Sifrei Qatan, Sifrei Yerushalmi, and Sifrei Shel Panim Aḥerim. These names distinguished Sifrei Zutta from the other Sifrei to Numbers.

Subsequent to the medieval period, Sifre Zutta disappeared; no complete text of it is extant. The current compilation is reconstructed from *geniza* fragments and citations in other midrashic works, especially the Yalkut Shimoni, which identifies Sifrei Zutta as one of its sources.

The standard edition is that of H. S. Horovitz, who in 1917 published a critical edition of Sifrei Zutta and Sifrei to Numbers. Along with the critical apparatus, his work includes an introduction and notes to each text. Recognizing that the content of Sifrei Zutta is largely conjectural, Horovitz clearly distinguishes his sources: *geniza* fragments, citations indicated by the compiler of Yalkut Shimoni as deriving from Sifrei Zutta, and passages from such documents as Midrash haGadol, which appear to belong in a midrash on Numbers but which are not specifically marked as belonging to Sifrei Zutta. In 1930, J. N. Epstein published another substantial manuscript fragment.

In light of the lack of a complete manuscript, the contents and extent of the original text are unknown. It appears as though Sifrei Zutta, like Sifrei to Numbers, was composed chiefly of an exposition of the legal sections of Numbers, that is, chapters 5–35. Its language is Mishnaic Hebrew but includes numerous Greek words and uses a unique style and terminology. Sifrei Zutta cites rabbis unknown in other documents and also gives laws different from those found in the Mishnah.

Sifrei Zutta appears to have been compiled around the same time as were the Sifra and other Sifrei texts, the late fourth century C.E. On the basis of authorities sited, Epstein held that Sifrei Zutta was compiled in the Galilee; Lieberman, by contrast, found a close connection with rabbis in Lydda. Lieberman additionally held that Sifrei Zutta was earlier than all other legal midrashic compilations.

Sigibert III Visigoth king of Austasia (r. 632–656). His father, Dagobert, appointed him ruler of Austasia, while giving Neustria and Burgundy to another son, Clovis. In 634 C.E., Heraclius asked him to force the Jews in his realm to be baptized. After Dagobert's death in 639, Sigibert was unable to rule effectively.

sign, miracle as extraordinary event that points to a larger meaning. The basic meaning of "sign" as a pointer to a more basic reality fits the biblical usage. One of the most common signs in scripture is the complex of acts by which God achieved Israel's liberation from slavery in Egypt in Moses' time. These consist primarily of the contrasting experiences of different peoples, in which the Israelites were given special opportunities while the Egyptians suffered difficulties; for example, the plagues that struck the Egyptians but from which the Israelites were delivered (Exod. 8:23, 10:1–2, 11:9–10). As important as these events were in themselves, they pointed to the more basic factor of Israel's special relationship with God and his unique purpose for them as his covenant people. That theme appears in Exodus 7:3; Deuteronomy 4:24, 6:22, 7:19, 11:3, 26:8, 29:3; Joshua 24:5; Nehemiah 9:10; Psalms 78:43, 105:27, 135:9; Jeremiah 32:20–21; and Baruch 2:11. Other signs, such as the change of Moses' rod into a snake (Exod. 4:8–28) and the coming and disappearance of a skin disease (Exod. 7:9), attest God's choice of leaders. Yet in spite of all these signs, some of the people did not believe God was supporting them (Num. 14:11, 22).

Another variety of sign is the visible symbol of a special relationship: the rainbow as sign of the covenant with Noah (Gen. 9:12–13); circumcision as sign of the covenant with Abraham (Gen. 17:11); blood on the door as the sign of covenant participation (Exod. 12:13); wearing a phylactery as a sign of the covenant (Deut. 6:8, 11:18); taking the stones from the Jordan as a sign of God's deliverance of his people (Josh. 4:1–7); the growth of

crops and Hezekiah's recovery from sickness as signs that God will restore Israel (2 Kings 19–20).

Signs are also requested to prove God's present or future support. Gideon's request for a sign that it is God who is leading him results in the consummation by fire of his offering of meat and cakes (Judg. 6). Joel sees signs of the coming Day of the Lord (Joel 2:31). Isaiah sees a sign of God's continuing and renewing purpose for his people in the conception and birth of a child to a young woman (Isa. 7:10–14). Isaiah's condition of being without shoes or clothes is a sign of the judgment God is going to bring on Israel, and the transformation of natural growth on the earth is a sign of its renewal by God (Isa. 20:3, 55:13). In the wisdom tradition, God is asked to provide signs and wonders so that his purpose can be known in advance (Wisd. of Sol. 8:8; Sir. 36:6). In the apocalyptic writings, God sends cosmic signs to warn the wicked and to reassure the faithful remnant of his people.

Talmudic rabbis are ambivalent whether signs, ranging from dreams to unexpected natural occurrences, have symbolic value to indicate the will of God or to predict the future. In nonlegal contexts, signs generally are taken seriously as indicators of divine will or attitude. Thus one who, in Babylonia, dreams of standing naked knows that he or she is without sin (B. Berakhot 57a). Similarly, Mishnah Yoma 6:8 reports on a crimson thread tied to the door of the sanctuary that turned white upon the scapegoat's arrival at the wilderness on the Day of Atonement, signifying God's acceptance of the goat as atonement for the nation's sins.

While accepting such interruptions as meaningful of the natural order, the rabbis rejected God's ability through miracles to indicate the correct law and so to interfere in the processes through which rabbis in their own schools would evaluate and articulate proper practice. This idea is expressed powerfully at B. Baba Metzia 59a, where Eliezer's legal argument is supported by God, who rips a carob tree from its place, causes a stream of water to flow backward, begins to topple the house of study, and finally states explicitly that in all matters the law agrees with Eliezer. God's miraculous intercession is rejected. The law has been given into human hands and through reason alone may be evaluated and applied. Miraculous signs are accepted as indicators of God's will, but so far as the rabbis are concerned, such signs have no determinative force at all.

signs, eschatological extraordinary events on earth and in the cosmos that were believed to signify the nearness of the eschaton. Biblical texts about "the Day of the Lord" or its like offered much material for such speculation: darkness, earthquakes, and cosmic disintegration (Amos 5:18–20; Zeph. 1:7–18; Joel 2:30–31; Isa. 24, 34). Among its descriptions of the end, 1 Enoch refers to war and the disintegration of family loyalties (99:4–5, 100:1–4). 2 Esdras 5:4–13 and 7:39–42 describe the general dissolution of the cosmic order. In Mark 13, Jesus' prediction of events expected to happen at the time of the Temple's destruction includes a range of traditional portents: false prophets and messiahs, persecution, wars, earthquakes and famines, family disintegration, and cosmic dissolution. Only the last of these, which immediately precedes the coming of the son of man, is a true sign, and the chapter in general warns against trusting in signs. This point is underscored in Luke's rewriting of this chapter (Luke 21). Traditional material about eschatological signs plays a major role in the description of the end in Revelation 6 and 8. *See also* ESCHATOLOGY.

Silva, Lucius Flavius governor of Judea, 72/73 C.E. Early in 73 Silva set up his headquarters just northwest of Masada and stationed several smaller camps around the mountain to cut off possible escape routes. He constructed an earthen ramp to bring the troops up to the fortress to destroy it.

Simeon b. Azzai usually simply Ben Azzai, without the honorific Rabbi; an eminent Tannaitic authority active in the late first and early second centuries C.E. Ben Azzai was known for his dedication to his studies (M. Sotah 9:15), which kept him from marriage (B. Ketubot 63a). He is listed as one of the four sages who engaged in mystical speculation ("entered paradise," B. Ḥagigah 14b), which led to his death. Elsewhere, he is said to have been martyred in the Hadrianic persecutions (Lam. Rabbah 2:2).

Simeon b. Eleazar Tannaitic authority in the second century C.E.; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch and student of Meir; a resident of Tiberias. He is cited infrequently in the Mishnah, but in the Talmuds, he transmits numerous statements in Meir's name. His name more frequently appears in midrashic compilations.

Simeon b. Gamaliel I grandson of Hillel, president of the Sanhedrin in the decades prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., a leader of the First Revolt against Rome. He is referred to by Josephus (*Vita* 38:189–194), who praises his leadership and intelligence and calls him a person of considerable political genius. Two legal opinions of Simeon b. Gamaliel I are preserved, in each of which he shows a concern for

the impact of the law on the common people. He ruled that no law involving a public matter should be imposed without the people's concurrence (T. Sanhedrin 2:13), and at a time at which the price of birds for sacrifice went up considerably, he ruled that women obligated to bring five bird offerings need bring only one (M. Keritot 1:7). Mishnah Abot 1:17 quotes his saying: "All my life I grew up among the sages, and I found nothing better for a person than silence; and not the learning is the main thing but the doing; and whoever talks too much causes sin."

Simeon b. Gamaliel II patriarch in the first half of the second century C.E.; the father of Judah the Patriarch. Following the Bar Kokhba Revolt, he survived the Roman persecution of the patriarchate by concealing himself. At the end of the persecution, he was appointed patriarch at Usha, with Nathan the Babylonian serving as head of the court. His name is associated with hundreds of rules in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmuds.

Simeon b. Ḥalafta a Tannaitic authority at the end of the second century C.E., at the nexus between Tannaitic and Amoraic authority; a student of Meir. He is known primarily for his scriptural interpretations, and is the subject of numerous stories regarding miracles involving him (e.g., Ruth Rabbah 3:4).

Simeon b. Judah Tannaitic authority active in the first half of the third century C.E.; the younger son and student of Judah the Patriarch

Simeon b. Lakish important Palestinian amora, active in the third century C.E.; in the Babylonian Talmud, cited as Resh Lakish. In his youth he participated in gladiatorial contests (Y. Terumot 8:5, 45d). At the academy at Tiberias, Yoḥanan encouraged him to study Torah, and he married Yoḥanan's sister (B. Baba Metzia 84a).

Simeon b. Manasiah Tannaitic authority of the late second and early third centuries C.E.; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch; cited primarily in the Talmuds (cf. M. Ḥagigah 1:7)

Simeon b. Nanas Tannaitic authority active at the beginning of the second century C.E.; a contemporary of Akiba; usually referred to simply as Ben Nanas.

Simeon b. Nathanael Tannaitic authority of the second half of the first century C.E.; a student of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai (M. Abot 2:8). A priest, he married the daughter of Gamaliel I (T. Abodah Zarah 3:19). Few of his sayings are preserved.

Simeon b. Pazzi Palestinian amora of the second half of the third century C.E.; infrequently cited in the Talmuds, but better known in midrashic documents

Simeon b. Shetaḥ prominent Pharisaic scholar of the first century B.C.E., active during the reigns of Alexander Yannai and Salome Alexandra, who was Simeon's sister (B. Berakhot 48a). Mishnah Abot 1:8 lists him along with Judah b. Tabbai as a pair. At Tosefta Ḥagigah 2:8, the later Tannaitic authority Judah holds that Simeon was patriarch and Judah b. Tabbai was *ab beit din*.

Apparently as a result of Simeon's relationship with the queen, he was able to effect a reconciliation between Yannai and the Pharisees, whom Yannai previously had persecuted and exiled. Simeon accordingly is recalled for having restored the Torah to its former glory (B. Kiddushin 66a). With the Pharisees' return to power, the Sadducees lost their leading position in the Sanhedrin.

Among his many legal rulings, Simeon b. Shetaḥ is known for reducing the number of divorces by ruling that all of a man's property is subject to seizure for payment of his wife's marriage contract (*ketubah*). Additionally, in a period in which education still was seen as the obligation of the father, he is remembered for ordering the establishment of communal schools.

Simeon b. Tarfon Tannaitic authority who was active at the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries C.E. He is known exclusively through four exegetical comments, all found at B. Shebuot 47b.

Simeon b. Yehosadak Palestinian amora of the first half of the third century C.E.; of a priestly family; the teacher of Yoḥanan; generally referred to simply as Simeon

Simeon b. Yoḥai important Tannaitic authority active in the mid-second century C.E., in the Mishnah always referred to simply as Simeon, without the patronymic. Ordained by Judah b. Baba, he was one of the five students of Akiba who revived rabbinic learning after the failed Bar Kokhba Revolt (B. Yebamot 62b). Later tradition assigns to him authorship of all anonymous statements in Sifra (B. Sanhedrin 86a) as well as of the Zohar, such that he is a central figure in mystical lore.

During the Hadrianic persecutions that followed the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Simeon fiercely opposed Roman rule and culture. B. Shabbat 33b reports that, as a result of derogatory statements against the Roman people, he was sentenced to death and was forced to flee with his son to a cave, in which they hid for twelve years. Whether or not Simeon subsequently participated in rabbinic leadership at Usha is unclear (see B. Berakhot 63b and Song Rabbah 2:5).

Along with his many legal dicta recorded in the

Mishnah, Simeon is known for his homiletical remarks. Among these are his statement that the messiah will come after the Jews correctly observe two sabbaths (B. Shabbat 118b) and his comment that one who breaks off from study to observe a tree or natural phenomenon deserves death (M. Abot 3:7).

Simeon b. Yose b. Lakoniah Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch (late 2d c. C.E.); the brother-in-law of Eleazar b. Simeon, whose son he instructed. He is known through a small number of legal and exegetical statements preserved in the Talmuds and midrashic compilations.

Simeon b. Zoma Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E., known as the last of the authoritative interpreters of the Bible (M. Sotah 9:15); generally referred to simply as Ben Zoma. He is known for the proverb: "Who is a sage? He who learns from everybody. . . . Who is strong? He who overcomes his desire. . . . Who is rich? He who is happy in what he has. . . ." (M. Abot 4:1). Ben Zoma engaged in mystical speculation (T. Ḥagigah 2:5), and the Talmud lists him as one of the four who, as an aspect of their mystical study, "entered paradise" (Y. Ḥagigah 2:1, 77b).

Simeon haPakoli Tannaitic authority of the late first and early second century C.E.; mentioned only once in rabbinic sources. B. Berakhot 28b holds that in the presence of Gamaliel II, at Yabneh, he determined the organization of the Eighteen Benedictions.

Simeon Hatimni a Tannaitic rabbi from the generation of Yabneh. He was a contemporary of Akiba and Judah b. Baba, and is cited in the Mishnah and Midrash.

Simeon of Shikmonah Tannaitic authority; a student of Akiba; from a town in the area of Mount Carmel. Three exegetical comments of his are preserved in Sifrei Numbers.

Simeon of Timna Tannaitic authority and member of the Sanhedrin in the second century C.E.; from a town near Bet Shemesh. In Tannaitic texts, he holds discussions with Akiba and Joshua; later tradition held that he knew "seventy languages" (B. Sanhedrin 17b), denoting a special status within the members of the court.

Simeon the Just high priest at the time of Alexander the Great; referred to by Josephus as Simeon I, son of Onias I (*Ant.* 12:157; cf. Y. Yoma 6:3, 43c–d, and B. Menaḥot 109b, which hold he was the father of Onias I). He is mentioned at M. Abot 1:2 as one of the last survivors of the Great Assembly. He is credited with the statement: "On three things does the world stand: on the Torah, and on the Temple service, and on deeds of loving kindness."

simḥah (Heb.) celebration

Simḥat Torah (Heb., rejoicing over the Torah, rejoicing of law) **1.** the second day of Shemini Atzeret, following Tabernacles, on which the Torah-reading cycle is completed; celebrated with song and dance

2. the completion of the cycle of reading the Pentateuch in the synagogue

Simlai b. Abba Palestinian amora of the third century C.E., from Nehardea; later active first in Lydda, and then with Yannai in Sepphoris. His statements are transmitted by Tanḥum b. Ḥiyya.

Simon slave of Herod the Great in Perea, who claimed kingship and led a band of brigands after Herod's death in 4 B.C.E. He was one of a series of royal pretenders. He plundered and destroyed the palace in Jericho and other royal residences. He was pursued and killed by Roman infantry.

Simon, son of Boethus Alexandrian priest appointed high priest by Herod the Great in 24 B.C.E. so that the latter could marry Simon's daughter, Mariamme, as his third wife. Simon was removed from the high priesthood in 5 B.C.E., when Mariamme was discovered plotting with her stepson Antipater over the succession to Herod's throne.

Simon, son of Mattathias Maccabean leader; the second son of the priest Mattathias of Modein. He succeeded his brothers Judas and Jonathan, and served as leader in Israel from 142 to 134 B.C.E. His exploits are described chiefly in 1 Maccabees 13:31–16:22 and Josephus's *Antiquities* 13.213–29. According to 1 Maccabees 13:42, Simon (surnamed Thassi) combined in his own person the religious ("the great high priest"), military ("commander"), and political ("leader of the Jews") leadership. Simon captured the citadel at Jerusalem (the Akra), renewed diplomatic relations with the Romans and Spartans, achieved further stability and independence for his people (against the background of Seleucid instability), and won military victories over the forces of Trypho and Antiochus VII. He (or his brother Jonathan) may have been the "Wicked Priest" who is criticized in some Qumran scrolls. His benefactions on Israel's behalf are recounted in an "official" decree presented in 1 Maccabees 14:27–45. In 134 B.C.E., Simon was killed at a banquet at the stronghold of Dok, near Jericho, by his son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Abubus. He was survived and succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus I. Though Simon stressed the traditional values of the Maccabean movement, he

was also open to Hellenistic and other foreign influences.

Simona Saboraic authority; head of the academy at Pumbedita; a contemporary of Eina, head of the academy at Sura. According to Seder Tannaim veAmoraim, these individuals mark the end of the Saboraic period.

Simon bar Giora a native of Gerasa whose patronymic means "son of a proselyte." At the beginning of the war against Rome in 66–70 C.E., he led armed forces against the Romans. He then gathered a group of revolutionaries and raided the toparchy of Acraba (between Jerusalem and Shechem) until routed by the forces of the high priest Ananus. He then joined the Sicarii occupying Masada for a time, but soon withdrew into the hills where he could take a more active role in the war (68 C.E.). He was physically powerful and daring and attracted a large number of followers. He overran southern Judea and Idumea, where he collected a wealth of supplies in preparation for an attack on Jerusalem. After an indecisive battle with the Zealots, he destroyed many towns in Idumea and then again threatened Jerusalem. In the spring of 69, the Idumeans, the high priest Matthias, and the people invited Simon and his forces into Jerusalem as a counterforce to John of Gischala and his Zealots, who ruled the city by terror. Simon quickly dominated the Upper City and a large part of the Lower City and became its most powerful leader. Nevertheless, civil war within the city between Simon and John continued to the detriment of the population.

When Titus besieged Jerusalem in the spring of 70, Simon's forces defended the Upper City. After the Romans captured and burned the Antonia Fortress and Temple Mount in August, they attacked and occupied the Upper City in September. Simon and some of his followers took miners into the underground passages in the hope of tunneling out of the city. When his supplies ran out, however, he had to emerge and was captured. As the senior commander in Jerusalem, Simon was taken to Rome, displayed in Vespasian's and Titus's triumphal procession, and then executed.

Simon Magus Samaritan magician and convert to Christianity who tried to buy an apostleship (Acts 8). No further reference is made to him until Justin Martyr, well into the second century C.E., by which time he is alleged to be the author of a Gnostic system. The connection between Simon, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism is still debated.

Simon the Essene according to Josephus, a skilled interpreter of dreams, as were other Essenes. In 6 C.E. he interpreted Archelaus's dream of ten ears of wheat being eaten by oxen as a prediction that Archelaus's rule would soon end, as it did.

sin a moral or ritual offense against God. Up to fifty Hebrew words are used for various types of sins in hundreds of cases. Though modern Western thought limits sin to intentional moral infractions, in antiquity a wide variety of unintentional infractions against divinely sanctioned norms were considered sins. The awareness of sinfulness that permeates the Bible and later Jewish literature testifies to the complexity of maintaining a proper relationship to the divine ritually, morally and in purity matters.

The most common root from which words for sin, guilt, punishment, and sin-offerings are derived is *ḥṭ'*, which, like the Greek *hamartia,* means "to miss, be in error, be deficient," and is used with a wide range of meaning. Another root, *psh'*, means "rebellion" or "transgression" and is used for deliberate sin. A third term, *awon,* meaning "iniquity" and then "guilt, punishment," is almost always used of moral guilt in relation to God. In addition numerous terms describe sinners, for example, committers of "wicked" and specific sins.

In Second Temple Judaism, biblical usage continues. In addition, the term "sinner" is often used to designate Gentiles (Jub. 23:23) and Jews who do not keep the law or assimilate to the ruling empire (1 Macc. 1:34, 2:44; Pss. Sol. 1ff.). Jewish reformist groups often called opponents who disagreed with their way of life and interpretations of the law sinners (1 Enoch 82:4; 1 QS 5:7–11). Many writings, especially apocalyptic works, have an intense sense of sin and of the corruption of humanity, a condition that can be only corrected by divine intervention and the final destruction of the wicked. The Gospels and other New Testament writings see sin as an endemic problem, which requires divine intervention through Jesus and his death. The Qumran Community sees two spirits, one of good and one of evil, at work in humans, and exhorts its members to repent and live according to the covenant, in contrast to the men of falsehood, who walk in the way of wickedness. Paul envisions sin as a transcendent, enslaving power, from which Jesus gives freedom. Early sections of 1 Enoch trace human sin to its cosmic origins in the fall of the angels who corrupted humans.

These judgments of sinfulness within the Jewish and gentile worlds are combined with a strong exhortation to repentance and reform based on an accurate understanding of the covenant and law that enshrine God's will. In some works, such as

the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the influence of Hellenistic groups of virtues and vices may be seen in lengthy exhortations to good behavior and against wickness. In others, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the biblical notions of holiness and purity retain their importance. Works from the diaspora often contrast the sins of the Gentiles with the righteousness of a faithful Israel (Jos. As.; Wisd. of Sol.).

In rabbinic Judaism, sin refers to an act that violates the stipulations of the covenant with God, set out in rabbinic law. To refer to sin, the rabbinic literature most commonly uses the term *averah,* from a root meaning "to pass over." This term closely parallels the idea of transgression of God's will, and rabbinic interpretation plays upon its relationship to the concepts of passing forth or making public. B. Sotah 3a states that, although a person might sin in private, God will make the matter known in public.

The rabbinic literature distinguishes sins of omission, in which the individual fails to do what he should, from sins of commission, in which he does that which is expressly prohibited. Sins of commission generally are considered more serious, since they involve a conscious act on the part of the individual. The most severe sins are murder, idolatry, and sexual impropriety. These are the only sins that one must not commit even under duress, when the alternative is being killed (B. Sanhedrin 74a).

The rabbis hold that people have an inclination to engage in wrong actions. This inclination, the *yetzer haRa* (see Gen. 8:21), is recognized as an aspect of the human condition, a temptation to which all people are subject. This inclination is not, however, equivalent to the Christian concept of original sin. According to rabbinic Judaism, people do not have an inherited, corrupt nature; rather, they are subject to temptation, a heinous force that must constantly be fought. While the rabbis are clear that the reason for the existence of death is Adam's sin and that all people thus suffer for that first misdeed, the proximate cause of one's death is one's own actions. Death was instituted with Adam, but one dies as a consequence of one's own sins (Tanhuma Bereshit 29; Tanhuma Ḥukkat 39).

One consequence of sin is its growing power over the sinner, leading one who at first commits a minor infraction to greater and greater offenses, culminating with idolatry (B. Shabbat 105b). Committing one transgression inevitably leads to committing another, just as performance of one religious duty leads to the performance of another (M. Abot 4:2). While at first sin may be called a passerby, it later is viewed as a guest and, finally, as a member of the household (B. Sukkah 52b).

Though rabbinic authorities see the temptation toward sin as a force that must consistently be fought, some recognize in this temptation one of life's motivating powers. Babylonian Talmud Yoma 69b relates that, when the men of the great synagogue succeeded in capturing the *yetzer haRa* for three days, they discovered that during that time no productive activity took place. Similarly, Genesis Rabbah 9:7 states that were it not for the *yetzer haRa,* people would not be motivated to engage in business, marry, raise a family, or construct a house. This view seems to hold that human productivity is a positive result of people's need constantly to rise above their tendency towards evil. This is accomplished through recognizing the ever-present eyes and ears of God (M. Abot 2:1) and, above all, through study of Torah and practice of the law (B. Sotah 21a). The rabbis hold that knowledge of Torah is the single greatest antidote against the temptation to sin. This idea is made concrete in the belief that upon a person's entry into a house of study, the inclination to sin dissipates completely (B. Kiddushin 30b). *See also* RIGHTEOUSNESS; SINNERS; TEMPTATION.

Sinai, Mount a mountain that today is commonly thought to be the Mountain of God. In fact, the biblical mountain is sacred space, and it may not be possible to locate it in the real world. Nevertheless, Sinai is accorded a physical location in the biblical text. It is a wilderness (Exod. 19:1, 2a) located in some proximity to the wilderness of sin (Exod. 16:1). *See also* HOREB, MOUNT.

Sinai Pericope the segment of the Pentateuch in which there is a theophony and in which the Deity concludes a conditional covenant with the sons of Israel. The Sinai Pericope extends from Exodus 19:2b through Numbers 10:11. The entire Sinai Pericope is paralleled, but not duplicated by the D segment of Deuteronomy, in which the sacred mountain is Horeb, rather than Sinai.

sinners (Gr: *hamartōloi*) a generic designation for persons whose way of life places them outside the covenant or the realm of God's blessing and salvation. Psalms of Solomon 3 offers a classical description of the sinner in contrast to the righteous. The latter attends to his or her relationship with God, making amends for sins committed through ignorance. The sinner, who has no concern about this relationship, allows sins to pile up. The respective fates are eternal life and destruction. A similar contrast between the righteous and sinners, also called "unjust" (Gr.: *adikoi*) and "lawless" (Gr.: *anomoi*),

appears in 1 Enoch 92–105, where the author's opponents both oppress the righteous and adhere to wrong interpretations of the Torah. Yet another meaning of "sinner" applies generically to Gentiles, who have no access to the Torah and who oppose Israel (Ps. Sol. 2:1, of Pompey).

The Gospels, especially Luke, regularly depict Jesus as a friend and companion of "sinners" and as the object of criticism from the righteous, notably the Pharisees and scribes. Paul believes that all humanity stands under God's indictment and thus applies the term "sinner" to both Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 5:8). The more restricted use with reference to Gentiles appears in Galatians 2:15 but is immediately undercut in verse 17.

sin-offering an offering of either a bull or a goat for expiation of and purification from sin. It is also offered for purification even when no sin is being expiated. It must be the first sacrifice offered and the priest must eat it in the Temple on the day that it is offered. The purificatory nature of the offering is addressed in the Babylonian Talmud, where one who has given birth must bring a sin-offering. The Temple Scroll and the Mishnah are in disagreement about which animal is to be sacrificed for purification from sin vis-à-vis purification without any implication of sin.

Sirach, Wisdom of a collection of proverbial sayings and didactic essays from a single author, Joshua ben Sira, writing about 180 B.C.E., probably in Jerusalem. The book consists of fifty-one chapters (and a prologue composed by Ben Sira's grandson in Egypt, the translator of the work from Hebrew into Greek). Sirach has survived in two major Greek manuscript traditions, although large portions of the book also exist in Hebrew. Two themes run through the teachings from first to last, the fear of God and the Torah, which is specifically identified with the earlier Mosaic legislation.

Sirach marks a decisive transition within wisdom literature, the move to identify wisdom as Torah and to incorporate sacred Yahwistic narrative into the wisdom corpus. It does the latter in two ways: first, by frequent reference and allusion to events narrated in Israelite historiography; and second, by introducing a special section on national heroes, "Now let us praise famous men." Sirach also carries one step further the tendency in the latest collection of Proverbs, 1–9, to discuss topics at some length; the second century work has extensive treatments of themes like shame, honor, daughters, vocations, begging, and death.

Priestly interests permeate the book, concluding with an elaborate description of the contemporary high priest, Simon, as he celebrated a holy day at the Temple in Jerusalem. Sirach urged the Jewish people to support their priests and expressed complete faith in the sacred dice, Urim and Thummim (Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). Like later Sadducees, Ben Sira dismissed the notion of life after death and treated the subject with humor: "Mine today, yours tomorrow." He distinguished, however, between a normal death and an unwelcome one brought on by difficult circumstances.

Although Hellenistic influence has been suspected in Sirach, the evidence is not strong. It uses the epithet, "He is the all," and Greek arguments for divine justice, namely that God punishes evil persons by psychic distress and that the universe reinforces good but combats wickedness. The praise of famous men resembles encomiastic literature somewhat, although decisive differences exist.

Sirach depicts the sages at worship. Only one prayer occurs in Proverbs (30:7–9), none in Job unless self-imprecations count. Ben Sira mentions prayer often, actually including two substantial prayers in his book, one in each half (22:27–23:6 and 36:1–17). The final chapter comprises a thanksgiving hymn (51:1–12) and an invitation to enroll in his academy (51:23–30). Ben Sira abandoned the old idea that people earned what came their way; now they must rely on divine compassion. He also departed from earlier universalism, opting for nationalistic fervor.

Misogynistic ideas are prevalent in the book, whether caustic descriptions of daughters' conduct or the attribution of evil's origin to Eve. Ambiguous views about physicians stand alongside one another, the defense of their trade as well as a relic of the notion that sickness is punishment for sin. Rhetorical devices, particularly refrains, mark the teachings, as do occasional poetic images of exceptional power ("Like a wedge between stones, greed lies between buying and selling"). Polemic against sectarian mysteries warns of unbridled thoughts, noting that even wisdom, like her name, withholds her insights, despite an elaborate presentation of personified wisdom descending from God's presence to reside in Jerusalem as the Law of Moses.

Sivan ninth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to May/June

Skepticism philosophical system arising out of Platonism that flourished from the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. It was characterized by logical skepticism about the possibility of certainty in knowledge. One of its goals was *ataraxia* (calmness of mind). Most members of this school argued that one should suspend judgment and

refuse dogma. However, it also became clear that absolute skepticism was impractical, and the philosopher Carneades developed a theory of probability that made it possible to conduct ordinary and intellectual life without abandoning the doubts about certainty.

S.L. *see* DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS

slaughter, rules of *see* KOSHER

slavery From the second millennium B.C.E. to the first millennium C.E., slavery and other types of forced labor were common throughout the Mediterranean world. Ancient Judaism was no exception. From Abraham to David and successive kings, from the Temple cult to the returnees from the Babylonian exile, ancient Israelites kept slaves. Jews living outside the Land of Israel also held slaves; legal documents from the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. found in Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy indicate that Jews in these regions owned slaves. Furthermore, the late Roman Empire explicitly regulated the ability of Jews to own slaves, especially Christian slaves. While this evidence consistently points to the practice of slave-holding among ancient Jewry, it does not indicate that any Jewish society ever became dependent on slave labor. Unlike societies such as Sparta or Egypt, slavery never shaped the economic practices or social structure of Jewish society. The few times when the number of slaves increased—as under Nehemiah (Neh. 5:1–13)—it met strong opposition from the authorities. Slave-holding was sanctioned and practiced, but slaves never became a major source of labor.

In the millennium and a half before the rise of Islam, Jews often discussed regulations concerning slaves and their proper treatment. The Pentateuch alone contains three sets of laws concerning slaves, while several important rabbinic texts contain legal and theological discussions of slavery. Despite this wealth of material, little knowledge exists about Jewish practices of slavery. On the one hand, scholars possess little evidence revealing whether or not Jewish slavery laws were practiced. On the other hand, where scholars have found evidence of Jewish slave-holding, there is little to indicate any specifically Jewish practices. This leaves modern scholarship unable to describe any distinctively Jewish slave-holding practices. The only distinctively Jewish aspects of slavery appear in the legal discussions and rulings.

The history of Jewish legal and theological thought concerning slavery follows one main track: the systematization of the pentateuchal laws about slavery. This approach to the Pentateuch's slavery rules begins within the Pentateuch itself. It is picked up in the rabbinic period in the commentary to Exodus—the Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael—and the Talmuds. Only one Jewish document provides a scheme of slavery that ignores this systematization process—the Mishnah.

The Pentateuch contains three different sets of regulations concerning slaves, and some isolated, individual rules. The first set of laws, Exodus 21:1–11, refers to two different types of slaves, a male Hebrew slave and a female Hebrew slave. The male slave is an indentured servant, who serves six years. During his servitude, his master may provide him with a slave-wife. At the end of his enslavement, he may choose to become a permanent slave through a rite of ear piercing. The female slave, by contrast, serves as a concubine or wife for the master or his son. She remains permanently enslaved unless her master mistreats or rejects her.

The second passage, Deuteronomy 15:12–18, develops from the one in Exodus. It essentially joins the male and female slaves into one category, that of the six-year indentured servant. The concubine/marriage role of the female slave has been eliminated, as has the master's ability to provide the male slave with a wife. Both male and female may choose to become permanent slaves by having their ears pierced. But if the male slave chooses to leave after six years, his Jewish master is directed to provide him with livestock and other resources to begin an independent life.

Leviticus 25:39–46, the third pentateuchal passage concerning Jewish slavery, describes different kinds of slaves. As in the other passages, the Hebrew slave essentially corresponds to an indentured servant, but here he or she must serve until the Jubilee year, which comes once every fifty years. This passage also describes non-Hebrew slaves, who possess the status of mere chattel. As property, they may be bought, sold, or willed to their owner's heirs. While the passage emphasizes that Hebrew slaves should not be treated in a disrespectful manner, no such strictures protect the non-Hebrew slave.

The Covenant Code in Exodus contains a few individual laws about slaves. One of these, Exodus 21:26–27, rules that the master who puts out a male or female slave's eye or tooth must free the slave. Another, Exodus 22:1–4, states that any thief (presumably an Israelite) who cannot pay restitution shall be sold as a slave.

While modern scholarship treats these different sets of laws as independent, the authors of most rabbinic texts understood the laws to comprise a single, integrated system of slavery. The most elaborate depiction of this system appears in the Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael (Nezikin) and the Babylonian Talmud (Kiddushin 14b–25b), although the Tosefta and the Palestinian Talmud have similar portrayals. At the most fundamental level, these documents distinguish between Hebrew slaves and Canaanite (i.e., non-Hebrew) slaves. The Mekhilta and the Babli further subdivide male Hebrew slaves into those who were sold by the court for committing theft and those who sold themselves out of poverty. The slaves in the former category served for only six years. During their enslavement, they could be given Canaanite slave women as wives. When these male slaves went free, their masters were required to provide them with the means for starting their free life. Although these slaves could choose to become permanent slaves by having their ears pierced, the authors of the two texts redefined "permanent" as the time until the next Jubilee year. By contrast, those who sold themselves served until the Jubilee but could not agree to become permanent slaves. Their masters were not permitted to give them wives and were not required to support the freed slaves at manumission.

According to the Mekhilta and the Babli, Jewish females could become slaves only if, as minors, they were sold by their fathers for the purpose of marriage (not concubinage). They could not sell themselves or be sold by the court. They became free at puberty if they had not already been redeemed or espoused to the master or his son. The Babli and the Mekhilta classed Canaanite slaves of Jews as property; they could be bought and sold and passed on to their owner's heirs at the owner's death. Apart from their master deciding to manumit them, Canaanite slaves could attain freedom only if the master accidentally or intentionally caused them to loose a major organ, such as an eye or a tooth. This route to freedom, according to the Mekhilta and the Babli, was closed to Hebrew slaves.

The Mishnah constitutes the only rabbinic text with a system of slavery that ignores these biblically based categories of slavery. Of the Mishnah's 129 passages concerning slaves, 123 of them work out a system of slavery independent of the pentateuchal passages, and only six use the Pentateuch's categories. The Mishnah's main system ignores the slave's ethnic background. Anyone who became a slave lost all legal recognition of his or her ethnicity and became a chattel slave. Release from slavery—which was possible but never required—placed the slave into the category of freed slave; it did not return the slave to his or her former Israelite status, as was the case in the Pentateuch-based systems. While enslaved, these slaves were defined as mere property. Although they worked for the master, he was responsible for their actions only when they carried out his specific instructions. The Mishnah's scheme was not carried forward into later rabbinic texts. The Tosefta—the earliest text based on the Mishnah—essentially ignored the Mishnah's system of slavery; its authors began to reinterpret the Mishnah's slavery passages as part of the pentateuchal scheme of Hebrew and Canaanite slaves.

sleep a metaphor for death, but also for lack of knowledge and moral alertness. The natural image of sleep for death occurs in Job 3:13, 14:12, and Jeremiah 51:39 and 57. Daniel 12:2 describes resurrection as awakening from sleep in the land of dust (Sheol). 1 Enoch 100:5 employs an expression attested in Classical Greek literature (Homer, *Od.* 1:364) as an image for death. The protected, untroubled rest of the pious is likened to sleeping "a sweet sleep."

In a totally different usage, though also with reference to the eschaton, a number of New Testament texts liken unpreparedness, moral laziness, and carelessness to sleep (Matt. 25:5; cf. 26:36–46; 1 Thess. 5:5–10; Rev. 3:3). The image has roots in the Hebrew Bible (Isa. 56:10–11; Ezek. 33:7). In Gnostic texts, sleep and drunkenness are images for the human condition and its lack of the knowledge necessary for salvation.

snake a minor motif in Jewish art, primarily of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Snakes are not depicted very realistically, so it is impossible to come to any conclusions about their species. A possible snake's head appears in the earlier mosaic floor at Beth Alpha. In the synagogue art of the Golan Heights, one sees eagles with snakes in their beaks. These are now understood to be Harrier eagles, which have been observed attacking snakes in the Golan Heights. For example, on the lintel stone of the School of Rabbi Eliezer ha-Kappar at Dabura there appear two snakes whose bodies become ribbons at the end of the central wreath. Their heads are in the beaks of the eagles. On the other hand, the snake or winged serpent is well known on Jewish amulets, particularly in forms evidently borrowed directly from Graeco-Roman magical practices. This borrowing is particularly clear in the case of the chicken-headed god with the body of a man and two snakes for legs. Finally there is the snake or two snakes entwined

around the winged staff, called the caduceus. The caduceus is associated the Hermes and Asklepios in Greek mythology, but it appears on Jewish coins, namely, on coins of Herod the Great and on city coins of Sepphoris during the reign of the emperor Trajan. In these cases it appears that the Jewish ruler and the Jewish city of Sepphoris chose a symbol from the repertoire of those representing Roman authority.

Sobr. *see* DE SOBRIETATE

Sodom and Gomorrah From the destruction of their wicked populations because of their general evil and sin as well as their treatment of Lot, his family, and his visitors (Gen. 18:20–32, 19:1–29), Sodom and Gomorrah are evoked in warnings against sin (Deut. 29:23; Amos 4:11; Isa. 1:9–10 [cited in rom. 9:29]; Jer. 49:18; Sir. 16:8; Test. Abr. 6:13; 3 Macc. 2:5; Matt. 10:15; Luke 10:12; 2 Pet. 2:6; Rev. 19, 20; Greek Apoc. Ezra 7, etc.), violations of hospitality customs, lack of reason, and, particularly, sexual crimes (Jub. 13, 16, 22; Jude 7, etc.). According to the Martyrdom of Isaiah 3:10, under King Manasseh Jerusalem was like Sodom and its princes like the people of Gomorrah.

Rabbinic writings attribute the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah to their citizens' failure to care for the poor or, alternatively, to share their possessions (M. Abot 5:10). While, for twenty-two years, God warned the cities of their impending doom, the citizens did not repent. These people have no share in the world to come (M. Sanhedrin 10:31). The rabbis compare the sins of the Israelites that led to the destruction of Jerusalem to those of Sodom and argue that, despite the fact that Jerusalem was left standing, God had punished the two cities equally (B. Sanhedrin 104b).

Soferim, Massekhet (Scribes) a minor talmudic tractate covering the rules for the copying of holy books and the regulations for the public reading of scripture. The tractate appears to derive from about the mid-eighth century C.E. It lacks a consistent topical organization. The presence of considerable material of concern to leaders of prayer and not to scribes suggests that it has been substantially altered by later interpolations.

Three main topical divisions of the tractate can be discerned. Chapters 1–5 concern the rules for copying Torah scrolls, including a discussion of the materials to be used, a determination of who is fit to perform the task, and rules for the spacing of letters, lines and columns, and for rolling and unrolling a scroll in liturgical use. These discussions are the earliest in the tractate and appear separately as an independent minor tractate entitled Sefer Torah. Chapters 6–9 provide Masoretic rules, including discussion of Masoretic textual and orthographic variants and the use of capital letters and other special markings. Chapters 10–21 are of less uniform composition and appear to derive from a later period. This is the case especially for chapters 16–21, which contain passages from the Babylonian Talmud. Chapters 10 through 15 include regulations for the public reading of the Torah and for other liturgical functions, defining the requisite number of persons who must be present, indicating the order of the reading and the method for correcting errors made by the reader, and listing rules for the reading of specific passages, for example, the Decalogue. Chapters 13–15 concern the copying and reading of the hagiographa and the Scroll of Esther. Chapters 16–21 conclude the tractate with a variety of rules for specific liturgical circumstances, such as the psalms for festivals and the order of prayers for the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem.

sojourner (Heb.: *ger toshav;* Gr.: *paroikos* or, in Septuagint, *proselytos)* resident alien or person having no tribal or ethnic connection to the population with whom the person lives. The sojourner has both specific legal responsibilities to (Exod. 12:49; Num. 15:16) and special protection within the covenant community. This benevolence springs partially from Israel's own experience (Exod. 22:21, 23:9; Lev. 19:33–34; Deut. 10:19) and in part from the association of the sojourner with those needing special support, such as widows (Deut. 16:11–12). According to Ephesians 2:19, those within the "household of God" are no longer sojourners but fellow citizens. For 1 Peter, the Christian is a sojourner among and alien to those who are part of the present social structure (2:11).

The category of resident alien is not significant within rabbinic law, which instead provides considerable legislation controlling Jewish interaction with the non-Jews who lived in close physical and economic relationship to the Jewish community but who did not exist as part of that community.

solar calendar *see* CALENDAR

Solomon son of David and third king of Israel; ruled for about forty years in the mid-tenth century B.C.E. He organized the royal court and administration, built the Temple, engaged in large building programs, established widespread international relations, and built up international trade (1 Kings 1–11). The Bible blames his many political marriages for the split of the kingdom after his death, but in fact the northern tribes threw off what they saw as the oppressive rule of the Davidic dynasty.

Because Solomon needed large numbers of wise men to carry on his affairs, he probably established scribal schools. The Bible attributes to him various sorts of wisdom: administrative skill, encyclopedic knowledge, mastery of proverbs, and the ability to solve riddles. Tradition concentrates primarily on such wisdom. Several later sources attribute to him extensive knowledge of demons and even describe him as an exorcist (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.2.5, secs. 42–49; Test. Sol.). Josephus also sees him as a solver of riddles (*Ant.* 8.5.2, secs. 148–49). Several sapiential works are ascribed to Solomon: sections of Proverbs (1:1, 10:1, 25:1), the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiates (also called Kohelet). The Song of Songs is attributed to him, perhaps because of his reputation for composing songs. It is unclear why the Psalms of Solomon bear his name. The New Testament remembers Solomon's glory (Matt. 6:29) and his wisdom (Matt. 12:42).

Treating Solomon extensively, the rabbinic literature takes up the biblical theme of his wisdom. While viewing Solomon positively for this trait, it ultimately sees him as an example of a person whose rationality leads to sin. Solomon thus substantiates the rabbinic notion that strict adherence to the law is the only assurance of piety. Solomon, by contrast, believed that because of his wisdom he would not be induced to sin. He therefore felt free to transgress biblical commandments, including the ones against marrying many wives and amassing horses and wealth (Deut. 17:16–17; B. Sanhedrin 21a).

The result was devastating. Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh caused the building of the city of Rome, in the rabbis' day the great oppressor of the Jews. This happened because, after the wedding, the angel Gabriel stuck a reed in the sea; around it a sand bank formed, on which Rome was later built. Additionally, Pharaoh's daughter led Solomon to worship idols and, by making him sleep late in the morning, caused him to prevent the offering of the daily sacrifice, which could not be performed since Solomon had the Temple keys under his pillow (Lev. Rabbah 12:5).

The result of Solomon's sins was the loss of his throne, his wealth, and even his wisdom. While at first he had ruled over the creatures of the upper world, he later ruled over the creatures of the lower world. Next he ruled only over Israel and, yet later, over Jerusalem alone. By the end of his life, he ruled only over his own house and, finally, over only his staff or, alternatively, his pitcher (Song of Songs Rabbah 1:10). Traveling as a beggar in atonement for his sins, he wrote Ecclesiastes, which refers to his previous life as king of Israel. This work is contrasted with his other compositions: Song of Songs, written in his youth, and Proverbs, written in his middle age (Song of Songs Rabbah 1:10). Had it not been for Solomon's construction of the Temple, which he made more elegant than his own palace and which he had completed in about half the time, he would have been listed among the sinful kings of Israel (Song of Songs Rabbah 1:5; B. Sanhedrin 104b).

Solomon, Odes of a pseudonymous collection of forty-two odes—short lyric poems or hymns—written in Syriac or Greek by a Christian author or authors, probably in Syria in the late first or the second century C.E. The Odes are sometimes called the earliest extant Christian hymnbook. In the modern period, they were known only by title and a few short excerpts until 1909, when a fifteenth-century Syriac manuscript of Odes 3–42 was discovered. Since then, another partial Syriac manuscript of the tenth century with Odes 17–42, a fourth-century Coptic manuscript containing Odes 1, 5, 6, 22, and 25, and a third-century Greek manuscript with Ode 11 have all come to light. Ode 2—and possibly portions of Odes 1 and 3—are still lost.

The Odes are generally similar in content and form to the biblical Psalms. The author (or authors) of the Odes typically expresses praise of and thanksgiving to "the Lord" for the spiritual benefits that the Lord has bestowed on the author. These benefits are expressed in terms of "joy," "rest," "salvation," "eternal life," "immortality," and "incorruption." The author feels that the Lord has manifested to the author a special love, sometimes expressed as the Lord's dwelling or growing within the author. Like the biblical Psalms, the Odes frequently cite God's power to vanquish the author's personal enemies.

The Odes often refer to the earthly career of the redeemer, Jesus. The author often puts the redeemer's words in the first person, and sometimes the "I" of the author slips almost indistinguishably into the "I" of the redeemer.

Although many scholars have asserted that the Odes contain various ideas and motifs that are characteristic of Gnosticism (see especially Odes 23, 24, 32, 33, 38, 39, and 41), they certainly do not evince a fully developed Gnosticism. However, they do seem to stem from an ideological milieu in which both "Gnostic" and more "mainstream" Christian concepts are expressed together as part

of a coherent thought system. In this respect the Odes resemble the Gospel of John.

The main purpose of the Odes seems to be to exhort and inspire their audience. While it is sometimes theorized that the Odes originated in a prophetic milieu, others hold that they derive from a baptismal context. In all, the Odes attest to a profound sense of spirituality and theistic devotion in their author and in the communities in which the Odes were used.

Solomon, Psalms of a collection of eighteen psalms ascribed to King Solomon. Allusions to Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. date a significant part of the collection to the middle of the first century B.C.E. (Ps. Sol. 2:30–31, 8:16–28). A Greek translation of the Hebrew original is included in eleven medieval manuscripts of the wisdom books of the Greek Bible. A Syriac version, whose relationship to the Greek is uncertain, has been preserved in four manuscripts that also contain the Odes of Solomon or other prayers.

The Psalms of Solomon can be divided roughly into two types: those dealing with issues of concern to the nation (1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 17, 18); those focusing on individual and communal concerns of the pious (3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16). Parallels in vocabulary and themes indicate that both types stemmed from the same religious circles. The central theme is the righteous judgment of God, who chastises and purifies the covenant people and individuals among them and punishes the arrogant gentile oppressors. Related to this is the explicit contrast between the righteous and the sinners. The former are pious Jews who attend to their covenantal obligations, including the responsibility to atone for inadvertent sins. The latter include Jews who are careless about these obligations as well as Gentiles like Pompey. The difference between the two groups is explicated in Psalms of Solomon 3 (especially) and Psalms 13, 14, and 15. Psalm 4 criticizes hypocritical sinners, who sit in the council of the righteous.

The Psalms of Solomon have usually been attributed to the Pharisees. References to resurrection (3:11–12, 13:11, 14:9–10, 15:10–13) and free will (9:7) parallel similar teachings of the Pharisees, but our lack of detailed knowledge about the religious sociology of first-century Judaism cautions against a simple attribution to this group. References to "the communities of the pious" (Gr.: *synagogai hosiōn*) and the repeated contrast between righteous and sinners does indicate, however, a provenance in a community or group of communities who self-consciously identified themselves over other Jews whom they considered to be less pious. This does not point to "the Hasidim" as a specific group, but the parallel references to (the community of) the pious ([*kehal*] *hasidim*) in canonical psalms like 132, 148, and 149 and in the noncanonical psalms in 11QPs[a] 19–22 are suggestive of a general religious ambience. The repeated references to religious assemblies and acts of worship indicate an important element in the religious life of the authors. The intended function of the Psalms of Solomon is uncertain, although the didactic tone in many of them is more pronounced than in most of the compositions in the canonical Psalter.

The reason for the Solomonic ascription of the collection is unclear. The lengthy attention to the coming Davidic king in Psalms of Solomon 17–18 and the parallel between Psalm 2:31–35 and Wisdom of Solomon 5–6 fit the ascription, but there seems to be nothing specifically and uniquely Solomonic in the Psalms.

The uncertainty of their precise provenance notwithstanding, the Psalms of Solomon offer an important component for reconstructing the religious thought and practice of first-century Palestinian Judaism.

Solomon, Testament of a pseudepigraphic Christian writing of the first to third centuries C.E. in which Solomon describes how he used various demons and magical powers to build the Temple in Jerusalem. As Solomon builds the Temple, God grants him a magical ring with which Solomon can summon various demons and subdue them or enlist their aid.

The text, of twenty-six chapters, was probably composed in Greek, in either Egypt, Palestine, or Asia Minor. It is probable that the Testament is based on Jewish traditions about Solomon, and it is possible that the present text is a reworking of an earlier tale. The text survives in fifteen Greek manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in one fifth-century fragment. The Testament, rife with magic, demonology, angelology, and magical-medicinal lore, appears to be an early example of the many legends that grew up documenting Solomon's magical prowess (cf. 1 Kings 4:29–34).

Solomon, Wisdom of a pseudonymous Jewish religio-philosophical treatise that extols the wisdom and benefits of belief in the Jewish God and denounces idolatry and other pagan religious practices. The Wisdom of Solomon was written in Greek by an unknown Hellenistic Jew, almost certainly in Alexandria, Egypt, probably between 30 B.C.E. and 50 C.E. Couched in strongly philosophical language, it demonstrates to its diaspora audience

not only that Judaism is respectable within a strongly Hellenized cultural context, but also that Jewish faith and practice, in fact, embody the highest expression of Hellenistic philosophy. Despite its philosophical orientation and espousal of various typically Graeco-Roman intellectual ideals (e.g., the immortality of the soul), the Wisdom of Solomon is strongly committed to traditional Judaism, and also displays a number of literary features that are typical of the Hebrew Bible. Although some commentators on the Wisdom of Solomon have questioned its literary integrity, modern scholarship is virtually unanimous in affirming its composition by a single author.

The Wisdom of Solomon is an example of the Hellenistic literary form of "protreptic" or "exhortatory" discourse. That is, it exhorts its audience, through a series of logical arguments, examples, and analogies, to accept its main theses and follow the course of action that it recommends. In addition, the work represents the genre of the encomium, a literary form that praises and persuades its audience to admire some person or ideal. In this case, the ideal is "Wisdom" (Gr.: *sophia*), a feminine hypostasis (personified form) of God, through which God created the world, and which serves as the main object of devotion by which humans can strive to reach God.

In content and structure, the Wisdom of Solomon can be divided into three main sections. The first, 1:1–6:21, exhorts the reader to strive for the goal of immortality, portrayed as a gift of Wisdom, and promises that those who are faithful to God and to the Mosaic covenant will achieve this goal.

In the second section (6:22–10:21), the main focus shifts to the figure of Wisdom herself, who is personified as God's partner in creation, whose nature, virtues and gifts are extolled, and who is portrayed as the object of the author's own quest for spiritual truth.

The third section, 11:1–19:22, constitutes a lengthy *synkrisis,* or "comparison," in which the author lays out a series of seven contrasting examples from the history of the Exodus to show that the evil Egyptians were punished by God through the same means by which the virtuous Israelites were saved. This section also contains two excurses, the first (11:15–12:22) dealing with the nature of God's mercy as demonstrated by God's gracious treatment of the Canaanites, and the second (chaps. 13–15) attacking the evils of idolatry.

Like other Jewish literature from the period between the Bible and the Mishnah, the Wisdom of Solomon effected little sustained influence in Jewish tradition, but was preserved instead in Christian circles. The work is today included among the Apocrypha, a body of early Jewish literature considered "deuterocanonical" (secondarily canonical) in Roman Catholic churches, but regarded as noncanonical by Protestants.

sōma (Gr., body) The term could be used generally for the human body or in the sense of something substantial, but it takes on a philosophical and theological significance in debates about the relationship of the person to body and soul (Gr.: *psyche*). Some saw the body in a negative light. *See also* PSYCHĒ.

Somn. *see* DE SOMNIIS

Song of Solomon, Targum to *see* SONG OF SONGS, TARGUM TO

Song of Songs, Targum to The Targum to the Song of Songs was composed after the completion of the Babylonian Talmud, perhaps in the seventh century C.E. Its language has elements in common with both Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the dialect of Targum Onkelos. The author of this targum reinterprets the Song of Songs as an allegorical history of Israel's relationship with God. In doing so, he or she uses large amounts of aggadic material, swelling the targum to several times the size of the Hebrew text.

Song of Songs Rabbah commentary to the Song of Solomon, which reads the verses of the Song of Songs as a sequence of statements of urgent love between God and Israel, the holy people. This is expressed mainly through symbols. The exegetes set forth sequences of words that connote meanings, elicit emotions, stand for events, and form the verbal equivalent of pictures, music, dance, or poetry. They appeal to a highly restricted list of implicit meanings, calling upon some very few events or persons, repeatedly identifying these as the expressions of God's profound affection for Israel, and Israel's deep love for God. The message of the document comes not so much from stories of what happened or did not happened, assertions of truth or denials of error, but rather from the repetitious rehearsal of sets of symbols. In reading the love songs of the Song of Songs as the story of the love affair of God and Israel, sages identify implicit meanings, which are always few and invariably self-evident; no serious effort goes into demonstrating the fact that God speaks or that Israel speaks; the point of departure is the message and meaning the One or the other means to convey. To take one instance, time and again, a certain expression of love in the poetry of the Song of Songs is in-

terpreted as God's speaking to Israel about the sea, Sinai, and the world to come, or about the first redemption (the one from Egypt), the second redemption (the one from Babylonia), and the third redemption (the one at the end of days). The repertoire of symbols covers Temple and schoolhouse, personal piety and public worship, and other matched pairs and sequences of coherent matters, all of them seen as embedded within the poetry. Here is scripture's poetry read as metaphor, and the task of the reader is know that for which each image of the poem stands. Thus Israel's holy life is expressed as metaphor through the poetry of love and beloved, Lover and Israel. This symbolic vocabulary conveys messages not through propositions but through images, whether visual or verbal. To take one example, the nut tree and Israel are compared with this result: First, Israel prospers when it gives scarce resources for the study of the Torah or for carrying out religious duties; second, Israel sins but atones, and Torah is the medium of atonement; third, Israel is identified through carrying out its religious duties, for example, circumcision; fourth, Israel's leaders had best watch their step; fifth, Israel may be nothing now but will be in glory in the coming age; sixth, Israel has plenty of room for outsiders but cannot afford to lose a single member. What we have is a repertoire of fundamentals, dealing with Torah and Torah-study, the moral life and atonement, Israel and its holy way of life, Israel and its coming salvation. The theological purpose therefore is to arrange and rearrange a few simple propositions, represented by a limited vocabulary of symbols. In such a structure the exegetes of the Song of Songs organize set-piece tableaus, rather than putting forth and demonstrating propositions.

Song of the Three Children a hymn of thanksgiving placed on the lips of the three youths in the fiery furnace. It is inserted into the Greek version of Daniel 3 between verses 23 and 24, where it is joined to the Prayer of Azariah by some brief prose. Together, the two pieces—confession of sin and thanksgiving for deliverance—add to the heroes' faith an appropriate expression of liturgical piety. The dating and original language of the hymn are uncertain.

The hymn begins with a doxology (vv. 29–34), and following the general order in Genesis 1, it makes a threefold appeal for the whole creation to join in the praise of God (vv. 35–51, 52–60, 61–65). The content of the hymn appears to paraphrase Psalm 148. Its structure recalls Psalm 136, and the wording of verses 67–68 reflects Psalm 136:1–3.

The hymn's liturgical character has led to its continued inclusion in Christian hymnals and liturgies, often under its Latin name, *Benedicite opera omnia*. *See also* AZARIAH, PRAYER OF.

son of God a metaphor based on the father–son relationship, used in a variety of ways to designate a close relationship to God. In the Hebrew Bible, "son" can literally refer to a male child sired by a father, or more broadly as a kinship term within a particular clan or tribe with the meaning "descendant" (like "the sons of Esau" in Deut. 2:4, 12, 22, 29 or "the son of Judah" in Joel 3:6). Inhabitants of a particular geographical location can also be characterized by the father–son metaphor, like "the sons of Jerusalem" (Isa. 51:18; Jer. 5:7), "the sons of Egypt" (Ezek. 16:26), or "the sons of the East" (Judg. 6:3; Isa. 11:14). The father–son relationship, extrapolated from the empirical observation that children physically resemble their parents, is also used to attribute certain characteristics to men, such as "sons of injustice" (wicked men; 2 Sam. 3:34; Hos. 10:9), "sons of Belial" (scoundrels; Deut. 13:13; Judg. 19:22), a "son of peace" (a peaceful man; Luke 10:6).

The father–son metaphor also stands behind the designation of Israel collectively as "my [i.e., god's] son" (Hos. 11:1), "my [i.e., god's] firstborn son" (Exod. 4:22; Sir. 36:17; 2 Esd. 6:58), and "child of God" (Wisd. of Sol. 18:13), or individually as "sons (and daughters) of God" (Deut. 14:1; Hos. 1:10; Wisd. of Sol. 9:7), and "children of God" (Wisd. of Sol. 12:7, 20–21, 16:10, 21, 26; Jdt. 9:4, 13; 3 Macc. 6:28, 7:6). This father–son and parent–child language serves to emphasize the special relationship that existed between YHWH and Israel involving both election and preservation. It also involves the discipline which parents must use to ensure the obedience of their children. Male descendants of the Davidic dynasty are also referred to as God's sons (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7, 89:26f.; 1 Chron. 17:13, 22:10, 28:6), a royal title throughout the Near East. The phrase "son of God" is never actually used in this connection in the Old Testament. It is likely that the father–son language in royal coronation ritual is based on the metaphor of the adoption of the king by God. In Egyptian royal ideology, by contrast, the pharaoh was actually a god, whereas in ancient Assyrian royal ideology, as in Israel, the king was regarded as the adopted son of God. Angelic beings are frequently designated as sons of God (Gen. 6:2, 4; Job 1:6, 2:1, 38:7; Ps. 29:1, 89:6; Wisd. of Sol. 5:5; 1 Enoch 6:2, 13:8), or as sons of the Most High (Ps. 82:6), because while they are subordinate to God, they are members of his heav-

enly court. The phrase "son of the gods" (Dan. 3:25), means that someone appeared like a divine being. The Septuagint translates the Hebrew phrase underlying the English phrase sons of God as *aggeloi,* "angels," in Job 1:6, 2:1, 38:7. Finally, the righteous man is called the son or child of God because of the moral quality of his life (Wisd. of Sol. 2:13, 18; Sir. 4:10; Pss. Sol. 13:9; Jub. 19:29; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.318 and *Quaest. Gen.* 1.92).

The title "son of God" is often considered a messianic title in late Second Temple Judaism, though the evidence in Jewish sources is relatively scanty. In the Qumran document 4QFlorilegium 10–14, 2 Samuel 7:12–14 is quoted and applied to the Messiah, providing evidence suggesting that son of God was probably a Messianic title in at least some strands of late Second Temple Judaism. Similarly, the Messiah is referred to in speeches attributed to God as my son (4 Ezra 7:28–29, 13:32, 37, 52, 14:9; 1 Enoch 105:2). Clear evidence for the messianic significance of the title Son of God, at least in Christian circles, is found in the New Testament (Matt. 16:16, 26:63; Mark 14:61–62; Luke 1:32–33, 4:41, 22:66–70; John 1:49, 11:27, 20:31; Acts 9:20–22).

The titles "Son" and "Son of God" are used frequently of Jesus in the New Testament and early Christian literature. While the application of the title "Son" to Jesus often implies an intimate relationship to God under the metaphor "Father" (Matt. 11:25–27; Luke 10:21–22; John 3:16, 5:19–24, 14:13, 167:1), the title "Son of God" is rarely used in this way. Jesus' reference to God as *abba* (construed by some as a nursery word for "father" equivalent to "daddy") presumes a unique filial relationship to God (Mark 14:26; see Rom. 8:15, Gal. 4:6). The "Son of God" title is one of the more important ways in which Jesus is identified in the Gospel of Mark. Jesus is initially identified as Jesus Christ, the Son of God (Mark 1:1), and a heavenly voice identifies him as "my [i.e., God's] son" at his baptism and transfiguration (1:11, 9:7). Demons address him as the Son of God (Mark 3:11, 5:7), as does the high priest at the trial of Jesus, in the form "son of the Blessed One" (14:61–62), and the Roman soldier at Jesus' crucifixion (15:39). The emphasis on the virginal conception pushes Jesus' unique sonship back to his birth (Matt. 1:18–25; Luke 1:35). The royal messianic connotations of the title in first-century Palestinian Judaism tended to be disregarded in the Graeco-Roman world where the title was more naturally understood as an affirmation of the uniqueness and divinity of Jesus. One pre-Pauline text that retains messianic significance is Romans 1:3–4, where it is claimed that Jesus was designed Son of God at his resurrection. Here resurrection is understood as messianic enthronement (reflecting 2 Sam. 7:12–14). Paul (who uses the term "Father" of God nearly forty times) often uses the title to describe Jesus Christ as the unique and only Son of God, though he used the title "Lord" even more frequently. In both Pauline and Johannine literature, the title can be used of the preexistence of Jesus with specific reference to His being sent into the world (Rom. 8:3, 32; 1 Cor. 8:6; Gal. 4:4–5; John 3:17, 6:40–46, 8:42; 1 John 4:9, 10, 14; Bar. 5:11). The Son of God title is also used for the giving up of the Son to death (John 3:16; Rom. 8:32–34; Gal. 2:20). The divine sonship of the exalted Jesus is reflected (Rom. 1:3–4; 1 Thess. 1:9–10; Col. 1:13; Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5, 5:5; Rev. 2:18). Paul also speaks of Christians as "sons of God" (Rom. 8:16, 17, 21, 9:7–8; Phil 2:15), based on God's adoption of them (Rom. 8:15, 23; Gal 4:5; see Eph. 1:5).

son of man (Heb.: *ben adam;* Aram.: *bar enash;* Gr.: *[ho] huios [tou] anthrōpou*). This generic Semitic expression for "human being" comes also to designate its opposite, a heavenly figure, and it becomes a significant New Testament designation for Jesus both as a human being and as a heavenly figure.

Is Psalm 8:4 "son of man" is used in parallelism with "man" as a designation for human being, who paradoxically functions as God's ruler over creation (Ps. 8:5–8). The vision in Daniel 7:13–14 presents a similar juxtaposition in reverse. In contrast to the beasts that represent four empires, Daniel sees a heavenly figure, who looks like a human being and is given dominion, glory, and kingship in heaven. This high angel, who is the patron of the suffering people of Israel, appears after the judgment of the last beast, and his heavenly enthronement is simultaneous with Israel's domination over all the kingdoms on earth. The precise sources of this vision are disputed, but it certainly depends on old mythic motifs and traditions from ancient Near Eastern religion.

In 1 Enoch 37–71 a major transformation in Daniel's tradition occurs. Although historians of religion have suggested many parallels from antiquity, Enoch's version is best explained as primarily a conflation of biblical traditions. The enthroned figure in Daniel (1 Enoch 46:1–2, 47) is designated as God's chosen one and is identified with Second Isaiah's exalted servant of YHWH (cf. 1 Enoch 48:1–7 and 49:4 with Isa. 49 and 42:1–2). He is also the Lord's "anointed one" and is described in lan-

guage from Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11 (1 Enoch 48:8–10, 49:2, 52:4). This hybrid figure sits on God's throne and judges the persecutors of the righteous and chosen (cf. 1 Enoch 62–63 with the traditional reworking of Isa. 52–53 in Wisd. of Sol. 5). This conflation of enthronement traditions involves a threefold transformation. Texts about the earthly, Davidic king are now applied to a heavenly figure. The suffering and exalted servant of YHWH has become the heavenly champion of the suffering righteous. The one like a son of man, who is enthroned after the judgment in Daniel, is now the executor of that judgment.

Other forms of this conflated tradition appear in documents of the late first century C.E.: 2 Esdras 11–13, where the heavenly figure is the Davidic messiah; and the New Testament Book of Revelation, where he is the exalted Jesus. Some form of the conflated tradition has also influenced the gospel traditions about Jesus as son of man that are developing several decades earlier.

The designation of Jesus as son of man appears in the Gospels, always on Jesus' lips, in Acts 7:56, and in Hebrews 2:5–9. The gospel's son of man sayings fall into three groups relating to: the future exalted son of man; the activity and circumstances of the earthly son of man; his suffering, death, and resurrection. Scholarly literature on the subject is voluminous, and there is little consensus. Did the Jews even posit the existence of an exalted figure called son of man? Did the historical Jesus ever make reference to such a figure, and if so, was it himself or someone else? Do the traditions refer only to Daniel or also the figure as depicted in 1 Enoch?

Analysis of the texts suggests the following to the present writer. The judicial functions that many gospel texts ascribe to the son of man indicate contact with the tradition as modified in 1 Enoch. Texts about the son of man's death and resurrection reflect the pattern of the suffering and vindicated servant, as this appears in Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5 in a tradition related to 1 Enoch 62–63. Paul's references to the Lord's glorious return and function as judge derive from son of man traditions also attested in the gospels (1 Thess. 4–5; 1 Cor. 4:1–5, 15:20–28).

sophia (Gr., wisdom) usually refers to wisdom of a more intellectual, philosophical, or theological sort, in contrast to practical wisdom (Gr.: *phrōnēsis*). The concept is personified or hypostatized as the figure of Wisdom known to us from Proverbs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and other Jewish writings.

Sophist term derived from the Greek word *sophos* (wise person). The Sophists were originally individuals in fifth-century B.C.E. Greece who taught for a fee, especially the subjects of rhetoric and debating. They were criticized and caricatured in the writings of Plato so that the term came often to be used pejoratively for those clever at speech and rhetorical tricks rather than possessing true wisdom or philosophy. Philo of Alexandria agrees with this opinion, viewing the sophist as one who leads the unwary astray by verbal tricks that counterfeit true understanding and knowledge.

sophos (Gr., wise person) The term could be used generally, but it also became a technical term in theological and philosophical discussion for the learned individual, the "sage," especially one knowledgeable in true philosophy. It overlapped with "philosopher," which was the more specific term.

Sophronius (560–638 C.E.) patriarch of Jerusalem. He wrote long biographies of Cyrus and John, two Alexandrian saints, and a number of poems that speak of the Persian invasion of Palestine in the sixth century C.E. He notes that the Jews joined the Persians in their siege of Jerusalem.

sōphrosynē (Gr., moderation) one of the four cardinal virtues. The idea of the "golden mean" (everything in balance, nothing in excess) was a concept widespread in ancient Greek thought. It also fit well into Jewish ethics and is found in the works of Jewish writers, such as Philo of Alexandria.

sorites a literary argument (also called *climax* or *gradatio*) that ascends step by step so that one conclusion or fact forms the basis for the next stage of the argument, often by repeating key words from the previous stage. It was popular in Graeco-Roman literature and is also found in rabbinic writings.

Sosius Roman governor of Syria (38–37 B.C.E.) who defeated Antigonus and conquered Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. He installed into power Herod the Great, who had been appointed king of Judea by the Roman Senate in 40 B.C.E.

sotah *see* ACCUSED WIFE

Sotah Mishnah tractate on the ordeal inflicted upon the wife accused of adultery. The tractate discusses invoking the ordeal (chap. 1); narrates the ordeal (chaps. 1–3); sets forth the rules of imposing the ordeal, exemptions, and testimony (chaps. 4–6); describes rites conducted in Hebrew in addition to that involving the accused wife (chaps. 7–9); discusses the priest anointed for battle and draft exemptions (Deut. 20:1–9) (chap. 8); and

describes the rite of breaking the heifer's neck in connection with the neglected corpse (Deut. 21:1–9) (chap. 9).

sōtēr (Gr., savior) a term with a strongly positive connotation, often taken as an epithet by kings. It was also a technical term in theological discussion for one who brings salvation, a messiah figure or deliverer.

soul the innermost, most vital, and intimate part of a human being—the part that is sentient, decision-making, morally responsible, subject to emotion and feeling, susceptible to religious experience, and liable to divine judgment. It is considered one's true self, what causes one to be alive.

In the Hebrew Bible, the terms "soul" and "spirit" are similar in meaning when they denote an aspect of the human personality. In general, there is also no clear-cut distinction in biblical literature between a person's "soul" or "spirit" and "body": the person is a unified whole. However, the concept of "soul" or "spirit" underwent a basic transformation during the period of biblical Judaism.

Although intertestamental Jewish literature for the most part continues the biblical uses of "soul" and "spirit," these terms also acquire new connotations in this period. Perhaps most important is the idea that the soul survives the death of the body. For example, both 4 Ezra (7:32–101) and 2 Baruch (chap. 30) describe the soul's fate as it awaits God's judgment after the body's death. A favorite theme in these and other books is that the souls of the dead live in "storehouses" or "treasures" until the day of judgment (4 Ezra 4:35, 42; 2 Bar. 21:23; Ps-Philo 32:13).

The idea of the immortality of the soul, or "eternal life," is particularly common in Greek-influenced Jewish writings of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.—especially the Wisdom of Solomon, Pseudo-Philo, 4 Maccabees, and the writings of Philo. In some cases, the soul is depicted as leaving the body and ascending to heaven after physical death (4 Ezra 7:78; Test. Abr. A20:12). Furthermore, this notion of the soul's survival after death implies that the soul is distinct and different from the body; this anthropological dualism was a highly important, Greek-influenced development in intertestamental Jewish literature. Rabbinic literature also manifests a clear-cut distinction between soul and body.

Characterization of the "soul" and "spirit" in early Christian literature is generally consistent with that found in contemporary Jewish writings. Jewish Hellenistic ideas of the soul's being distinct from the body, and surviving death, are common in early Christianity.

The logia of Jesus in Mark 14:38 and Matt. 10:28 manifest a clear dualism between "body" and "soul." Accounts of the martyrdoms of Jesus and Stephen both picture their "spirits" leaving their bodies at the time of death. The idea of an anthropological and metaphysical distinction between "flesh" and "spirit" is basic to Paul's soteriology. Finally, Revelation portrays "souls" or "spirits" surviving death and waiting in a heavenly storehouse for judgment (6:9, 20:4).

Like earlier Judaism and formative Christianity, rabbinic sources view the soul as the inner, animating element of human beings, in contrast to the physical body, which is the soul's vehicle. Like the Hebrew words generally translated as soul—*nefesh, neshamah,* and *ruaḥ,* which refer to breath—in rabbinic texts the soul is associated primarily with respiration, narrowly signifying the life force. Unlike other ancient Near Eastern cultures, here the soul is not broadly associated with appearance, destiny, or power.

The talmudic literature envisions a close connection between body and soul. Rabbinic authorities do not conceive of the soul's immortality separate from that of the body. Nor do they imagine the transmigration of the soul from one body to another. Body and soul, rather, are seen as separate only in origin, with the body deriving from human parents and the soul originating with God. In practice, the soul, created and bestowed upon the body by God, is taken back to God at death. At the time of the resurrection, it will be restored to that same body (see Jerusalem Talmud Kilaim 8:4, 31c; and B. Berakhot 60a).

The notion that the soul originates with God is expressed in rabbinic texts that proclaim all human souls were brought into existence during creation, having been aspects of the wind or spirit (*ruaḥ*) of God referred to at Genesis 1:2. The messiah will come either when all of the prepared souls have been used or, alternatively, when God has finished creating all of the souls that he intended to create from the beginning (see, e.g., B. Abodah Zarah 5a; B. Ḥagigah 12b).

The soul enters the womb at the time of conception, conscious of its origins and accompanied by divine messengers (B. Berakhot 60b). During life, the soul's divine origin remains significant. While the body sleeps, for instance, the soul is understood to ascend to heaven, returning renewed in the morning (Gen. Rabbah 14:9). The soul protests its birth into the world but also protests the body's

death. It hovers near the body for three days, hoping that it will return to life (Tanḥuma; Miketz 4; Pekudei 3). After three days the soul returns to God to await the time of resurrection, when it and the body will be judged together (B. Sanhedrin 90b–91a).

sovereignty-verses (Heb.: Malkhuyot) selection of verses of scripture that refer to God as ruler of the world, recited in a section of the New Year Additional Service devoted to the themes of God's sovereignty, God's remembrance, and God's revelation through the sound of the ram's horn (shofar).

Spartans, Jewish kinship with According to 1 Maccabees 12:7–23, as well as Josephus, Judas Maccabeus and one of his brothers, Jonathan, exchanged letters with the Spartans, claiming that they shared a common ancester in Abraham because the Spartans were descended from him through Keturah. It is generally accepted that the Jews did write such a letter, though whether the Spartans replied in the affirmative as alleged is more controversial. It has been suggested that it was an old piece of Jewish propaganda, which Jonathan may have thought to be genuine. About the same time, the Romans and Spartans also claimed to have found a common ancestry.

Spec. Leg. *see* DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS

spices the products of aromatic trees and plants that were native to such places as Africa, Arabia, Persia, India, and Ceylon. Because they were imported from great distances they were expensive and considered very precious. Spices could be used alone or compounded; often their powdered form was mixed with oil. They could be used as condiments, but more often were employed in perfumes, oil for anointing, incense for cultic purposes, embalming substances, and medicines. Perhaps the longest catalog of spices in a Jewish text appears in 1 Enoch 28–32, which purports to be an account of a journey from Jerusalem, along the spice routes, to paradise in the northwest. More down to earth accounts of spices and the trees and plants from which they come appear in writers such as Theophrastus (*History of Plants*) and Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, books 12–13).

spirit (Heb.: *ruaḥ;* Gr.: *pneuma*) an incorporeal being. Jewish and Christian literature uses the term with a wide range of referents. On the divine side, it refers to God's creative power (Gen. 1:2) or prophetic inspiration. Wisdom of Solomon 1:7 identifies it with heavenly Wisdom, the force that created and sustains the world. More generically, it can denote one of a whole range of heavenly beings (often called angels), or indeed "evil spirits," clients of the archdemon. Spirit denotes the human being as a living creature, and some texts envision the human spirit as a separate entity, released from the body at the time of death, and difficult to distinguish from "soul" (Heb.: *nefesh;* Gr.: *psyche;* cf. 1 Enoch 102:4–103:8). *See also* ANGEL; SOUL.

spirit of error an evil spirit who leads people astray into idolatry, moral error, or wrong interpretation and practice of the Torah. The term is common in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (cf. also 1 Enoch 99:14 and 1 John 4:6). Implied is the counterpart, the spirit(s) of truth. *See also* SPIRIT OF TRUTH; SPIRITS, TWO.

spirit of truth a good spirit who leads people on the path of moral rectitude, defending them from the spirit(s) of error, who would cause them to stray. This construct of the two spirits is typical of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Qumran Community Rule 3–4. In Christian texts, the spirit of truth is also known as the "advocate" (Gr.: *paraklētos*). *See also* ADVOCATE; SPIRIT OF ERROR; SPIRITS, TWO.

spirits, two two major opposed figures of the spirit world. In Zechariah 3, "the accuser" (Heb.: *haSatan*) and the angel of YHWH engage in a legal dispute about Joshua's fitness for the high priesthood. The "Prince of Mastema" and the angels of the presence have a similar confrontation in Jubilees 17:15–18:12, but Mastema is also the chief demon. In the Qumran Community Rule 3:18–25, the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness lead people on the ways of truth and perversity respectively, and in Testament of Asher 6:4–5 they recompense this conduct at death. Revelation 12:7–12 depicts the battle between Satan and Michael in the imagery of Isaiah 14. *See also* WAYS, TWO.

spirits, unclean a frequent term in the Gospels for spirits who infest humans, causing sickness, especially mental disturbances. They challenge the exorcist (Jesus), opposing his divine power to dislodge them. Their uncleanness derives from participation in a spirit realm opposed to the true God. Compare Jubilees 11:4 and 22:16–17, where evil spirits participate in the cultic uncleanness of idolatry. *See also* DEMONS.

spiritual gifts special skills or endowments considered beyond natural human abilities and resources and therefore necessarily thought to have been bestowed by God. In the Hebrew Bible the Spirit of God is credited with the exceptional wisdom or skill of particular individuals (Exod. 31:3, 35:31), as well as with the extraordinary military successes and feats of strength of the Israelite judges (Judg. 3:10,

6:34, 11:29, 14:6, 19, 15:14). Similarly, the ability to prophesy is often attributed to the influence of the Spirit of God (1 Sam. 10:6, 10; 2 Chron. 20:14, 24:20; Ezek. 11:5; Mark 13:11; Acts 13:2, 4, 21:11; 1 Cor. 12:3). However, the term "spiritual gifts" is primarily associated with the New Testament. There the term *charisma,* formed from the verb *charidzomai* (to give freely and generously), refers to that which is freely and generously given, that is, a gift. The fuller expression "spiritual gift" (*charisma pneumatikon*) occurs in the New Testament only in Romans 1:11, where it refers generally to the blessings of God bestowed on the Roman Christians through Paul's presence. Elsewhere in the New Testament spiritual gifts are referred to as a *charisma,* gift (1 Pet. 4:10) or *charismata,* gifts (Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 12:4, 9, 28, 30, 31), as *pneumatika,* spiritual [gifts] (1 Cor. 12:1, 14:1), or *dorea,* "gift" (Eph. 4:7–8). Spiritual gifts appear to be a conception introduced by Paul, probably ground in the notion that the Holy Spirit is considered a gift of God (Luke 11:13; Acts 2:38, 10:45; 1 Thess. 4:8). There are five lists of spiritual gifts in the New Testament, none of which are precisely similar (Rom. 12:6–8; 1 Cor. 12:8–10, 12:28–30; Eph. 4:7–13; 1 Pet. 4:10–11). There appear to be two major categories of gifts, however, and the common thread linking them all is that they describe forms of corporate behavior that functions to promote and reinforce Christian beliefs and values: (1) miraculous and revelatory gifts (emphasized in 1 Cor. 12:8–10, 28–30), prophecy, discerning of spirits, wisdom, knowledge, speaking in tongues, interpretation of tongues, healing, and performing miracles; (2) gifts of ministry (emphasized in Rom. 12:6–8 and Eph. 4:7–13), apostleship, ministry (*diakonia*), teaching, and exhortation.

squatter's rights *see* ḤAZAKAH

Standard Literary Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, STANDARD LITERARY

star, five-pointed, representation of a minor motif in Jewish art of the Roman and Byzantine periods. This star gains magical properties in the Middle Ages as the Shield of Solomon, but in the biblical period it seems to have no special meaning. One of the earliest appearances of the five-pointed star is on the wall of a Hellenistic tomb from Marisa. Since this star is not repeated again in the cemetery, it is clearly not an important symbol. A five-pointed star in relief appears on a frieze at Capernaum next to flowers. A similar five-pointed star appears on a frieze at Chorazin with two other circlets containing repeated petals or peaks.

star, six-pointed, representation of a minor motif in Jewish art of the Roman and Byzantine periods. This star gains magical properties in the Middle Ages as the Shield of David, but in the biblical period it seems to have no distinct meaning. One of the earliest appearances of the six-pointed star is on coins of Year Two of the Redemption of Israel, or coins of Bar Kokhba of 136 C.E. The star above the Temple facade has either four or six points. In synagogue art of the early Byzantine period the six-pointed star appears again. A six-pointed star in relief appears on a frieze at Capernaum at least twice. A similar six-pointed star appears on a frieze at Chorazin with two other circlets containing repeated petals.

stars Biblical and Second Temple Jewish literature regularly associates or identifies the fixed stars and the planets with living divine beings. At times it is difficult to know whether the Hebrew *tzaḇa* ("host") refers to the heavenly army or simply to the aggregation of celestial bodies. In Judges 5:20 the stars (Heb.: *haKokhaḇim*) battle against Sisera. 1 Enoch 82:4–20 provides names for the leaders of "thousands," who are in charge of the stars. Whether one thinks of an identity or simply a close association between angels and stars, 1 Enoch 18:15 and 21:1–4 explicitly assign moral responsibility to these heavenly bodies. When the head of God's heavenly army visits Asenath (Joseph and Asenath 14), he appears in the heavens as a star and then materializes as "a man." Daniel 12:3 seems to assert that the righteous teachers of the community, exalted to heaven when they die, will partake of the immortality that belongs to the astral sphere. The oracle of Balaam employs the image of a star to depict the Davidic king (Num. 24:17), and 4QTestimonia seems to identify the star as the king, while Matthew 2:1–12 associates a special "star" with the birth of Jesus the Messiah, playing on common ideas about stars as signs.

stasis (Gr., faction, or dissent) This became a term in political contexts, to be used to refer to everything from minor discord all the way to civil disorder and even revolt in the Hellenistic world. Discord in society was considered very bad, especially to the Romans after their civil war.

Statius (45–96 C.E.) Roman poet, born in Naples. He lived in Rome and was a friend of the Roman emperor Domitian. His *Silvae* mentions the celebrated agricultural products of Judea. Another poem mentions M. Maecius Celer, the legate of a Syrian legion, who bridled the Palestinian cohorts and visited Idumea.

Statutus, Publius Aelius official in Palestine under Diocletian. Two boundary stones found north of

the sea of Galilee mention Aelius Statutus. He seems to have been the official who carried out the land survey in Palestine when Diocletian transformed the *annona* from an ad hoc requisition to a regular tax in kind.

Stephanus civil governor of Palestine in the mid-sixth century C.E. In 556, the Jews and Samaritans rioted in Caesarea, plundering and burning many churches. Stephanus attempted to protect the Christians. The rioters attacked and destroyed his palace, and he perished in the conflagration.

steward person entrusted with the management of households or estates (Gen. 43:16; 1 Kings 16:9); the financial aspect of businesses (Matt. 20:8; Luke 16:1–8); churches (Titus 1:5–9, the bishop as "God's steward"); and even revelation (1 Cor. 4:1–2, "of the mysteries of God") and spiritual gifts (1 Pet. 4:10)

stiffness of neck a vivid expression for stubborn resistance to God's will. In the Hebrew Bible it is uniformly a designation for Israelites (Exod. 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut. 9:6, 13), and in the wisdom literature it can describe the wicked person (Prov. 29:1; Ecclus. 16:11; Bar. 2:30). The power of the invective can be enhanced through combination with references to hardness, heaviness, or uncircumcision of the heart (Deut. 10:16; 1 Enoch 98:11; Acts 7:51). The latter three texts are noteworthy because the invective is directed against persons whose viewpoint and practice differ from the author's; one designates one's enemies as enemies of God. *See also* HEART, HARDNESS OF.

Stobi Synagogue first- or second-century-C.E. house in the city of Stobi, Macedonia. Its lower floor was converted into a synagogue in the second century through the largess of its owner, Polycharmos. It was decorated with frescos of geometric designs. According to an inscription on a column, Polycharmos remained living on the second floor and violation of his donation was sanctioned by a large fine payable to the patriarch. A second synagogue, about 13 by 8 meters, was built over the house in the second or third century. It was decorated with frescos, a floor mosaic, and a Torah shrine on the east wall. In the fourth or fifth century a Christian basilica was built over the synagogue.

stoicheia (Gr., elements, or elemental spirits) The term could be used in reference to the letters of the alphabet or to the physical elements of the universe, as Philo uses it. The *stoicheia tou kosmou* (the elements of the world) in Colossians 2:8 may have a Jewish background, though the precise meaning is disputed.

Stoicism a Greek philosophy founded by Zeno in the fourth century B.C.E., named after the *stoa* (the porch) in Athens where Zeno taught. It was characterized by a view of the cosmos that saw everything as interrelated, with God (referred to as Logos, or "reason") coextensive with the universe. The key to human happiness was to accept everything that happened with equanimity as a part of the natural order, whether good fortune or misfortune. The only thing important was virtue; you were happy if you had that, but other goods (wealth, honor, and so on) were "indifferent" in that they did not affect the question. An extreme view was that only the truly wise could be virtuous and that anything less than perfect virtue was of no value, but later thinkers modified this perspective. Many Stoics were heavily deterministic, assuming that everything was predetermined. Many thought the universe was to go through a cycle that would finally culminate in the reduction of everything to its original elements in a final conflagration (Gr.: *ekpyrosis*). The philosophy was especially popular among the Romans but also influenced other philosophical systems. Philo of Alexandria shows considerable Stoic influence.

stone vessels standing containers of soft, easily carved limestone characteristic of the first century C.E. Many examples are known from Jerusalem and environs and other sites. They were turned on a wheel much like a lathe wheel, powered by hand or by connection via gears to a water wheel. These stone containers are basically cylinders supported on a single leg and broad foot. The rims are formed into a profile resembling a molding. The surface is carefully smoothed and sometimes decorated with horizontal bands carved while the vessel was on the lathe. Each stone vessel stood 65–80 centimeters tall, though small vessels of such stone are also known. The latter comprise plates, bowls, and cups without handles. The smaller forms resemble popular pottery vessels of the period, but the large, standing vessels resemble goblets. A vessel that stood 75 centimeters in height on a foot of about 20 centimeters would hold around 70 liters. They may be the containers mentioned in M. Parah 3:3, "And at the door of the courtyard [of the Temple] was set up a vessel of purification." They may also be the vessels mentioned in John 2:6, "Now standing there were six stone vessels for the Jewish rites of purification, each holding two or three measures" (one measure = 36 liters). In recent excavations in Jerusalem, these stone vessels have been found in almost every pre–70 house investigated. This implies that they were not luxury items as assumed heretofore.

storm Symbolic of divine presence, testing, and judgment, a storm is a common theophanic occasion: Noah's flood and Jonah's wind are examples. Elijah's experience on Mount Horeb revealed God's presence in the silence after a great wind (1 Kings 19:11–12); in Job the theophany is the voice out of the whirlwind (chap. 38). Mark 4:36–41 (Matt. 8:23–27; Luke 8:22–24) depicts Jesus calming a storm and so both saving his disciples from drowning and demonstrating his divine power.

Strabo Greek writer of the first century B.C.E. (c. 65 B.C.E.–25 C.E.). His only extant work is the *The Geography,* but this was the most important treatment of the subject in antiquity. Included in it in Book 16 was the geography and some of the history of the Palestinian area. He also wrote an important *History* of the world. Although this has been lost, it was heavily used by Josephus in the *Antiquities of the Jews.* Much of Josephus's account of the Hasmonean dynasty and state depend on Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus. In a number of cases, Josephus quotes Strabo directly; these fragments show how important the Greek historian was for the surving information we have about this period. His account of the origins of the Jews is quite interesting in that his picture of Moses and the original religion seems quite positive, with Moses introducing a superior form of pure worship of God without images. However, he thinks that with time, credulous individuals became priests and introduced superstitions, which corrupted the religion with food taboos and circumcision. He considers Moses to have been an Egyptian priest who gathered "thoughtful" men with his teachings and made Jerusalem their home.

stranger *see* SOJOURNER

strategos (Gr., general, or leader) The term is often used of military leaders generically, but could also be applied to certain leaders and officials whose military role was secondary to their other functions in administration.

stumbling block (Gr.: *skandalon*) something that causes someone to fall, used metaphorically of a temptation to sin. Although the noun and the related verb *skandalizō* occur infrequently in Jewish literature, they are used quite often in the New Testament with two major referents. Jesus is a stumbling block to those who do not believe in him, that is, do not accept him as God's agent, or accept the authority of his teaching (Matt. 11:6; 15:12; 26:31; cf. Luke 2:34; 1 Cor. 1:23; and Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:8, quoting Isa. 8:14). According to Paul, eating meat or eating food sacrificed to idols, while not wrong in themselves, cause others to sin if they imitate such behavior in violation of their consciences or in the belief that idolatry is permissible (Rom. 14:13–21; 1 Cor. 8:7–13). This concern not to lead others into sin is reiterated in Mark 9:42. In a passage playing on Simon's nickname, Peter (from Gr., rock), Jesus identifies the disciple as a spokesman for Satan, and hence a temptation to sin, when he tries to prevent Jesus from going to Jerusalem to die (Matt. 16:23).

Suburanus Aemilianus *see* AEMILIANUS, SEXTUS ATTIUS SUBURANUS

Suetonius (69–140 C.E.) Roman biographer. He spent some time as a lawyer and held several secretarial posts at the Roman court. He reports about the Jews' mourning after the murder of Julius Caesar; Augustus's negative attitude toward Judaism; Tiberias's meeting a certain Diogenes on Rhodes, who used to lecture on the Sabbath; and the harsh measures employed by Domitian's agents in collecting taxes from the Jews. He further notes that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome because of a riot caused by a certain Chrestus. He exhibits a negative attitude toward Christianity, but does not express a direct opinion about Judaism.

suffering The Bible and early Jewish literature is replete with stories about and references to the suffering of God's people: sickness, famine and hunger, defeat by one's enemies, persecution because of one's faithfulness to God, oppression by the mighty, and the like. Interpretations of such suffering varied greatly. The standard Deuteronomic explanation was that suffering was punishment for one's disobedience to the covenant. This notion is questioned in many of the Psalms and strongly disputed by the author of the Book of Job. The prose framework of Job attributes his suffering to the accuser's (Satan's) attempt to disprove his righteousness, an idea attached to the story of the Akedah in Jubilees 17:16–18:16. For the author of Tobit and the Psalms of Solomon, God afflicts the righteous in order to "chasten" or "discipline" them for sins committed. 2 Maccabees 6–7 expounds the paradox that the innocent who suffer for their loyalty to the Torah in some sense help to pay for the sins of an apostate nation. The idea is expounded in more detail in 4 Maccabees and seems to be related both to Greek notions and to an interpretation of Isaiah 52:13–53:12. Christian texts take over the whole range of Jewish interpretations, ascribing vicarious suffering and death uniquely to Jesus, but positing the inevitability of Jesus' followers' suffering like their master.

An issue of concern within all religious systems, the existence of suffering implies (1) that God is

not so powerful as to be able to prevent suffering, or (2) is not all good, so as to desire that his creatures do not suffer. Rabbinic Judaism responds to these concerns with an explanation rooted in scripture, which holds that suffering is a punishment for sin. In this view, people are responsible for their lot in life, with evil actions bringing about an evil return. In line with this approach, B. Berakhot 5a states: "If a person sees that sufferings afflict him, let him examine his deeds."

The weakness of this approach is that it does not explain apparently unearned suffering, for instance, of righteous adults or of innocent children. To account for such suffering as well as for the fact that the wicked often prosper, the rabbis developed a conception of immortality and afterlife. Positing final retribution and reward in a world to come permitted explanation of apparent inequities in the present world. In this approach, the wicked receive in this world their reward for any slight good they might do. In the coming world, however, they will find severe punishment. The righteous by contrast suffer in the present world for any slight infractions they might commit. As a result, they can look forward in the coming world to a perfect and complete reward. In line with this approach, the talmudic literature sometimes sees suffering as part of a process of purification—referred to as afflictions of love—through which individuals become closer to God. In this view, only those who can bear the burden of suffering are asked to do so, leading B. Taanit 8a to state that "one who gladly accepts suffering brings salvation to the world."

Alongside these understandings of suffering as a purposeful element in the relationship between people and God, the talmudic literature admits of a very different view. This other view holds that suffering may not be deserved and that those subject to it have reason to reproach God. The problem of suffering, accordingly, is beyond full human comprehension. Illustrating this view, M. Abot 4:19 holds that one should not rejoice at the suffering of his enemy, there being no way to predict whether or not he will himself soon be subject to similar misfortune. Comparably, in an account that depicts Moses's being shown a vision of the torture and death of Akiba, he protests to God, "Master of the Universe, is this the Torah and this its reward?" God responds simply, "Be silent, for this is the way I have determined it" (B. Menahot 29b).

This view of suffering holds that God is not entirely able to stop suffering and that he suffers along with this righteous creatures. This point is made at B. Berakhot 59b and parallels, which state: "When the Holy One, blessed be he, reflects that his children are plunged in distress among the nations of the world, he drops two tears into the Great Sea, and the sound is heard from one end of the world to the other."

suffetes Latin term for the Carthaginian chief magistrates. The word appears to be derived from the Phoenician/Punic *shofet,* a cognate of the Hebrew word for "judge." It is now thought that the Hebrew word included the concept of a ruler, like some of the "judges" of the Book of Judges, and not just the judicial idea.

sugya a unit of discourse; a complete topical or logical pericope within a rabbinic compilation; applied particularly to talmudic materials

suicide the taking of one's own life. Suicide in extreme circumstances, especially to save personal honor, was widely accepted in the Graeco-Roman world. There are a number of examples of suicide in early Jewish history, especially to avoid capture or humiliation. One of the most famous was the mass suicide at Masada in 73–74 C.E. Other examples are mentioned in 2 Maccabees 14:42 and 4 Maccabees 17:1. Josephus also formed a suicide pact with his companions when threatened with capture by the Romans, though he and a companion did not carry out their part of the bargain.

Rabbinic Judaism considered suicide morally wrong, a rebellion against God who gave life and who alone may choose to take it (B. Abodah Zarah 18a). The rabbis, however, treated death as a suicide only if the individual made explicit his desire to kill himself and people saw him act on that intention (Tractate Semahot 2:2). In this circumstance, burial rites performed out of respect for the dead were set aside, such that mourners did not rend their clothes and no eulogy was offered (Tractate Semahot 2:1). The mourners themselves, however, were to be comforted, and the mourning prayers were recited out of respect to them. In contrast to the prevailing attitude, B. Gittin 57b accepts suicide for people forced into sexual impropriety. This attitude follows from the rabbinic dictum that one should accept death rather than commit murder, worship an idol, or engage in licentious sexual behavior.

Sukkah **1.** booth erected in celebration of Sukkot

2. Mishnah tractate devoted to the festival of Tabernacles. The tractate discusses objects used in celebrating the festival, such as the Sukkah, the lulab, and the citron (chaps. 1–3), and describes the rites and offerings (chaps. 4–5).

Sukkot *see* TABERNACLES, FESTIVAL OF

Sulpicius Severus (360–420 C.E.) historian and hagiographer from Aquitaine and southern Gaul. He composed a chronicle of sacred history from creation to 400 C.E., using Christian and non-Christian works. He reports that Titus supported those who wished to burn the Jerusalem Temple during the war of 66–73 C.E.

superstition *see* DEISIDAIMONIA

Sura city in southern Babylonia; for several centuries a most important center of rabbinic study, rivaled in significance only by Nehardea. The academy at Sura was established by Rab in 219 C.E. and, after his death, retained its preeminence under Rab's student, Ḥuna. Sura's importance diminished in the final years of the third century with the rise in stature of Pumbedita. But its centrality was regained in 367–427 C.E., under the leadership of Ashi, later understood to be one of the editors of the Babylonian Talmud. During Ashi's incumbency, the academy was moved to Mata Maḥasia, near Sura. After Ashi's death, Sura's academy diminished in importance, although it remained a center of Saboraic and, later, gaonic learning.

Susanna a tale about a Jewish woman who is falsely accused of adultery by her would-be seducers and is rescued from the sentence of death by Daniel. The story is prefaced to the Book of Daniel in the Greek Bible as an explanation of how the young Daniel rose to prominence in the Babylonian court (v. 64). The date and place of composition are uncertain. Wordplays in the Greek text are usually seen as an indication that the story was composed in that language, but they could also reflect a translator's cleverness.

The plot line of Susanna indicates that the story imitates the genre of court tales preserved in the Joseph cycle in Genesis 37–45, the story of Mordecai in the Book of Esther, the Mesopotamian Story of Ahikar, Daniel 3 and 6, and Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5. Certain villains conspire against the protagonist and bring accusations that result in a death sentence. The protagonist is rescued from death, vindicated, and exalted, and the enemies are punished. In the present example, the story is democratized; the protagonist is a woman rather than a man and an ordinary righteous person rather than a member of the court. It is Daniel her rescuer, rather than she, who is exalted at court. Details in the story parallel the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39) and the Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers, with the male and female roles reversed.

Although the story is set in the diaspora, the action takes place within the Jewish community. The antagonists are Jewish elders and not gentile opponents of the Jews as, for example, in Daniel 3 and 6. Susanna exemplifies virtuous conduct in the face of temptations that can arise within the religious community. The portrayal of the male elders as hypocritical lechers, whose pressures are withstood by a virtuous woman, would have had some countercultural sting, and it has sometimes been argued that the story was intended as a warning against careless legal proceedings that employed bad rules of evidence.

The story of Susanna was popular among early Christian writers and has been the inspiration for much visual art and music. Carlisle Floyd's powerful twentieth-century opera "Susanna" captures the anti-establishment polemic but tragically inverts the story by having the heroine capitulate to the persistent coercion of a traveling revival preacher.

Susiya *see* KHIRBET SUSIYA SYNAGOGUE

swastika a minor motif in Jewish art of the Byzantine period borrowed from the wider Roman and Byzantine world. The swastika is not an isolated emblem in early Roman art, but is rather a border consisting of a repeated cross pattern that resembles the swastika, but the cross with bent arms is connected to the next cross, and so on, to form a border that resembles a maze. This form of border is called a meander. This type of border is well known in non-Jewish contexts as well as Jewish contexts. A free-standing swastika is known as a major motif in one synagogue mosaic. This one stems from the Phase I mosaic floor in the synagogue of En Gedi on the west shores of the Dead Sea. In the central rectangular panel of the prayer hall there were three large squares in a row. In the southernmost square was a swastika pattern. The bent arms of the cross appear to rotate counterclockwise. It is surrounded by repeated triangles. In the synagogue at Eshtemoa in Judea, the swastika pattern appears in the earlier mosaic. A swastika design is repeated three times in the mosaic of the Susiya synagogue to separate the panel with menorahs and the Torah shrine from the central geometric mosaic. The mosaic floor in the synagogue of Maoz Hayyim shows the same repeated swastika panels separating birds and menorahs as can be seen at Susiya.

sword a bladed weapon for close combat. The blade could be single- or double-edged, curved or straight, pointed or blunt. The curved blade was primarily for slashing; the straight sword, for stabbing. The Iron Age (c. 1200 B.C.E.) saw the arrival of the straight, long sword as a major weapon; it reached a length of 30 inches and was strong enough to thrust and slash. In the Graeco-Roman

period, Roman soldiers used a lighter sword of about 24 inches. In the War Rule from Qumran, the sword is to be of pure iron, straight, double-edged, pointed, and 1½ cubits long (about 25 inches) and four fingers (about 3 inches) wide. The hilt of the sword was to be of pure horn, with patterned bands in gold and silver and precious stones (1QM 5:11–14).

Besides references to the actual weapon, the sword came to symbolize aggression (4 Ezra 16:3; 1QpHab 6:10; Matt. 26:52), oppression (Dan. 11:33; CD 1:21; Luke 21:24), civic disorder (Matt. 10:34), but also the power of proper authority (Rom. 13:4). Frequently the sword images God's vengeance on sinners and apostates (Sir. 39:31; CD 1:4.17, 16:1); a special sword is given to Judas Maccabeus by the prophet Jeremiah (2 Macc. 15:15) as well as to those fighting on God's behalf (1 Enoch 90:19.34, 91:11; Rev. 6:4). The angel of God has his sword ready to bring judgment (Sus. 1:59), and swords in the sky are ominous (2 Macc. 5:2; Sib. Or. 3:672; 4 Ezra 15:41). The Lord of Spirits has a sword (1 Enoch 62:12; 63:12) as does God Himself (Wis. of Sol. 5:20; 1 QM 12:11; 4 Ezra 15:22; 3 En. 32:1–2). The Sword of God is almost personified (Ezek. 21:3; Zech. 13:7; 1 QH 6:29; 1 QM 15:3, 19:4.11).

The sword is also connected with the spoken word (Ahikar 100; Ps. 52:2; Ps. 57:4; Wisd. of Sol. 18:16; Eph. 6:17; Heb. 4:12). A two-edged sword proceeds from Jesus' mouth (Rev. 1:16, 2:12, 19:15.21). One also finds the thought expressed that the wicked angels teach humans the art of making swords (1 Enoch 8:1, 69:6, 88:2): here war is the opposite of the cooperation that should reign among humans.

Sychar *see* SHECHEM

Symmachus a translator of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, to take the place of the Septuagint. Although some reports make him an Ebionite, this has been disputed. Others think he was Jewish. His translation is characterized by good Greek style and free, rather than literal, translation.

symposium (from Gr.: *symposion,* drinking party) As one might expect, many such occasions exhibited the usual concerns of drink and sex, but they also served for philosophical and literary discussion, some of which have been written up as symposium literature. *See also* SYMPOSIUM LITERATURE.

symposium literature several Greek and Latin writings have as their supposed origin a symposium discussion. One well-known example is the *Deipnosophista* (Supper Sophists) of Athenaeus; another is Plato's dialogue *The Symposium,* which forms an influential debate on the question of love. These vary widely, sometimes being devoted simply to the delights of an extravagant host. For example, "Trimalchio's Feast" in Petronius focuses almost entirely on sensual pleasure and "ostentatious consumption." More standard, though, is a literary or philosophical discussion in which the participants attempt to show their learning or to exchange knowledge or debate. An example in Jewish literature is the Letter of Aristeas. According to it, Jewish sages from Jerusalem, brought to Egypt to translate the Bible, were entertained by the Ptolemaic ruler and demonstrated to him their wit, wisdom, and agility of mind in their table talk. They are presented as being perfectly at home in this common Hellenistic institution. Some think that the Passover Haggadah has been influenced by this literature; it certainly has some points in common with the symposium format.

synagogue (Heb.: *beit kennesset;* Aram.: *kenishtah;* Gr.: *proseuchē sabbation, synagōgē*) term used for the place of Jewish assembly and, at various time and locations, for scripture reading, sermons, or prayer. The term initially may have referred not to a building, per se, but to a meeting in private dwellings.

The synagogue is widely reputed to be the most distinctive institutional development of Judaism in antiquity. Its origin is uncertain. The conventional theory holds that the synagogue is the product of the Babylonian exile, but there is no evidence to prove that claim. Evidence for the synagogue comes from archaeological remains, the writings of Josephus, the New Testament, rabbinic literature, the church fathers, and pagan writers. All this evidence together does not yield a consistent picture of the synagogue and its functions in antiquity. There is a scholarly consensus that the synagogue probably fulfilled various functions, depending on its location, the nature of discrete Jewish communities, and surrounding culture.

The following dates and places display the range of the evidence for the synagogue. There is inscriptional evidence of a synagogue in Egypt in the third century B.C.E. A second century B.C.E. synagogue, probably founded by Samaritans, has been excavated on the island of Delos. There are only three excavated synagogues in the Land of Israel that archaeologists are prepared to date to Second Temple times: one in Gamla in the Golan Heights, one at Herodium, and one at Masada. A synagogue from the second or third century C.E. has been excavated at Sardis. A particularly interesting synagogue is the one discovered in Dura-Europos, in Syria, dated to the mid-second century C.E.

which has elaborate frescoes, murals of biblical events and figures, and different representations of the Temple.

In the New Testament, Jesus is frequently pictured as teaching in the synagogues of Galilee (Matt. 4:23, 9:35; Mark 1:21, 39, 6:2; Luke 4:15–16, 6:6; John 6:59, 18:20). Acts of the Apostles speaks of synagogues in Jerusalem (6:9) and in the diaspora: synagogues as places of prayer and teaching; synagogue leaders as public, community officials who often expel Paul and who struggle to maintain community discipline and boundaries. The descriptions of synagogue activities in the Gospels and Acts probably reflect the time of the authors, the late first century C.E. They verify the existence of the synagogues, especially in the diaspora, but do not attest to the places or kinds of buildings in which synagogues assembled. Besides the Gospels and Acts, only two other New Testament books mention synagogues. Revelation refers to Jewish opponents in Smyrna and Philadelphia as slanderers and liars who say they are Jews but are not, as a synagogue of Satan (2:9, 3:9). James mentions a synagogue of the Christian assembly (2:2).

Evidence for synagogues increases from the late second into the third and fourth centuries C.E., particularly in the Land of Israel, especially in Galilee. In this period, synagogue remains suggest large, well-decorated structures with fixed places (niches and *bimahs*) for Torah scrolls.

On the basis of the evidence, there is no clear picture of the functions the synagogue served. It may not have filled the same role in all places. Most scholars judge, however, that reading from the Torah and possibly from the prophets was a likely function of the synagogue. Literary evidence makes the same suggestion. Prayer may have been said in the synagogue, but that is not certain in all times and locations.

Until the fourth century and possibly later, particularly outside the Land of Israel, the synagogue appears not to have been under rabbinic control. There is no evidence that rabbinic liturgy was translated into Greek, so in Greek-speaking communities, the influence of rabbis was slight. The art of the Dura-Europos Synagogue could not have been predicted on the basis of rabbinic writings.

By the fourth century, the notion of the synagogue as a surrogate for the Temple is evident in both Jewish and pagan writings. In some cases, it appears that the house of study (*beit midrash*) was within or alongside the synagogue. Evidence found at Merot in Galilee reveals a study room, dated to the sixth century, attached to the southern wall of the synagogue. The largest number of Jewish inscriptions has been found in synagogues. Hundreds are evident on walls, lintels, amulets, pillars, and mosaic floors.

synagogue poetry (Heb.: *piyyut*) poems added to the fixed schedule of prayers in synagogue worship, written for special occasions, such as Sabbath, Passover, praying for rain, and the Days of Awe. These fall outside of the regularly defined prayers and ornament the service of worship.

synagogues, diaspora those synagogues known by archaeological or epigraphic remains from the Graeco-Roman diaspora. Before 70 C.E. and the destruction of the Second Temple, Jews traveled for social or commercial reasons to most major urban centers in the Hellenistic East. Some were moved as slaves, but others were mercenaries, entrepreneurs, or public figures. Groups of Jews therefore developed as ethnic enclaves in urban centers with more or less contact with the Land of Israel. Since they wanted to be able to worship in accord with their traditions, they gathered in homes, rented space, and built structures in various parts of the Roman Empire and under other political and economic hegemonies.

The best known examples of synagogues or prayer halls are from Sardis and Priene in Ionia, Delos in the Greek islands, Stobi in Macedonia, Dura-Europos on the Euphrates in Roman Syria, and Ostia in Roman Italy. The earliest evidence is from Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, whose Jewish community is mentioned in 1 Maccabees and in Josephus. The community there dated from the second or first century B.C.E. The prayer hall (Gr.: *proseuchē*) was a modified local house. It appears that the house was reconstructed in the late second century B.C.E. and in the mid-first century C.E. as a cultic or community center for the Jewish settlement. The reconstruction or renovation of the house consisted mainly of the division of one large room into two small rooms by the erection of a partition wall with three doors. Both rooms thus formed could be entered either from the attached, roofed porch or from the other room. In the northern or main room, low benches were built against the west and north walls and a stone chair was built into the west wall opposite the entrance from the porch. It is assumed that this marble chair was for a synagogue functionary. A few fragmentary inscriptions attest to the fact that the worshipers here served the "Highest God."

There is no distinctively Jewish art or decorative element in this building, so the scholarly opinion is that this building served the Jewish enclave before

the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple in 70 C.E. There would be no social need for identification of the users by art, decoration, or even by inscriptions before that date. In fact, the building faces directly toward the sea, which suggests the foreign (Jewish) origin of its users, as other structures built by foreigners in ancient port cities often face the sea rather than some local landmark.

A Samaritan community is also attested at Delos by inscriptional evidence, though as yet no worship edifice or synagogue has been identified. According to the inscriptions, however, they had their own prayer hall or proseuchē.

At Priene one can see more unambiguous remains. The building in question was a modified house of imposing dimensions (16 × 19.5 meters), perhaps of late Hellenistic origins. It was located in a block of homes sharing common walls, but each accessible to the others only via the street entrances. Renovation of the house for worship included razing shops and building new walls for the area for the congregation on the west end of the house. At the east end a niche was installed into the back wall of the house, and this niche actually intruded into the space of the next house to the east. Presumably the tenant of the east house was Jewish or was persuaded to allow use of this space. About half the renovated house was devoted to an assembly area, and the rest seemed to be reserved for an apartment or perhaps a set of rooms used for hospitality of visitors to the community.

At Ostia the synagogue was in use the longest of these diaspora synagogues, namely, from the first to the fourth centuries C.E. Recent scholarship has suggested that the building was not originally built as a prayer hall as formerly thought but was also a renovated house. It has been suggested that the original house underwent renovations first with the addition of a dining room, probably to enable use of the building for Jewish assemblies. In its second renovation, a second story was added to the assembly room, in effect doubling the volume of the room. This renovation required thickening the walls and adding two columns to support the roof. With this second renovation the congregation added an aedicula, or two-columned Torah Shrine, at the rear of the assembly hall and the use of menorahs as Jewish art and symbols. A *bimah*, or raised platform, graced the wall opposite the Torah Shrine. At least one of these renovations included a Greek inscription on the Torah Shrine honoring the donor.

The synagogue at Stobi in Macedonia is a rebuilt house that originally belonged to Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, who is referred to in the dedicatory inscription for the synagogue as "father of the synagogue at Stobi." During the fourth century, this renovated house-synagogue was converted to larger space by the simple addition of as much space as the original prayer hall occupied. Furthermore, in the donor inscription of Polycharmos there is a stipulation that his heirs are to continue to live in the living quarters of the converted house. The demise of this synagogue occurred in the fifth century when a Christian basilica was built over the site of the original prayer hall.

The synagogue of Sardis in Asia Minor was a spectacular basilical building, originally built by the citizens of Sardis as a public building, actually probably dressing rooms (apodeuteria) of the public bath next door. Sometime in the late first or early second century C.E., the citizens of Sardis deeded the three dressing rooms to the Jewish community of Sardis for their own use. This building underwent many beautiful renovations and redecorations over four centuries of use. Synagogue assemblies in the building had use of two aediculae, or shrines, on either side of the central entryway at the east end of the building. Decoration includes two Lydian lions and "Roman" eagles in prominent places at the west end of the building. An inscription in the center of the long hall honors a local "priest and teacher of wisdom" who bears the local name of Samoe. A lectern stood on piers just east of the west end of the building, which contained an apse with concentric benches.

The synagogue at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates in Syria was a house renovated to allow for assemblies of the Jewish community about 150–200 C.E. In this renovation the exterior of the house remained untouched, but on the interior a Torah niche was added to the back, interior wall. A cross-wall divided the main part of the house into a colonnaded porch and a small assembly hall or prayer hall. In the second synagogue, the interior assembly was reduced in size, but benches were added on four walls. The Torah niche was still in use. There may be provision for a lectern in the center of the hall. A smaller assembly room with benches around all four walls stood at the opposite end of the house. In the final renovation of the house, the interior was completely remodeled to form a large, colonnaded courtyard and a large assembly hall or prayer hall still using the same Torah niche. Part of a house next door was added to the space in use for worship. This last syna-

gogue or prayer hall was decorated with stunning wall frescoes depicting biblical scenes. Certain donors are also honored in Greek inscriptions, one of whom is the elder, priest, and archon Samuel bar Yedaya, perhaps the original owner of the house that was converted to synagogue worship.

synagogues, Palestinian those synagogues known by archaeological or epigraphic evidence from ancient Palestine. The source for the term synagogue is the Greek term, *synagōgē*, to gather. It is used in the New Testament, in Josephus, and rabbinic sources for a Jewish community or building, or possibly both. The origin of the synagogue as a Jewish place of assembly and prayer is unknown. Several theories have been advanced: it developed during the Babylonian exile; at the time of the Deuteronomic reformation; or in Hellenistic Egypt. What is known from the textual sources is that the synagogue was in existence in Palestine by the first century C.E. and became the main focus and center of Jewish life following the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. Archaeological evidence from Palestine is less secure. An inscription uncovered in Jerusalem and dated to the first century C.E. describes a synagogue built by one Theodotus for the reading of the law, studying the commandments, and for use as a hostel. No mention is made of prayer, perhaps because of the building's proximity to the Temple. Torah reading was of primary importance. Four buildings in Palestine have been identified as synagogues predating the Temple's destruction: Masada, Herodium, Gamla, and Migdal. Masada and Herodium have reconfigured rooms in fortress palaces built by Herod the Great and occupied by zealots during the first Jewish revolt. Gamla, a town in the Golan occupied by zealots, has a large, unadorned building with benches along its interior walls. Migdal, on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee, has a small building with benches, that later became a water reservoir. Except for Masada, where scrolls and ostraca were found within the building, the evidence to support the identification of the other sites as synagogues is inconclusive.

Synagogue excavations began in earnest in Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over one hundred synagogues have since been excavated. Their plans display great diversity, but all are variations on the Roman basilica, with a roofed hall, usually rectangular with inner columns, and entered from either its narrow or long side. Basilicas were used by the Romans for functions requiring a large interior space, an important consideration for synagogue builders who needed to design buildings with rooms large enough to house a congregation gathered together for prayer and study. Synagogue plans fall into three broad categories.

The Galilean-type, found primarily in Galilee, has three doors on the synagogue's south facade opening onto a hall divided by two longitudinal rows of columns and a north transverse colonnade forming a U-shape. The building's focus, then, becomes the entry wall facing south toward Jerusalem. A portable Torah shrine and *bimah* may have stood between the doors. Evidence for permanent shrines in Galilean-type synagogues remains inconclusive. The plan requires a worshiper to make a 180-degree turn upon entering the synagogue in order to face south toward Jerusalem to pray. Galilean-type synagogues were built from the third to the fifth centuries, for example, Capernaum, Chorazin, Meron, Kefar Baram.

The broadhouse is found in Galilee and Judaea and is so called because its focus is on a permanent Torah shrine and/or *bimah* located on the broad wall facing toward Jerusalem. These synagogues have been found with interior colonnades. The earliest known example, dated to the second century, was uncovered at Nabratein in Galilee. The building has two bemas flanking its Jerusalem wall, and there is possible evidence of a table in the center. Horvat Rimmon, Eshtemoa, and Khirbet Susiya located in Judaea share the same basic plan, with entrances on the narrow east wall and a Torah shrine and *bimah* on the Jerusalem wall. The plan requires the worshiper to make a 90-degree turn to face toward Jerusalem to pray. The synagogues are dated from the second to the sixth centuries. Examples are Khirbet Shema and Nabratein in Upper Galilee, Horvat Rimmon I, Eshtemoa, and Khirbet Susiya in Judaea.

Longitudinal or apsidal synagogues are scattered throughout the country. A longitudinal axis leads from a court and/or narthex through entrances into the synagogue. Its interior is divided by two rows of columns into a central nave and flanking aisles. The axis continues down the nave to the synagogue's focal point, often an apse projecting off a short wall facing Jerusalem and the Torah shrine and *bimah*, which may be fenced off by a chancel screen similar to ones found in churches. Worshipers, upon entering the synagogue complex, transversed a longitudinal route leading from the secular to the increasingly sacred that culminated at the Torah shrine, the focus for prayer. These buildings are dated from the fifth century onward. Examples are Beth Alpha, Beth Shean A, Gaza, Maoz Hayim and Maon.

All three categories demonstrate the importance of prayer being directed toward Jerusalem. The longitudinal or apsidal plan may be related to developments in church architecture and illustrates an increase in the sacrality of the synagogue and a concomitant emphasis on prayer that evolved in the years following the Temple's destruction.

Diversity is evident in the decoration of synagogues. Galilean synagogues were primarily decorated with sculptural motifs, whereas the broadhouse and apsidal synagogues often had mosaic pavements and possibly frescoed walls. Eagles, lions, peacocks, and zodiacs are the most popular secular motifs. Lions appear in mosaic pavements and as three-dimensional and relief sculpture. Eagles are usually in relief, and peacocks and the zodiac are only found in mosaic pavements. The menorah is by far the most popular Jewish motif. Several three-dimensional menorahs have been found, but the majority are either relief sculpture or depicted in mosaic pavements along with the shofar, lulab, and etrog. In mosaic pavements the menorah and ritual objects may be shown flanking a Torah shrine. Biblical scenes are sometimes depicted in mosaic pavements. Possibly the most famous is the binding of Isaac at Beth Alpha.

Regionalism also can contribute to the diversity found in Palestinian synagogues. Different regions were exposed to different cultural influences that impacted on the synagogue's appearance. Synagogues in remote rural areas were less likely to exhibit figurative art than those close to Greek cities or trade routes. Diversity can be documented in synagogues located within a single region, for example, the broadhouse synagogue at Khirbet Shema and its Galilean neighbor at Meron. As more excavations are conducted, more will be understood about Palestinian synagogue architecture.

Syncellus, George Byzantine writer in Greek who worked in Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth century C.E. (c. 784–806 C.E.). His main work was the *Chronographical Excerpts,* a world chronicle from Creation to Diocletian; it was evidently planned to extend to his own time, but he died first. The chonological benchmark is the birth of Christ in the year 5500 after creation. The work does not show any particular originality or critical acumen but is mainly a compilation. In fact, much may have been copied from just two earlier Christian chronographers. Nevertheless, whatever its immediate source(s), it is extremely valuable because of having at its base a variety of historical and other works from the Graeco-Roman period that have since been lost. This includes a number of early Jewish works that until recently were known only or primarily through him. Although more recent discoveries have superseded his evidence in some cases, he is still the main representative of the Greek text of some works; this includes the important Greek version of 1 Enoch, which he quotes extensively. He also uses Jubilees a good deal; however, he seldom quotes it directly but rather reworks it.

syncretism the union or mixture of different cultures and religions. It is a term used by modern scholars in religious discussions but too often indiscriminately. In reality, it is rare to find true syncretism, in which two religions are blended together into a single unit. More frequent is influence, which leads to the borrowing of various elements, which are then incorporated into the existing religion. Also, plurality may not be the end result of the process, as was once thought about ancient Israelite religion, but rather the beginning of it, as most scholars now believe.

synodos (Gr., assembly) The term could be used of any assembly or meeting, official or unofficial, though often it referred to official conferences called by the government or administration. It was often a synonym of *synedrion* (Sanhedrin).

Syria In light of the proximity of Syria to the Land of Israel and the large number of Jews who, by the rabbinic period, lived there, rabbinic law treats Israelite-owned land in Syria as exactly like property in the Land of Israel itself (M. Ḥallah 4:11). The case of leased property (M. Ḥallah 4:7) and other ambiguous situations, by contrast, show the law not to have been completely settled: some rabbis deemed Syria to be like the Land of Israel proper, while others took seriously the fact that it is not within the area assigned by God to the twelve tribes.

Syria, Jews in During the Roman period, the historian Josephus claims that Syria had the highest percentage of Jewish inhabitants in the empire. Antioch, the major city in Syria, had a large and well-established Jewish community that dated from the third century B.C.E. He also mentions several other major cities: Tyre, Sidon, and Apamea. Much of the other evidence for Jewish presence comes from the late Roman period. Inscriptions indicate that Jews lived in Byblos and Beirut on the coast and Palmyra in the eastern desert. Later Syriac sources suggest interaction between Jews and Christians in Edessa and eastern Syria as well as northern Mesopotamia. It is likely that Jews were broadly present in all parts of Syria.

Syria, Roman province of The name Syria was used by the Seleucid dynasty, the predecessors of the Romans, for the geographical area east of the Meditarranean Sea and west of the Euphrates River from the Taurus Mountains in Asia Minor all the way to Egypt. During the Roman period, however, the southern portion of that area, including Lebanon and Israel, was divided into various kingdoms and provinces and the northern portion became the province of Syria. Since this province was at the border of the Roman Empire, its governors were entrusted with military operations and defense against the Parthians and later the Sassanids in Mesopotamia. The emperor appointed as governor a legate of senatorial rank who was a former consul. The legate commanded a strong force of legions and auxiliary troops. The eastern boundary of Syria was not a clearly marked geographical line. It varied with the advances and withdrawal of the Roman army and the waxing and waning influence of political powers in the East. Syria included a large number of ethnic groups, but literary, inscriptional, and material remains testify to the pervasive presence of Greek culture and language. *See also* SYRIA PALAESTINA.

Syriac an Eastern dialect of Late Aramaic, the use of which was centered in Syria. Used by the Eastern Church, it is the best documented Aramaic dialect, with the Peshita translation of both the Old Testament and the New Testament, as well as extensive commentaries, sermons, and other religious literature. It is written in three different scripts—Estrangela, Nestorian, and Jacobite—all of which differ from the standard block script of most other Aramaic dialects.

Syria Palaestina more popularly, Palestine ("the land of the Philistines," a designation found in Herodotus); the official Roman name given to the province that included Israel after the Bar Kosiba War (132–35 C.E.). Previously it had been called Judaea, a term that continued to be used unofficially.

Syro-Palestinian Christian Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN

Syrophoenicia the coastal area northwest of Galilee, also known simply as Phoenicia, after its ancient inhabitants, the Phoenicians. In the Gospel of Mark (7:26), a woman who is a Greek, a Syrophoenician, approaches Jesus of Nazareth to ask him to cure her daughter.

taanit (Heb.) fasting; *see also* ASCETICISM

Taanit a tractate on fast days in the Division of Appointed Times (Moed) in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and both Talmuds. In manuscripts and first printings of all but the Babylonian Talmud, as well as in gaonic and medieval citations, the tractate is called Taaniyot (fast days). The Mishnah tractate's first two chapters concern fasts decreed because of a drought. Topics concern individuals exempt from such fasts, the procedures followed in instituting a fast, including the length of the fast and the range of prohibited activities, the prayers recited on fast days, and occasions on which fasting is prohibited. Chapter 3 turns to fasts decreed for reasons other than drought, for instance, by towns suffering from pestilence, blight, or other communal problems, such as animals attacking children. The tractate concludes in chapter 4 with miscellaneous material, covering a range of topics, not all of which are directly related to the overall topic of the tractate: the recitation of the priestly benediction on fast days, the rules for the members of the priestly watch and the communal delegation to the Temple, the law of the wood offering, the reasons for and rules of the fast days of the ninth of Ab and seventeenth of Tammuz, and a description of a special ceremony held on the fifteenth of Ab and the Day of Atonement, in which young women danced in the fields to attract husbands.

Within the talmudic treatment of the tractate, chapter 3 of the Babylonian Talmud is of particular interest. Devoted almost entirely to aggadah, it contains many stories of the early Ḥasidim, pious men believed to have had a special relationship with God. These materials develop M. Taanit's presentation of the story of Ḥoni the Circle Maker.

Taanit Esther fast of Esther, celebrated on the thirteenth of Adar, the day prior to Purim

Tabari, Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir al- (839–923 C.E.) historian and theologian, born in Tabaristan, northern Iran. His commentary on the Quran and his universal history of the world from creation to his own time became standard reference works. His history provides important information about the Jews under the Persian Empire.

tabernacle the tent of meeting and the place in which YHWH dwells when He is with his people. It contains the Ark of the Covenant and other artifacts and vessels of cultic significance. Ben Sira calls it the "house of the curtain" because it included an inner room or secluded area, the Holy of Holies, into which the high priest alone could enter on the Day of Atonement. The covenanters of Qumran thought of themselves as either the Temple or the tabernacle itself, and they defined their priests as the Holy of Holies itself (Community Rule).

Although the portable tent of meeting became immovable in Solomon's Temple, it is not certain whether the Second Temple also contained a tabernacle. Eupolemus's stress on the consideration kings had given to the tabernacle and Temple does not help to resolve the issue. By the first century C.E., there was some confusion about the layout

and structure of the tabernacle but not about its replication of a divine prototype. Although we do not know of any prior nonliterary representation, the tabernacle and its priests were represented in the art of the third-century-C.E. synagogue at Dura-Europos.

Tabernacles, Festival of (Heb.: Sukkot) week of rejoicing beginning on the fifteenth of Tishrei, the date of the first full moon after the autumnal equinox. The festival is "the season of our rejoicing," when Israelites eat their meals in a tabernacle, or fragile hut, covered with boughs but with the sky showing through, in remembrance of the wanderings in the wilderness. It is also a harvest festival; prayers for rain during the coming rainy season are recited.

Tabiomi b. Ashi *see* MAR B. ASHI

table fellowship Practiced by the Therapeutae, Essenes (*Vita. Cont.* 40–89; see 1QSa 2), and various other Jewish groups (see Josephus, *Ant.* 14.10.8, on Caesar's permission for Jews to engage in feasting according to their customs) and by early Christians (1 Cor. 11:17–34; Acts 2:46), table fellowship had both social and religious import. Religious banquets, Christian *agape* feasts, *Haḇurah* meals, and other group meals were, in general, formal occasions in which group members consumed food made sacred through strict tithing or symbolic representation, such as sacrificial associations. Participation, which served to reflect and maintain social boundaries, often required prior initiation (circumcision, immersion). Table fellowship and meal settings also served as literary conventions for situating philosophical discussions.

tablets, heavenly *see* BOOKS, HEAVENLY

Tacitus (c. 55–120 C.E.) Roman historian. He wrote two main works: the *Histories* originally covered the period from 69 C.E. to the reign of Domitian; the *Annals* was devoted to the reign of Tiberius through that of Nero. Significant portions of both works have been lost, though they were made use of by Dio Cassius. In addition to providing general information on the history of the first-century Roman Empire, Tacitus is one of the most important Roman writers on the Jews and provides a useful supplement and corrective to Josephus for this period. Although he is not particularly favorable toward Judaism, he can give an even-handed account of historical events involving it. He briefly presents several accounts of Jewish origins, though he focuses on the one that ascribes them to the expulsion of disease-disfigured individuals from Egypt. He also states that Antiochus IV's attack on Judaism was to rid it of its superstitions. But he is better on descriptions of Roman rule over Judea, and his account of the siege of Jerusalem during the 66–70 war provides important information. He also makes various references to the Jews and Judaism in passing.

Tafnith location corresponding to Tabnin; referred to at T. Sheḇiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Taḥanun penitential supplications said silently in the daily synagogue prayer service both morning (*shaḥarit*) and afternoon (*minḥah*), but omitted on special occasions. Taḥanun grew out of an ancient custom of a private daily confession, then private prayer of any variety, and became finally, in the Middle Ages, the Taḥanun. Influenced ultimately by Christian penitential piety, Taḥanun is a collection of prayers invoking God's mercy despite human sin. It is omitted in Reform and many other liberal congregations.

Taheb an eschatological figure among the Samaritans. Much of the information on him is taken from very late sources, some produced in the twentieth century. What is clear is that the Mosaic prophet concept of Deuteronomy forms the core. This much is early, whereas other features may be due to Jewish or Christian influence.

tahor, tamei (Heb., clean/unclean) the concept that a person or object can be in a status that precludes contact with the Temple or cult. Uncleanness, that is, ritual impurity, is transferred to other persons or objects in a variety of ways, including contact, supporting the weight of an unclean object, or being under the same roof with it. The state of uncleanness is unrelated to any tangible condition, such as being physically dirty, but it is corrected primarily through ablution, which renders the individual clean, that is, ritually pure.

The Pharisees, followed by the Mishnah's rabbis, extended the scriptural notion that purity matters primarily in the Temple. They held that all food should be eaten in cleanness, as though it were a sacrifice on the Temple altar. Numerous laws make clear the practical implications the rabbis understood these matters to have. Along with a general prohibition against imparting uncleanness to foods, the rabbis legislated against prayer and study of religious texts by individuals in a state of uncleanness. Since scripture holds that cleanness is comparable to holiness, the rabbinic perspective intended in a concrete manner to transform the entire people of Israel into a holy nation of priests. At the same time, the people never meticulously followed these laws. The rabbinic sources speak of a small group of individuals, designated "associates" (*ḥa-*

verim), who were distinguished by their consumption of common foods in a state of cleanness. Additionally, many rabbinic laws refused to segregate those who are unclean, or even to deny them the right to participate in the synagogue or academy.

takkanah (Heb., remedy) an official rabbinic legal decree often enacted to accommodate Jewish law with historical conditions after extraordinary social or economic upheavals. In one such instance, Hillel the Elder ordained the prosbul to circumvent the cancellation of debts in the sabbatical year. Simeon b. Shetaḥ enacted compulsory education. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai legislated *takkanot* (plural) concerning the calendar and Temple ritual. Through the Takkanot of Usha (2d c. C.E.), the Sanhedrin sought to repair the social fabric of family life after the disastrous Hadrianic persecutions. Thus, fathers were required to support minor children and not inflict harsh punishment on them. *Takkanot* became more commonplace in the Middle Ages, and they became a means to regulate business, taxes, charity, and the ritual affairs of a community. Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah of Mainz (d. 1028 C.E.) enacted a *takkanah* for Ashkenazic Jews of France and Germany that prohibited both polygamy by Jewish men and the divorce of a woman against her will.

talent a unit of weight in the ancient Near East. As generally with weights and measures, it was not standardized over the region. It is sometimes defined as 3,000 shekels. Archaeological findings indicate that in ancient Israel it was usually reckoned as approximately 70 pounds (30 kg).

talith (Heb.; pl., *talitoth*) the mantle of the Roman period, woven of one rectangular piece of linen and worn over the tunic. This garment was called the *pallium* in Latin and the *himation* in Greek. Many examples of mantles were found in the Judean desert caves, notably the Cave of Letters, though only one was found largely intact. They are also known from the paintings in the synagogue and church at Dura-Europos, from Egyptian coffin paintings of the Roman period, from statuary in Palmyra, and from the Ravenna mosaics in Italy. The intact example from the Judean Desert Caves was 2.7 meters long and 1.4 meters wide. This talith had four gamma-shaped patterns with notched ends woven near the four corners (see illustration). Each gamma pattern is about 4 centimeters wide and 10 centimeters long on each leg. These gamma patterns are dyed in contrasting colors, namely, blue or black. The selvedges of the mantle are also blue or black. The notched gammas mark the mantle for a woman. The excavator hypothesizes that the mantles doubled as blankets, since the width is roughly the height of an average Roman woman. This mantle was dyed yellow with saffron. Other mantles with gammas were dyed in many different colors, though reddish-brown and blue-black predominate. Men's mantles typically have a notched band about 1.5 to 3 centimeters wide and 10 to 30 centimeters long near each of the four corners. The band is also dyed blue or black. Mainly white or light yellow, the men's mantles with notched bands occur in fewer colors than do the women's mantles. It has been noticed that in a late Jewish document, the Sifrei to Deuteronomy, men are enjoined not to wear color, while women are enjoined not to wear white.

talitha cumi (Aram., girl, arise) the words spoken by Jesus to the dead daughter of the synagogue leader, Jairus, exhorting her to come back to life (Mark 5:41). It parallels the similar usage of the Aramaic expression, *ephphata*, at Mark 7:34.

tallit *see* PRAYER SHAWL

talmid hakham *see* DISCIPLE OF A SAGE

Talmid Ḥaver (Heb., student-colleague) in the Babylonian Talmud, a title of distinction for a disciple who has achieved the status of being a colleague to his teacher (B. Baḇa Batra 158b). In the Jerusalem Talmud, the same concept is expressed by the phrase Talmid veḤaver, "student and colleague" (Y. Shekalim 3:1, 47b).

Talmud a sustained, analytical reading and interpretation of a Mishnah tractate, in which a systematic and critical program aims at explaining the meaning and concrete application of the Mishnah-rule, on the one hand, and harmonizing one Mishnah-rule with others with which it intersects, on the other. "A Talmud" accomplishes the work of Mishnah-commentary and explanation by forming a moving ("dialectical") argument, from point to point, in which all possibilities are systematically taken up and examined. What is talmudic about the two Talmuds is that mode of thought, which is a critical, systematic application of applied reason and practical logic, moving from a point starting with a proposition and (ordinarily) ending with a firm and articulated conclusion. The two talmuds, the Talmud of the Land of Israel (the Yerushalmi, or the Jerusalem Talmud, or the Palestinian Talmud), completed c. 400 C.E., and the Talmud of Babylonia (the Baḇli), completed c. 600 C.E., share many formal traits, though their character and most of their contents differ radically. As commentaries to the Mishnah, they are alike, but in their canonical context, they also are different from all other documents, hence forming a genus made up of two

species. But that which speciates vastly overrides that which units the species into a genus—the form is common; the substance, unique to the respective species. *See also* BAḆLI; YERUSHALMI.

Talmud of Babylonia *see* BAḆLI

Talmud of the Land of Israel *see* YERUSHALMI

Talmud Torah study of Torah; education; *see also* TORAH STUDY

Tamar **1.** the widow of Er and Onan who, disguised as a prostitute, became pregnant by her father-in-law Judah (Gen. 38; Ruth 4:12, 18–22; 1 Chron. 2:4). Philo (*Virt.* 220–222; *Nob.* 6), Pseudo-Jonathan, and T. B. Sotah 10 view Tamar as a Jewish proselyte. Jubilees 41 and Testament of Judah 10:1 call her a "daughter of Aram" and so preserve the ethnic ambiguity of Genesis 38. Because Judah orders her burnt for adultery (Gen. 38:24; cf. Lev. 21:9), Genesis Rabbah 85:11 states she is the daughter of the high priest Shem. Matthew's genealogy (1:3) associates her with Ruth, Rahab, and "the wife of Uriah" (Bathsheba). Jubilees and the Testament of Judah decry Tamar's activities but blame Judah's Canaanite wife for refusing to allow her son Shelah to fulfill his levirate duties. Genesis Rabbah 85 and T. B. Horayot 10b (R. Ulla) compare her adultery positively to that of Zimri. T. B. Sotah 10a (cf. T. P. Sotah 5a, 16d) vindicates Judah by attributing sinful activity to Tamar.

2. the daughter of David and Maacah whose rape by her half-brother Amnon precipitates her brother Absalom's revolt (2 Sam. 1–22)

3. Absalom's beautiful daughter (2 Sam. 14:27).

tamei unclean; especially, unsuitable to enter the holy part of the Temple; see also TAHOR, TAMEI.

tamid (Heb.) the daily whole offering

Tamid Mishnah tractate narrating how the daily whole offering is presented. The narrative describes how priests prepare the altar (chaps. 1–2); select the lamb (chap. 3); clear the ashes from the altar (chap. 3); slaughter the lamb (chap. 4); bless the congregation and place the limbs on the altar (chap. 5); and clear the ashes (chaps. 5–6).

Tammuz tenth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to June/July

Tammuz, Seventeenth of *see* SHEḆA ASAR BETAMMUZ

Tanakh (also Bible or Torah) terms used by Jews to designate the same body of books that Christians call the Old Testament. It is regarded by both groups as authoritative scripture. The word Tanakh is an acronym made up of the first letters of the Hebrew names for its three basic divisions: Torah (divine teaching and law), Neḇiim (prophets), and Ketuḇim (writings). The Tanakh is divided into twenty-four books. In the Christian Old Testament the same material is divided into thirty-nine books and arranged somewhat differently. The Tanakh does not include the Apocrypha, Jewish works contained in the Bibles of some Christian groups (e.g., Roman Catholics). In the attempt to avoid calling this collection by a term with confessional (Jewish or Christian) overtones, scholars often refer to the Tanakh as the Hebrew Bible or the Hebrew scriptures.

Tanḥuma *see* MIDRASH TANḤUMA

Tanḥuma b. Abba Palestinian amora of the second half of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Ḥuna. A prolific midrashic scholar, he is held to have produced the Tanḥuma Midrash and is best known for his place in the proem form, which frequently is introduced: "R. Tanḥuma opened his discourse with this verse. . . ." Tanḥuma is reported to have outreasoned the emperor and, as a result, to have been thrown into an arena with wild beasts (B. Sanhedrin 39a).

Tanḥum b. Hanilai Palestinian amora of the second half of the third century C.E.; referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud as Ilai or Ben Hanila; a student of Joshua b. Levi. He is known primarily for his scriptural exegesis, which is marked by his method of connecting the end of one verse to the beginning of the next (see, e.g., Lev. Rabbah 3:4).

Tanḥum b. Ḥiyya Palestinian amora of the late third and early fourth centuries C.E.; referred to in Babylonian compilations as Tanḥum of Kefar Akko. In Galilee he was active in the intercalation of the calendar (Y. Sanhedrin 1:2, 18c). He is primarily known for scriptural interpretation.

Tanḥumei Aḇelim (Heb., the comforting of mourners) a specific liturgical practice during Tannaitic times by which mourners were offered comfort. It is no longer extant.

Tanḥum of Kefar Akko *see* TANḤUM B. ḤIYYA

Tannaite, Tannaitic (from Heb.: *tanna,* professional repeater) assigning the status of Tannaite authority to a document or to a saying. Thus "Tannaitic literature" means literature produced by authorities of Tannaite status, including the Mishnah, Tosefta, and *baraitot,* or traditions preserved outside of finished compilations and assigned to Tannaite standing and authority.

Tarfon Tannaitic authority active immediately following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E.; a priest; a leading authority in the academy at Yabneh. He is frequently cited in dispute with Akiḇa. He was the teacher of Judah b. Ilai.

targeman *see* METURGEMAN

targum Hebrew and Aramaic word with the general meaning of translation. In our period, the

word is used primarily to designate the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic. We currently possess targum texts to all but three books of the Hebrew Bible, namely, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel. Targums contain translations that vary from being extremely literal (as in the case of Targum Onkelos) to being not merely paraphrastic but even inclusive of large amounts of nontranslation material (for example, the Targum to the Song of Songs). Most of the targums we now possess were written by Jews in the rabbinic period of Judaism, although at least one targum has been discovered at Qumran (first century C.E.) and others stem from the early Middle Ages. They were probably used in both synagogue worship and education when Aramaic was more widely used than Hebrew among Jews.

targum, forbidden *see* FORBIDDEN TARGUM

targum festival collections assemblages of Torah readings for specific festivals, such as Shabuot, the seventh day of Passover, and Purim. These readings usually consist of additions from the Palestinian Targum tradition and occasionally include *haftarah* readings as well. Sometimes an alphabetic acrostic poem introduces the collection. Such collections appear as brief independent collections, in Mahorim and in Fragmentary Targums—most notably the Paris Targum.

targumic poems These poems were usually constructed through an alphabetic acrostic (the first line begins with *aleph,* the next with *bet,* and so on) and were usually located in a topically relevant spot in a targum manuscript. The poem "Etzel Moshe," for instance, concerns Moses and the Red Sea and appears after Exodus 14:29 in the Fragmentary Targum in Paris. Other poems occur as introductions in targum festival collections. The earliest of such poems may have been composed in fourth- or fifth-century Palestine.

Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets *see* PALESTINIAN TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

targumist the writer of a targum; occasionally used to designate a scholar who studies targums; *see also* TARGUM

Targum Jonathan *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

targums and rabbinic literature The targums have an ambiguous relationship with rabbinic literature. On the one hand, they are closely linked. The Babylonian Talmud treats Targum Onkelos to the Pentateuch and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets as official targums, often quoting from them and using them as sources for halakhah. The targums and the rabbinic texts often share the same exegetical concerns, with similar interpretations of passages appearing both in targums and in rabbinic midrashim or talmudic literature. Sometimes the interpretations agree; at other times they take different sides of the same issue. There are also important differences between the targums and rabbinic literature. Only the targums are continuous, following the narrative lines of scripture without break (although some early medieval targums to the Writings interrupt the narrative with multiple translations of the same passages). Most rabbinic texts, by contrast, consist of series of short, discrete units. Furthermore, the targums generally attempt to insert their interpretations into the translations, interweaving the two so that the interpretation appears as part of the translation. Most rabbinic midrashim and legal texts are written in such a way that the interpretation is set apart from the biblical passage being interpreted.

targums and the New Testament The rabbinic targums share a surprising number of features with the New Testament's books. This is most evident for the Gospels, but also holds true for its letters. Both Gospels and targums use wording that avoids speaking of God anthropomorphically or anthropopathically. They share many key theological concepts: Father in heaven, this world/the world to come, Son of Man, resurrection, the great Day of Judgment, Gehenna, and paradise. They also contain similar—and occasionally identical—interpretations of passages from the Hebrew Bible. These common features demonstrate that these two sets of texts can be used to interpret each other. The problem with comparing these texts lies in their dating. Most of the New Testament books have been dated to the first century C.E.; the earliest of the rabbinic targums (Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan, and some of the Palestinian Targums), stem from the second century or later. Of course, many targums contain earlier material, but identifying that material has proved to be difficult. With regard to language, the earliest targums from Palestine may prove useful in reconstructing the Aramaic dialect spoken by Jesus.

targums and the text of the Hebrew Bible The translations of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic, known as targums, have not proved useful witnesses to the Hebrew text. Two reasons explain this failure. First, many of the targums derive from the Masoretic text and thus provide no independent witness to it. Indeed, many of the targums—Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and the Targums to the Writings, for example—were clearly composed long after the Hebrew text was fixed. Second, many of the targums are highly interpretive—adding new material,

shaping the translation to reflect their writers' beliefs—even when they are at their most literal. Thus, the targums generally provide little help in establishing the original biblical text.

targums at Qumran The only unquestionable targum found at Qumran is that of Job (11QtgJob). Its fragments cover portions of the book extending from Job 17:14 to 42:11. Aramaic fragments of Leviticus 16:12–15 and 18–21 have also been found; it is unclear whether these evidence a targum, however, because they are short enough to have simply been a biblical quote within a text of another type. The Genesis Apocryphon, which relates stories about Noah and Abraham, should also be mentioned. Although written in Aramaic, the apocryphon belongs, strictly speaking, to the category of rewritten Bible. It retells several stories about Abraham and Sarah, adding a significant amount of aggadic material and making little attempt to present a literal translation of the Hebrew. Aramaic fragments of Tobit were also found in the Qumran caves. It is thought that these fragments stem from the original Aramaic text of Tobit and thus are not a targum.

Targum Sheni the second (Heb.: *sheni*) targum to Esther; *see also* ESTHER, TARGUMS TO

Targums to the Five Megillot Each of the Five Megillot (scrolls)—Kohelet, Ruth, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Esther—have been translated into Aramaic. These are individual targums composed under widely differing circumstances and not a single targum, as for the Pentateuch and the Prophets. However, they all seem to be written in a mix of Eastern and Western Aramaic—probably indicating their composition in the early Middle Ages.

Targums to the Pentateuch *see* ONKELOS, TARGUM; PALESTINIAN TARGUMS TO THE PENTATEUCH

Targums to the Writings (Hagiographa) There is no single targum covering the Writings, as there are for the Pentateuch and the Prophets. Although most of the hagiographic books have targums (only Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel do not), they use different styles of translation—suggesting they were composed by different people. Despite these differences, many of these targums share several characteristics: most use material from the Babylonian Talmud, the Palestinian Targums, and other Palestinian rabbinic documents, and their language is usually a mixture of eastern and western elements of Aramaic. All this evidence suggests that the Targums to the Writings were composed in the early Middle Ages by eastern Mediterranean Jewry after Targum Onkelos became the dominant Pentateuchal targum.

Targum to the Prophets a translation of the books of the Former and the Latter Prophets into Aramaic. This targum has traditionally been called Targum Jonathan (Yonatan) because the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3a) attributes it to Jonathan b. Uziel. However, this attribution is fanciful, and the exact circumstances of the targum's origins are unknown. The known features of the Targum to the Prophets are similar to those of Targum Onkelos: the Targum to the Prophets attained its current form between the third and fifth centuries in a non-Palestinian (eastern) form of Aramaic, although it is probably based on an earlier targum. The Prophets targum is also generally literal, although it contains more nonliteral material than Targum Onkelos. Among Babylonian Jewry, Targum Jonathan became the authoritative translation of the prophetic books—valid even for questions of halakah. In the early Middle Ages, this targum became dominant among western Jews as well, replacing a Palestinian Targum to the Prophets.

targum use in synagogue and school The use of the targums in synagogues and schools during the rabbinic period remains unclear. Rabbinic literature reveals that translation—particularly into Aramaic—plays a role in both worship and education. But it is not obvious whether translation was performed extemporaneously or through the memorization and repetition of written translations. So although we can speculate that the targum texts may have been used in these institutions, we do not know if any written targums, let alone the ones we now possess, were in fact used there. Despite this caveat, the practice of translation reveals the social context against which the relationship between scripture and Aramaic should be seen: in the synagogue, Hebrew scripture was read out loud to the worshipers and then translated into Aramaic—orally, not read from a written targum. Other rabbinic texts (Sifrei Deuteronomy 161) indicate that while the first order of study in a *beit sefer* (elementary school) constituted study of the Torah in Hebrew, the second focused on the Torah's translation into Aramaic. Targums could have been used in these religious situations, but we do not know if they were. *See also* SCRIPTURE READING IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

Taricheae *see* MAGDALA

Tarngola a location north of Caesarea Philippi, referred to at Tosefta Shebit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Tartarus the place in which, according to Greek mythology, the Titans were imprisoned. The Titans were an older generation of gods defeated by Zeus

and his fellow Olympians. Since the prison was located in the underworld, or Hades, the two came to be associated. In Judaism, Tartarus was the prison of the fallen angels. According to the tradition in 1 Enoch, the angels who rebelled against God were seized at his command, bound, and imprisoned in Tartarus until the final judgment. A similar tradition seems presupposed by Jude 6. As with Hades, the word came to designate a place of punishment.

tashlikh (Heb., you shall cast) a ceremony of posttalmudic origin in which, on the first day of Rosh Hashanah, Jews throw bread crumbs or empty their pockets into a sea, lake, or other body of running water, symbolically casting away their sins. The ceremony's name derives from Micah 7:19: "You shall cast all of our sins into the depths of the sea." The earliest reference to *tashlikh* occurs in the early fifteenth century C.E.

tax collectors a variety of officials, native and foreign, entrusted with collecting local and imperial taxes in Israel. For many periods of Israel's history, we lack specific and detailed knowledge of national and imperial taxes and methods of assessment and collection. The high priest was often in charge of collecting tithes for the Temple and taxes for paying tribute to the imperial authorities. In the Persian period, the Persian governor probably collected imperial tribute, and the Levites collected tithes for their support (Neh. 10:32–39). In the Hellenistic period, the high priests generally collected tribute for the Ptolemies and Seleucids. When increased revenue was needed, the taxing agent could be changed. In the third century B.C.E., the Tobiads won the right to collect Ptolemaic taxes, and in the second century B.C.E., Antiochus Epiphanes appointed new high priests, who promised increased revenues.

Under the Romans, collection of the land and head (poll) taxes was generally not farmed out to the highest bidders (publicans) but was carried out by direct employees of the Roman governor (e.g., the prefects of Judea) or the Jewish king (e.g., Herod the Great [r. 37–4 B.C.E] and his son Herod Antipas in Galilee [r. 4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.]). Taxes on goods in transit were collected by toll collectors (Gr.: *telonai*), who appear in the New Testament in major commercial centers, such as Capernaum and Jericho (Mark 2:14; Luke 19:2). During the Roman period, tithes for the priests, Levites, and Temple were probably collected by representatives of the Jerusalem priesthood or possibly by the Jewish ruler when there was one. For example, early in the Revolt against Rome, the two priests who accompanied Josephus to Galilee collected a large sum of money from tithes to bring back to Jerusalem (*Vita* 63). In the diaspora, the half-shekel tax was collected by local community leaders for the support of the Temple. Professional tax collectors were generally despised. In the New Testament, they were classed with sinners (Matt. 9:10–11), and in the Mishnah, they were classed with murderers and robbers (M. Nedarim 3:4). *See also* TAXES.

taxes a variety of levies imposed by local and imperial rulers. Taxation systems varied widely by locale and period. The most important tax was collected from owners of agricultural land, who in turn collected a percentage of the crop from tenants. The other most common tax was the poll, or head, tax, either a flat rate for each person in a social class or a percentage of one's wealth. Tolls were collected on goods in transit and in marketplaces by local publicans, who paid a flat rate for the right to collect these taxes. Other special taxes could be levied as needed. An especially burdensome exaction was the maintenance of an army in the vicinity.

Land and poll taxes were collected by the local or imperial authorities or publicans. In the Persian Empire, each of the twenty satrapies was responsible for paying a fixed amount of tax in precious metal yearly. The amounts were generally realistic and based on a thorough system of assessment. Under the Ptolemies in the third century B.C.E., taxes were first paid in a lump sum by the high priest, who collected them from the people. Later, the right to collect them was sold to publicans, notably the Tobiads. Papyri indicate that thorough records were kept on land and people. Under the Seleucids in the second century B.C.E, the high priests collected and paid the tribute. Jason and Menelaus received appointment as high priests because they promised Antiochus Epiphanes greater revenues. Simon the Hasmonean finally freed himself from paying tribute to the weakened Seleucids in 142 B.C.D, a sign that Judea was independent (1 Macc. 13). During the Roman period, independent cities and client kings, such as Herod the Great (r. 1st c. B.C.E.) and Herod Antipas in Galilee (r. 1st c. C.E.), collected taxes as they wished and paid a fixed tribute to Rome. For example, Herod the Great instituted a market tax in Jerusalem and was notable for heavy taxation to finance his military adventures, extensive building projects, and generous donations to his imperial patrons. In the first century C.E., the prefect of Judea and Samaria collected the land and poll

taxes directly for Rome. All Jews, including those in the diaspora, paid a half-shekel tax to the Temple. After the destruction of the Temple, this tax became the fiscus Judaicus, a two-drachma tax paid for the Temple of Jupiter in Rome through community leaders.

The tithes and offering mandated by the Bible for the support of the Temple underwent development during this period as well and should be understood as a kind of tax as well as a form of offering to God. For example, during the Persian period, the people were obligated to support the Temple and its priests and Levites by contributing the firstfruits of the earth and trees, the firstborn of animals and humans (to be redeemed), a dough offering, wine, and oil (Neh. 10:35–39).

Reflecting the ancient system of support for the Levites as local cultic functionaries, the Book of Nehemiah says that the Levites collected their tithes locally as prescribed in the Pentateuch. But the ascendency of the priests and centralized Temple can be seen in the requirement that a priest be present and that both people and Levites offer a tithe to the priests in the Temple. In addition, sacrificial offerings of animals and produce continued to support the Temple and priests. In the Graeco-Roman period, Levites were securely subordinated to the priests as a subordinate order of functionaries entrusted with Temple music, order, and the like. These developments were systematized in the mishnaic system of tithing and offerings, which included an offering from all agricultural produce for the priests, called heave-offering (*terumah,* usually interpreted as one-fiftieth), a first tithe for the Levites, a tithe of that tithe given to the priests, a second tithe to be eaten in Jerusalem or redeemed with money taken to Jerusalem, a tithe for the local poor instead of the second tithe every third and sixth year of the Sabbatical cycle, and a dough offering (one twenty-fourth) for the priests. In addition, offerings of firstfruits and sacrifices continued as sources of support for the Temple.

tax-farmers *see* PUBLICANS

Taxo a mysterious figure from the tribe of Levi in the Testament of Moses 9. Taxo exhorts his seven sons to join him in dying innocently for the Torah, in order to trigger God's vengeance against Israel's gentile oppressors. The meaning of the name cannot be settled for certain. It has been seen as an allusion, by gematria, to the martyred scribe Eleazar in 2 Maccabees 6:18–31 and as a translation (Gr.: *taxōn,* orderer) of the Hebrew *meḥokek,* the staff, a leader and interpreter of the Torah mentioned in the Damascus Document 6:3–9. The story of Taxo and his sons bears similarities to the story of Mattathias and his sons and the account of the martyrs in 1 Maccabees 2, as well as the martyr legends about Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons in 2 Maccabees 6–7. In common, also in the case of the *meḥokek,* is the notion of a religious leader acting through word and deed to remove God's wrath from apostate Israel.

Teacher of Righteousness (Heb.: *moreh ha Tzadik*) revered leader of the group of Jewish sectaries who lived at the settlement at Khirbet Qumran and stored their library in the caves nearby. There are fifteen references to the Teacher of Righteousness in the published Qumran scrolls; some are so fragmentary that they yield only his title (1 QpeshHab 1:13; 4QpPs^{b} frgs. 1 and 2), but the other references yield a certain amount of information about this shadowy figure.

Although attempts have been made to argue that Teacher of Righteousness was a title held by a succession of individuals, the consensus is that it was the title given to a specific individual whose career was closely bound up with the founding of the settlement at Qumran. The Damascus Document, followed by the Habakkuk Commentary and the Commentary on Psalm 37, yields the most information about the Teacher. When the allusions in the various documents are pieced together, the Teacher's career can be reconstructed as follows: sometime in the early second century B.C.E. he becomes the leader of a distinct group of Jews (probably the Essenes) already in existence; by them he is called the Unique Teacher, and fidelity to his inspired teaching is considered necessary for salvation. He was, however, opposed by the Man of Lies, who founded a breakaway congregation. In this context, certain of the Hodayot (1QH 1, 2, 7–11) that are thought to have come from the Teacher's pen may be relevant: these hymns portray a leader who possesses special knowledge given by God and who is persecuted by enemies who espouse rival teachings. Perhaps as a result of this conflict with the Man of Lies, the Teacher and his followers went into exile in the "land of Damascus," probably to be identified with the settlement at Qumran. Outside the sect, the Teacher had another opponent, the Wicked Priest (usually identified with Jonathan the Maccabee), who followed him to his exile and attempted to disrupt the observance of the Day of Atonement by the sect (1QpeshHab). All of the Teacher's conflicts are controversies about halakhic matters, matters of calendar, purity, and ritual observance. The occupation of the office of high priest by the Has-

moneans, originally thought to be the reason for the Teacher's self-exile from Jerusalem, does not now seem to be a cause of conflict. The death of the Teacher is mentioned in CD 20.

It it possible to identify the Teacher? The Commentary on Psalm 37 says that the Teacher is a priest, leading some scholars to claim that he was the high priest in Jerusalem during the seven years between the death of Alcimus and the appointment of Jonathan as high priest in 152 B.C.E. The evidence for this, however, is tenuous at best. It remains safest to say that, while the Teacher of Righteousness loomed large in the history and thought of the Qumran sect, he escaped the notice of sources outside the Qumran corpus (much like Jesus of Nazareth at a later time). His identity thus remains uncertain.

teaching Instruction, which was probably given in schools, encompassed detailed religious training, business advice, etiquette, and scribal arts. The remains of such teaching are located particularly in wisdom literature such as Proverbs, the Letter of Aristeas, the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, and Ahikar. Ben Sira 51:23 mentions a "house of study" (Heb.: *beit midrash*) where the instructions Ben Sira presents were taught. Training in artistry (pottery, metallurgy) occurred through guilds; in the passages 24:30–34, 33:16–18, and 34:9–12 of the book bearing his name, Ben Sira delineates his qualifications for teaching. Teaching was also carried out in the home by relatives (Tob. 1:8). Priests, prophets, and probably scribes taught theology, morality, history, and other subjects. (2 Chron. 17:7–9; Matt. 13:51). The founding figure of the Qumran community, the Teacher of Righteousness (*moreh haTzadik*), was probably a priest displaced by Hasmonean politics. His works include scriptural interpretation (1QpHab) and, likely, liturgical compositions (1QH). In contradistinction to Qumran, Hellenistic gymnasia were constructed both locally and in the diaspora to instruct Jews in Greek rhetoric, philosophy, and athletics (Wis. 7:17–22).

The Gospels render *rabbi* (Heb., my lord; a title of respect) as *didaskalos* (teacher; e.g., Matt. 8:19). Jesus, who is called "teacher" (Mark 5:35, 9:17; etc.), instructed through parables, *chreia,* and exemplary action. His followers institutionalized the office of teacher (1 Cor. 12:28–29; Eph. 4:11; 1 Tim. 4; cf. Matt. 28:20) but their actual instruction is not delineated in detail. The Epistle of James 3:1-2 warns of the difficulties of the profession.

From the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. and on, the preeminent teacher in Judaism has been the rabbi or rav. The former term referred to sages ordained through the laying on of hands, which was performed only in the land of Israel; the latter word was employed in Babylonia. As sole spokesmen for the oral Torah, rabbis increasingly became the central religious and legal functionaries of the Jewish community. In addition to their preeminent religious activity, study, and teaching of Torah, in the Talmudic period, rabbis served as judges, fixed the calendar, administered the community's system of social welfare, and promoted religious observance. These rabbis functioned much like other contemporary holy men and magicians, understood to have a particularly close relationship to God and, therefore, to possess special powers, including the ability to curse or to bless.

Mesharshaya, a Babylonian amora, is known for this statement about rabbinic learning (B. Keritot 6a): "When you want to go to learn before your master, first of all review your studies in the Mishnah, and then go to your teacher. And when you are in session before your teacher, watch the mouth of your teacher. . . . When you study any teaching, do it by the side of water. Just as water goes on and on, so may your learning go on and on." *See also* SCHOOL.

tebah *see* ARK

tebel rabbinic term for foods at the stage of growth or processing at which levitical and priestly tithes may be separated but from which those agricultural gifts have not yet been removed. Before use in a regular meal, *tebel* must be fully tithed. Until then, it may be consumed only as a snack, through which use the owner does not treat the untithed food as though it were entirely his own, available for any use he desires.

Tebet fourth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to December/January

Tebet, Tenth of *see* ASARAH BETEBET

tebul yom (Heb.) one who has immersed and is waiting for the sun to set to complete the process of purification

Tebul Yom Mishnah tractate on the uncleanness assigned to one who has immersed and is waiting for sunset to complete the purification process. The tractate discusses connection between a thing and a person, for example, when liquids or solid food touch what he has touched (chap. 3), and the uncleanness affecting the Tebul Yom (chaps. 3–4).

tedakah *see* PHILANTHROPY

tefah *see* HANDBREADTH

Tefasno Synagogue (also Tafas, Tipasa) a probable synagogue site in southern Syria about 51 kilometers east of Tiberias. A three-line Greek in-

scription carved on a lintel was found there in the late nineteenth century. It reads as follows: "Jacob and Samuel and their father Clematios have erected this synagogue." It is likely that this represents remains of a third- or fourth-century-C.E. Jewish community in ancient Batanaea, a territory between Gaulanitis (the Golan Heights) to the west and Trachonitis to the east. It is also possible that this community belonged to the city territory of Dium. It has not been excavated.

tefillah *see* AMIDAH; PRAYER

tefillin (Heb., phylacteries) small leather cases containing passages from Exodus 13:1, 11, and Deuteronomy 6:4–9, 11:13–21, written on parchment. They are worn on the left arm and forehead by adult males in the morning service.

Tefillin the title of one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. A collection of Tannaitic sources in one chapter, it contains rules for writing the parchments placed in phylacteries and for wearing them in accord with the biblical requirement.

tefillin, archaeology of the archaeological analysis of the remains of *tefillin* or phylactery cases from caves at Qumran and from the Wadi Murraba at near En Gedi. Among the minor finds in Qumran Cave 1 (1Q) were two intact phylactery cases of leather and parts of five others. One type had four small compartments for holding four tiny scrolls. The entire case was two centimeters long. Each compartment measured about 4 by 6 millimeters. The excavators identified these with four compartments as the type worn on the head. The four compartments would contain Exodus 13:9 and 13:16 and Deuteronomy 6:8 and 11:18. This type is formed of two pieces of leather stitched together. One piece of leather was pressed out wet to form the compartments. A second type had one compartment only and was therefore of the type worn on the arm. This single compartment case is formed of a single piece of leather folded in half, one-half deeply pressed to form a compartment to contain a minute scroll containing all four biblical verses. A thin leather thong for attachment is inserted at the middle. The halves fold over and are stitched together. The compartment measures 9 by 7 millimeters. The excavators of cave 1 published fifty-nine fragments of *tefillin* or phylactery texts. One of these texts, 1Q0, was rolled tightly but is too big to fit in any of the compartments in the leather pieces found.

Tehillim (Heb.) psalms, especially in the phrase Sefer Tehillim (the biblical Book of Psalms); *see also* PSALMS

tehiyat haMetim *see* RESURRECTION

tekiah (Heb.) the sounding of the shofar on the New Year

tekufah (Heb.) season

tekufat Nisan (Heb.) the vernal equinox

tekufat Tammuz (Heb.) the summer solstice

tekufat Tebet (Heb.) the winter solstice

tekufat Tishrei (Heb.) the autumnal equinox

Tell Anafa town site in eastern Upper Galilee on the west slopes of the Golan Heights. This was a town of perhaps 44 acres occupied in the Canaanite periods and also in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. A large building dating to the end of the second century B.C.E. was excavated upon which a later, residential building had been erected. A second large building, also of the Hellenistic period, had walls preserved to a height of three meters. This building was about 38 by 38 meters in extent and included one of the earliest heated baths in all of ancient Palestine. Tremendous amounts of glass were found at Tell Anafa in a period when glass was not common. This suggests that either Tell Anafa itself was a glass-manufacturing town or that glass was manufactured nearby. Since so many Jewish families were associated with glass making it may follow that this was a Jewish glass-manufacturing and exporting center. Many floors were exceptional stone and glass mosaics. There were also enormous amounts of Hellenistic red-slipped or red-glazed pottery and plaster painted in vivid colors with gilt attached, a sign of great wealth. The primary occupation of Tell Anafa is dated between 150 and 84 B.C.E. The settlement was completely abandoned by 75 B.C.E.

Tell el-Hesi site with one of the largest artificial mounds in Israel located about 25 kilometers northeast of Gaza on the Wadi Hesi. The large mound is about 11 acres in area while the associated lower town is about 23 acres. Tell el-Hesi has been identified with biblical Eglon, a city prominent in the narrative of Joshua's conquests in the south of Canaan (Josh. 10). The tell has a long history of occupation, but in our era, beginning in the Persian period, the tell was apparently overwhelmingly reserved for huge grain storage pits, as were many other biblical cities in the region. That is, it had lost the majority of its population of artisans, farmers, and traders and was now a storage city for the region of the coastal plain where it was located. Not many families were needed to supervise and work the fields and inventory grain storage. The lack of settled population evidently contributed to its decline and disappearance in the Hellenistic period.

Tell Jemmeh (also Tel Gama) ancient mount nearly 10 kilometers south of Gaza on the south bank of the Wadi Gaza. The city has been identified with the ancient Egyptian city of Yerza. Josephus knew the city as Iorda or Orda (*War* 3.3.5, p. 51) and counted it as the extremity of Judea. Just south of the mound are Roman and Byzantine period remains, evidently of the city of Orda. The cemetery was the first to be discovered, since it had been pillaged by locals for many years. Recently a Byzantine church has been uncovered, which is in accord with the Madaba mosaic map in Jordan that locates the city of Orda south of Gaza and shows it as a fortress with six towers. Byzantine Orda evidently belonged to the territory of Gerar (Salus Gerariticus) and was a bishop's see.

Tell Megadim ancient Persian-period village on the Mediterranean coast about 2 kilometers north of modern Athlit. This small fifth-century-B.C.E. village was laid out in a square plan, a method of city planning called Hippodamian in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The village was rectangular in plan, about 133 by 170 meters in extent. The village seems to have been based on agriculture, with ample facilities for storing grain and other commodities in storage jars. The village was fortified with a casemate wall, or a defense wall constructed of two parallel walls with cross walls forming rooms or casemates.

The village was suddenly destroyed near the end of the fourth century B.C.E., perhaps in the invasions of the kings of the twenty-ninth Egyptian dynasties or in some other major military attack. The village was not occupied again until the Roman period, when a staging post (*mutatio*) was built for travelers. The building featured large, paved courts as one would expect for a horse-changing station. This was probably the station at the eighth Roman mile south of Shikmona. In a text of the fourth century C.E. this station is identified as Certho, which suggests that its ancient Phoenician name was Karta (city, or town).

Tell Mevorah small mound in the Sharon Plain and on the south bank of the Wadi Taninim. During the Persian period this mound was an agricultural estate. The remains on the tell are of a single building, perhaps a villa. Meager remains of the Hellenistic period show that occupation continued, but it was too disturbed to reveal the nature of the occupation. A third-century-C.E. mausoleum with several marble sarcophagi was discovered at Tell Mevorah, indicating that if there were no local population living there in the Roman period, others in the region did not hesitate to use the tell as a cemetery. Two of the sarcophagi are very elegant, with carved representations of the war between the Greeks and the Amazons.

Tell Mikhal (or Tel Michal) ancient mound about 5 kilometers north of Tel Aviv and 6.5 kilometers north of the Yarkon River. The entire occupational area is scattered over five hills. The site is not identified as a biblical city, although it was occupied during the biblical periods. During the Persian period, Tell Mikhal was a prosperous way station and command post on the coastal road from Egypt to Phoenicia. Tell Mikhal probably played an important role in grain and wine storage and trade of this period, namely, from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C.E. Pottery kilns found at the site attest to the production of storage jars. A small temple, probably dedicated to the Phoenician god Baal Shamim, or Lord of Heaven, was found on a hill to the northeast of the site. In the Hellenistic period, the town underwent a major change and was built as a fortress about 25 by 25 meters, probably for Seleucid Greek rulers, the inheritors of the Persian hegemony. A second, Hasmonean fortress was built on top of the remains of the Seleucid fortress and probably served the military campaigns of King Alexander Jannaeus of Israel (103–76 B.C.E.). This fort was eventually abandoned and succeeded by a Roman fort of the first century C.E. It served the Roman military before and during the two revolts against Rome (66–73 C.E. and 135 C.E.) when the fort lay north of Jewish Jaffa, an independent port at the time.

Tell Sera (or Tel Shera) city mound in the southern Shephelah below the hills of Judea, about 23 kilometers inland from Gaza. Some identify the tell with the biblical city of Gerar. Tell Sera was clearly occupied during the resettlement of Judah under Persian rule, but not until the fourth century C.E. The main archaeological find from this period are large numbers of silos lined with mud bricks and used for storing grain. Some of the silos are 5 meters in diameter and contained such finds as Aramaic ostraca and Athenian red-figured pottery. The town declined during the Hellenistic period when it came under the control of Antiochus III (the Great), with all of Judea, after 219 B.C.E. Only a few families appear to have lived there in the Hellenistic period. In the Roman period the tell and its surrounding fields were part of a Roman farmstead within the territory of Idumea. The farmstead included a massive stone tower on the north side of the mound and a villa decorated in typical Roman painted plas-

ter. Since the pottery wares of this villa were imported from the kingdom of Nabatea southwest of the Dead Sea, it is likely that these were Idumeans living after the Roman fashion.

Tell Sippor city mound near biblical Marisa in the territory of Idumea south of Judah. The city stood in the hills of central Judah/Idumea and was occupied in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. It probably served as an important agricultural center in those periods. Its ancient name is lost. The entire region reverted to the control of Antiochus III after 219 B.C.E.

telos (Gr., end, goal, or tax) The term came to be used in two separate senses: first, as a philosophical term with regard to the end or goal of philosophy, or as a theological term meaning the end of the age; second, as a general term for taxation and also for customs duties in particular.

temenos Greek term for a piece of land marked off for official purposes. It often had to do with property specifically dedicated to a god, such as a sacred precinct for worship, usually including an altar. The term is more general than "temple," which implied buildings and the like.

Temple the structure in Jerusalem that was the cultic center of Judaism. According to scripture, God had commanded the establishment of the Temple, sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. The Temple was to be the link between God and humans, where God's presence would reside over the two cherubim at the Ark of the Covenant (Exod. 25:16–22). The Temple was the house of YHWH (Ezra 3:11)—not a place where anyone could enter—and only the high priest could enter its inner sanctum, the Holy of Holies, and he could do that only once a year, on the Day of Atonement.

The basic shape of the Temple was rectangular, 60 cubits long, 20 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high. (The royal cubit—20.9 inches—is probably intended.) Outside the Temple stood the altar of sacrifice and the bronze laver. One entered the Temple on one of the short sides by mounting steps to an open air forecourt. One entered the central room through a door of cypresswood carved with cherubim and palm trees and overlaid with gold. Lit by windows, the central room contained an incense altar, the altar of the Bread of the Presence and ten golden lampstands. Olivewood doors carved with cherubim, palm trees, and flowers and overlaid with gold led into the Holy of Holies. Inside this dark room was the ark of the covenant flanked by two cherubim.

The Temple in Jerusalem was built by Solomon as a focal point for national unity under the Davidic dynasty. Other cult centers persisted, but the Temple in Jerusalem came to symbolize national identity. At the Temple's destruction in 587/86 B.C.E., the Babylonians carried away its precious items and furnishings and then burned it (2 Kings 25:8–17), but probably the stone foundation and part of the superstructure survived. This would have been the basis for the Second Temple, built between 520 and 515 B.C.E. under Joshua, the high priest, and Zerubbabel, the governor appointed by the Persians, with the help of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. Without a king, the Temple became the center of national life and the high priests more and more assumed civil-leadership functions within the community. The Temple at Jerusalem was plundered by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 169 B.C.E. and then desecrated in 167 B.C.E. by the erection of an idolatrous structure on the altar of sacrifice. The daily sacrificial offering was suspended until the Temple was retaken by the Maccabees in 164 B.C.E. and purified and rededicated to YHWH. In 63 B.C.E. Pompey the Great besieged the Temple, where supporters of the rebellious Aristobulus had locked themselves. He breached the walls, slaughtered some priests in the act of sacrifice, entered the Holy of Holies but took nothing, and said the cult could continue. Herod the Great (37 B.C.E.–4 C.E.) rebuilt the Temple complex on a vast scale, making the walled sacred area one of the largest in the Mediterranean world, with balustrades separating the Gentiles from the area where Israelites could enter (*War* 5:184–227; *Ant.* 15:410–420). The project was not entirely finished until just before the outbreak of the revolt against Rome, around 63 C.E. After fierce resistance by the Jewish rebels, the Temple was finally destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E.

The magnificence of the Temple is praised by Sirach in his description of the activities of Simon, son of Onias (Sir. 50:1–21); it is there that Wisdom ministers before God (Sir. 24:10). The Temple and its furnishings are sumptuously described in Letter of Aristeas 84–104 and are the objects of Gentile admiration. 2 Macc 3:2 tells how kings embellished the Temple with the most splendid gifts. Philo of Alexandria states that Jews from all over the Roman Empire supported Temple worship (*On the Embassy to Gaius* 152). Jews generally paid the half-shekel Temple tax (Matt. 12:24), and Josephus (*Ant.* 18:312) describes how the Jews in Mesopotamia made dedicatory offerings in addition to this tax. Temple life was thus an extremely important facet of Jewish identity. God defends his Temple both in history (2 Macc. 3–15) and at the last days (Sib. Or. 3.701–731; cf. Tob. 13:9–18).

This does not mean that there were not some negative attitudes towards the Temple, or rather towards the way sacrifices were being offered. When the Second Temple was built, most rejoiced, but some wept when they remembered what the First Temple had been like (Ezra 3:12). The argument for continuity between the First and Second Temples found in 2 Maccabees 1:18–36, somewhat nullified by the following verses 2:1–8, is perhaps countering such opinions. For the author of 1 Enoch 89:73, all the bread on the altar was polluted and not pure. In 2 Baruch 68:5–6, the rebuilt Temple will be honored but not as fully as before. In the Martyrdom of Isaiah, Jerusalem is depicted as a center of apostasy, lawlessness, magic arts, and fornication (2:1–6). In this view, it is close to the critique of the Temple by the Qumran covenanters, who held that the Temple had been profaned by the priests who did not observe their stricter interpretation about menstrual flow (CD 5:6–11). The Wicked Priest indulged in abominable and unclean things that defiled the Temple (1 QpHab 12:3–8). The same critique is found in the Testament of Levi 14:5–8 and the Psalms of Solomon 2:1–3 and 8:8–21. The solar calendrical system used throughout 1 Enoch and Jubilees and by the Qumran community (CD 6:11–20; 1 QS 10:5; 1 QH 12:5–9) also evidences opposition to the existing Temple cult in Jerusalem that used a lunar-solar system, as does the notion of the Qumran community as a temple (1 QS 8:4–10; 1 QH 6:22–31; Eph. 2:19–22; 1 Pet. 2:4–10). In driving out the money changers from the Temple (Mark 11:15–18), Jesus too showed himself wishing to bring about a restoration in Israel.

After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. the author of 2 Baruch finds consolation in the idea that the earthly sanctuary has a heavenly counterpart (4:2–6), an idea implicit in the Songs for the Holocaust of the Sabbath (4 Q 400–407). To the grieving author of 4 Ezra is shown a brilliant new Jerusalem (10:25–50), as in the document from Qumran describing the dimensions of the new Jerusalem that may have included a description of the eschatological Temple (5 Q 15). The author of the Letter to the Hebrews speaks of a new tent/temple (Heb. 9:1-24), while in Revelation there is no new temple, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb (Rev. 21:22).

In rabbinic Judaism, obedience to the covenant expressed itself in fulfillment of the Torah, which promised sanctification in nature and salvation in history; piety also reached expression in individual prayer and synagogue study of Torah. Temple imagery and symbolism persisted in rabbinic writings.

Temple, Second sole cultic center for the worship of YHWH, located in Jerusalem; "Second Temple" usually refers to the Herodian Temple, constructed by Herod the Great beginning in 37 B.C.E. However, various forms of the Temple existed in Jerusalem after the destruction of the First Temple (586 B.C.E.), dating from approximately 538 B.C.E. until the destruction of the Herodian Temple in 70 C.E. After this destruction, the Temple was never rebuilt.

The First Temple, originally built under the direction of King Solomon, was destroyed in 586 B.C.E. by the Babylonians. At this time, the Babylonians deported all but the "poorest of the land" from Jerusalem (2 Kings 25:8-12). After about 50 years, the Persians gained control over Jerusalem and Palestine. About 538 B.C.E., the Persian monarch Cyrus issued a decree allowing the Jews to return and rebuild the Temple (cf. Ezra 1:2-3). Soon after, a group of Jews under the leadership of Sheshbazzar returned and erected a small altar where the Temple had stood. A further partial attempt to reconstruct the Temple was made by Zerubbabel in 521 B.C.E. During Nehemiah's rule (beginning c. 445 B.C.E.), Jerusalem increased in size and importance, but the Temple still was not rebuilt to its former splendor. During most of the third century B.C.E., Jerusalem was a part of the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt, and during the second century, it was ruled by the Seleucids. The overthrow of the Ptolemaic Empire was welcomed by the Jews, and the Seleucids allowed the Jews to live according to the traditions of their ancestors and even assisted in repairing the Temple.

The situation under the Seleucids swayed, however, from support of the Temple and the Temple activities to condemnation and plundering of the Temple resources when the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV came under pressure from Egypt. As the second century continued, the Seleucids changed their policy of toleration of Jewish heritage and religion; they encouraged Hellenization of the Temple and even set up a graven image in the Temple. This infuriated the Jews, and eventually, in 164 B.C.E., the Hasmoneans under Judas Maccabeus conquered Jerusalem and cleansed the Temple. The Hasmoneans ruled in Jerusalem until 63 B.C.E., when the Roman ruler Pompey conquered the city. The Temple Mount area was also overthrown at this time.

After this, the Romans ruled Jerusalem under the

puppet tetrarch Herod. There was a brief three-year interlude, from 40 to 37 B.C.E., when the last Hasmonean king, Mattathias Antigonus, regained control of the city. Herod reconquered the city for the Romans in 37 B.C.E. and then, as king of the Jews, set about a series of ambitious building projects. The walls of the city were rebuilt and three massive towers were added to the fortifications. In addition to impressive public buildings, Herod also rebuilt entire sections of the city's residential areas. His greatest building accomplishment, however, was the rebuilding of the Temple.

Following Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., a total of 14 Roman procurators ruled Jerusalem until the Jewish revolt in 66 C.E. These rulers had ignored the sentiments of the Jewish inhabitants, and eventually a large scale revolt erupted among the Jewish population, led by the Zealots. The Zealots took over Jerusalem in 66 C.E., but they were overthrown by the Romans in 70 C.E. During this overthrow, Jerusalem was completely overrun. The Temple Mount area was one of the last areas conquered, but it too was completely destroyed.

The archaeological remains of the Second Temple retaining wall (the so-called Wailing Wall, or Western Wall) are some of the most impressive and well-known remains in Jerusalem today. Though the magnificent stones that make up this wall give the modern visitor some idea of the grandeur of the Second Temple, the archaeological remains that allow for a precise reconstruction of the Second Temple are rather small.

Due to the paucity of precise archaeological data, scholars rely on literary sources to supplement what can be determined archaeologically. One of the most important sources for the details about the construction of the Second Temple is found in the Mishnah in a section called the Tractate Middot. One of the oldest sections of the Mishnah, it is said to originate from Eliezer b. Jacob, who lived during the last days of the Second Temple. This information is supplemented by the writings of the historian Josephus. Though there are some discrepancies between the two sources, both agree on the major components of the Second Temple. Both hold that the core of the Second Temple consisted of the porch, the sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies. Both sources also describe an upper chamber, cells, and a stepped passageway.

The only artistic representations of the Second Temple porch that are preserved today are found on two different types of coins from the Bar Kokhba period. Both the coins and the literary sources suggest that the entrance to the porch comprised twelve steps. The representations on the coins differ, however, in several aspects from the literary tradition preserved in the Mishnah. The Mishnah describes the facade of the porch as plain, but the coins depict two and four columns flanking the entrance from the porch. This discrepancy may be solved by positing that the coins represent the entrance to the Temple from inside the porch: at the inside entrance stood a magnificent doorway, flanked by one or two columns on each side, while the facade of the porch was plain.

The sanctuary and the Holy of Holies were contained in the hallway through the entrance of the porch. Both had an identical width and height (20 cubits wide by 40 cubits high), but the sanctuary was twice as long as the Holy of Holies (40 cubits as compared to 20 cubits). The sanctuary and the Holy of Holies were separated by elaborately embroidered curtains decorated with figures of lions and eagles. The sanctuary was overlaid with gold; its furnishings included a menorah, the showbread table, and the incense altar. A graphic hint at the actual appearance of these items is found in an important archaeological find from the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. An incised piece of plaster, now displayed in the Israel Museum, contains a fragmentary pictorial depiction of the menorah, the showbread table and the incense altar. Since this pictorial representation dates from before the destruction of the Second Temple, it most likely contains a contemporary artist's representation of the vital cultic elements in the sanctuary.

In contrast to the sanctuary, the Holy of Holies did not contain furnishings. In fact, entrance into the Holy of Holies was prohibited. The only exception was the high priest, who was required to enter the Holy of Holies once a year on the Day of Atonement. On that day, he entered the Holy of Holies four times to carry out the procedure of atoning for the sins of the people.

As mentioned above, the archaeological remains of the foundation walls permit a glimpse at the likely plan of Herod's Temple Mount. Most of the information comes from the excavations of Charles Warren between 1867 and 1869. Warren studied the walls and the entrances to the Temple Mount by digging a series of shafts outside the walls of the Temple Mount. When he reached bedrock in one shaft, he would dig another shaft that was horizontal to the first. He connected these multiple shafts by horizontal tunnels that followed the plan of the foundation walls. His records, which were quite good for his day, provide much data for interpreting the outline of the Temple Mount and its entrances.

The Temple Mount in general was shaped like a rectangle, but it was not an even rectangle, as each side was a different length. Though different scholars have arrived at slightly different figures for the dimensions, the general dimensions are as follows: (1) the western wall was the longest, measuring about 484 meters; (2) the northern wall was about 315 meters long; (3) the eastern wall was about 470 meters long; and (4) the southern wall, the shortest, measured about 280 meters.

South of the Temple Mount are the remains of the entrances to the Second Temple. There are two gates that are walled up today, and these are likely two of the gates from Herod's period. The double gate is at the western side of the southern wall, while the triple gate is on the eastern side. Both led to tunnels that proceeded to the top of the Temple Mount.

Though the Second Temple was a spectacular building with incredibly large walls, the power of the Roman army was too much for the Jewish rebels: Jerusalem and the Second Temple fell for the last time in 70 C.E. Since that time, the Temple has never been rebuilt, though the remains of its foundation walls are an archaeological highlight of modern Jerusalem.

Temple Scroll scroll discovered in Cave 11, Qumran, in 1956 and purchased by Y. Yadin after the Six Day War in 1967 for the Shrine of the Book in Israel. Yadin published a Hebrew edition of the scroll in 1977 and a revised English edition in 1983; the scroll's title is abbreviated as 11QTemple.

The Temple Scroll is the longest complete scroll found at Qumran, being 7.94 meters long in its present condition. It consists of nineteen sheets of leather preserving sixty-seven columns of text; the scroll is written in Hebrew by two scribes, scribe A copying columns 1–5 and scribe B, the remaining columns. Yadin assigned a date of the Herodian period (late 1st C. B.C.E.) to the handwriting of the scroll. In addition to the large scroll from Cave 11, one or possibly two other copies were found in Cave 11 (11QTemple$^{b,c?}$); further, fragments were found in Cave 4 that overlap with portions of the Temple Scroll, although they are not copies of the Cave 11 manuscript (4Q365^{a}).

The Temple Scroll presents itself as a direct revelation from God (speaking in the first person) to Moses, who functions as a silent audience. That the recipient is Moses is clear from the reference in column XLIV to "thy brother Aaron." The text is a collection of *halakhot* (laws), which cover the following topics: col. II: the covenant relationship; cols. III–XII: the Temple building and altar; cols. XIII–XXIX: feasts and sacrifices; cols. XXX–XLIV: the Temple courts; cols. XLV–XLVII: the sanctity of the holy city; cols. XLVIII–LI:10: purity laws; cols. LI:11–LVI:11: various laws on legal procedure, sacrifices, and idolatry; cols. LVI:12–59: the law of the king; cols. LX–LXVII: various legal prescriptions.

The material of the scroll is heavily dependent on Exodus, Leviticus, and especially Deuteronomy, of which it quotes whole sections. However, the Temple Scroll is a "rewritten Torah"; that is, it takes the biblical material relevant to the topic at hand and weaves it into a unified whole. Therefore, in many cases the Temple Scroll presents a thoroughgoing rewriting of large passages of the Pentateuch, often with additions of its own to make its halakhic position clear. That position is exceedingly strict, particularly in the laws regarding the purity of the Temple. So, for example, defecation is not allowed within the holy city, nor is sexual intercourse. These purity laws were meant to safeguard the sanctity of the Temple.

Many of the halakhic provisions of the Temple Scroll are interesting for their unusual nature. The architectural plan the scroll outlines for the Temple differs from the biblical accounts of either the First or the Second Temple, as well as differing from the descriptions of the Second Temple by Josephus or the Mishnah. The festival calendar includes a number of festivals not found in the Torah or rabbinic literature, for example the Festivals of New Wine and New Oil. The Law of the King contains several unique provisions, including the prohibition of royal polygamy and the subordination of the king to the high priest in matters of war. It should be recalled that all of this material is presented as a direct revelation from God.

The question of the sectarian nature of the Temple Scroll is a vexing one. As has often been remarked, the Temple Scroll contains no overtly sectarian concepts as is found in other Qumran documents, such as a community with a distinct hierarchical structure, predestination, dualism, or a new covenant. However, the scroll does have clear commonalities with some of the Qumran texts that have been identified as sectarian, for example, the Damascus Document and the Nahum Commentary. It espouses a solar calendar and a strict interpretation of the Torah. In addition, several smaller details of the Temple Scroll show affinity with other Qumran documents. The Festival of New Oil appears in 4QReworked Pentateuch (a text that, like 11QTemple, may not be Qumranic in origin), sexual intercourse is forbidden in the holy city in the Damascus Document 12:1–2, the purity laws

for the holy city are similar to the camp rules of the War Scroll, and consanguinity between uncle and niece is forbidden in both the Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document. Therefore, it seems likely that the Temple Scroll, while not a strictly sectarian composition, is part of an older body of material (which would also include books such as Jubilees) inherited and used by the sectaries.

temple state A number of the small countries of the ancient Near East in the Persian and Graeco-Roman periods were not kingdoms or chiefdoms but temple states. This means that they had a temple as the central institution, and the government or administration fell to a high priest and/or a priestly hierarchy. Most temples in the various countries possessed land and had slaves or serfs to work it to produce income for the temple. The same was true with a temple state, except that the temple did not have to answer to a higher authority, such as a king or emperor. The actual citizens with civic rights (as opposed to slaves and free individuals without civic rights) might be a minority of the population, if the theory of a *Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde* is accepted. Through much of the Second Temple period, Judah acted as a temple state, either independently or under the rule of one of the great powers. The chief executive was the high priest, though he had a council (*boulē, gerousia,* or Sanhedrin) to advise him and perhaps even to share power. During Hasmonean rule, the high priesthood became combined with kingship, so that the state was ruled by "priest-kings."

temptation attraction toward an action or object, usually negative in character. Moses, in his final address to the people (Deut.), warned them not to test or tempt the Lord again as they had done at Massah—a place that got its name from what they had done there (Deut. 6:16; see also Ex. 17:2–7). In Isaiah 7 King Ahaz appealed to the same principle when he refused God's invitation, delivered through the prophet, to ask for a sign that would confirm his reassuring words. He refused, he said, to test the Lord. The Book of Jubilees and the Testament of Joseph echo the biblical theme, found most clearly in Job, that the Lord Himself at times tempts or tries the righteous to test their strength (also in Gen. 22:1). In Jubilees, Abraham is subjected to ten trials, such as the forcible removal of his wife, Sarah (19:8), although the test involving the sacrifice of Isaac is attributed to the devil figure Mastema, not to God, as it is in Genesis 22 (see Jub. 18). In the Testament of Joseph, the hero recalls for his sons that he, too, endured ten trials from God (2:7). One meets the theme of temptation several times in the New Testament, with the most famous one being the story of Jesus' forty-day test in the wilderness. This episode, which is meant to remind the reader of Israel's forty-year trek in the wilderness, is recounted in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Mark, the earliest writer, describes it very briefly and does not specify what Satan's temptations were (1:12–13). Matthew (4:1–11) and Luke (4:1–13), however, expand this base text greatly. They add the detail that Jesus also fasted during this period and put the three acts of temptation with accompanying dialogue at the end of the forty-day span. Matthew calls the devil "the tempter," and the three trials the devil fashions for Jesus are the invitations to make stones become food, to throw himself from the pinnacle of the Temple, and to possess all the world's kingdoms. To each, Jesus responds with a scriptural citation. Against the second test, he quotes Deuteronomy 6:16 (see above). Luke agrees with Matthew for the first temptation and biblical quotation, but he gives the second and third in reverse order. He concludes the section with the note that the devil ended his temptations and left to return at a fitting time. The Lord's Prayer, in Matthew 6 and Luke 11, contains the petition "Lead us not into temptation." Elsewhere in the New Testament, believers are encouraged to resist temptations and to withstand tests (see James 1:3; Luke 17:1), following as their model the Christ who was tempted as they were (Heb. 2 and 4). God Himself is not, however, the source of temptation (James 1). The Book of Revelation identifies the serpent in the story of the Garden of Eden as the great dragon and tempter or deceiver of the whole world (chap. 12), who is to be punished forever (chap. 20).

Rabbinic Judaism views temptation as a result from the *yetzer baRa* (see Gen. 8:21), the hypostatization of people's inclination to engage in wrong actions. While rabbinic authorities see this temptation as a force that must consistently be fought, they also recognize in it one of life's motivating powers. Without the *yetzer baRa,* people would not engage in business, marry, raise a family, or construct a house (Gen. Rabbah 9:7; B. Yoma 69b). Human productivity thus is a positive result of people's need constantly to avoid the temptation to sin. They succeed in this by recognizing the ever-present eyes and ears of God (M. Abot 2:1), and, especially, through study of Torah and practice of the law (B. Sotah 21a), viewed as the greatest antidote against temptation (B. Kiddushin 30b).

Temurah Mishnah tractate on the rules of substituting one animal for another, in line with Leviticus

27:14. The tractate discusses who may make a statement effecting the substitution of one beast that has been consecrated for another and how it is done (chaps. 1–2); the status of the offspring of substitutes (chaps. 3–4); and language used in effecting an act of substitution (chaps. 5–6).

Ten Commandments *see* DECALOGUE

tent temporary dwelling or shelter made of cloth or animal skin. Several symbolic uses of the word in the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish literature seem to derive from the tent's temporary nature as well as its ubiquity. The fortune or fate of a person or people is reflected in what happens to their tents (Job 8:22; Jer. 4:20; Hos. 9:6). The enlarging of one's tent indicates prosperity (Isa. 54:2). The tent symbolizes the frailty of human existence (Isa. 38:12; 2 Cor. 5:1). God's presence with Israel is indicated in the image of his wisdom dwelling in a tent (Sir. 24:8, 10). God's heavenly sanctuary can also be called a tent (Heb. 8:1–2).

ten thousand times ten thousand the number of God's attendants in the heavenly throne room according to 1 Enoch 14:22, 40:1, 60:1, 71:8; Daniel 7:10; Revelation 5:11. In all but the first text, the term is used in parallelism with "thousands of thousands" or "a multitude that could not be numbered," indicating that the number, one hundred million, is not to be taken literally. Rather, it denotes the vast and boundless resources at the disposal of the heavenly King and fits well with the rest of the larger than life trappings of the heavenly throne room described in these texts. *See also* ANGEL; HOLY ONES.

terefah (Heb.) torn, in line with Exodus 322:31: "You shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field." This refers to a beast that has not yet died but that cannot survive, because of health problems. Beasts that are imperfect and may die on that account cannot be eaten by Israelites.

Tertullian (c. 160–c. 225 C.E.) Christian apologist and theologian. Tertullian was one of the most artful of early Christian anti-Judaists. Possessed of an acerbic wit, he made invidious comparisons of Judaism and Christianity, not only in his treatise *Against the Jews* but throughout his writings. He lambasted Jews for rejecting and killing Jesus and the prophets; persecuting, calumniating, envying, and otherwise offending Christians; sinning against God with idolatry, hardness of heart, ingratitude, blindness, and ignorance; outmodedness (*vetustas*); and hypocrisy. Tertullian was quick to invoke the Jews when he wanted to put a damning label on Marcionites, Gnostics, fellow Christians who offended, and, after his conversion to Montanism, Catholics.

terumah *see* HEAVE-OFFERING

Terumot Mishnah tractate devoted to the heave-offering, or priestly rations, separated by the farmers and handed over to the priesthood at the harvest. The tractate discusses how the heave-offering is separated (chaps. 1–4); the rule that a heave-offering that has been separated still is in the domain of the householder (chaps. 4–10); consumption of the heave-offering by a nonpriest and the penalties thereof (chaps. 6–8); seed grain having the status of heave-offering that has been planted (chap. 9); a heave-offering cooked or prepared with unconsecrated produce (chap. 10); and the disposition of the heave-offering in the hands of the priest and proper preparation of food having the status of heave-offering (chap. 11).

testament a literary genre that claims to preserve the last words of an ancient figure. Biblical examples include Jacob's blessing of his sons (Gen. 49) and Moses' blessing of the twelve tribes (Deut. 33). Both texts are predominantly predictions about the tribes of Israel.

The last chapters of Deuteronomy served as a model for two early Jewish testaments. 1 Enoch begins by paraphrasing Deuteronomy 33:1–2 (cf. 1 Enoch 1:1–9) and has Enoch address his sons (81:1–82:3, 91:1–3), providing ethical instruction (91:3–4, 18–19; 92–105) and a double prediction of the future (91:5–9, 11–17; 93:1–10; cf. Deut. 31–32). The Testament of Moses is a rewritten form of Deuteronomy 31–34 that provides a detailed prediction of Israel's history shaped with reference to their evil (mainly) or righteous conduct.

Later Jewish testaments have a predominately ethical function. The dying patriarch gathers his children and exhorts them to right behavior, basing his instructions on a retrospective narrative—usually about his own life—that exemplifies certain virtues or vices. The testament concludes with an eschatological section that may imply prophetic inspiration. Examples of such testaments include Tobit, Jubilees 20–22 (Abraham), 1 Macc. 2:49–70 (Mattathias), the Testament of Job, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which is Christian in its present form. New Testament examples include Mark 13, John 13–17, and Acts 20:17–38.

Testament of Abraham *see* ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF

Testament of Job *see* JOB, TESTAMENT OF

Testament of Moses *see* MOSES, TESTAMENT OF

Testament of Solomon *see* SOLOMON, TESTAMENT OF

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs *see* TWELVE PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE

Testimonium Hebrew sectarian composition, of which only one copy survives, found in Cave 4,

Qumran, in 1952 and published by J. M. Allegro in DJD V. The manuscript, whose title is abbreviated as 4QTest, dates from c. 100–75 B.C.E., pointing to a composition date not later than the late second century B.C.E.

The document was labeled "Testimonium" by analogy with early Christian documents that are collections of scriptural quotations. This text collects five biblical quotations and one sectarian text, presented in four groups, that pertain to the messianic teachings of the Qumran community.

Although the texts are presented without commentary, the subject matter of the quotes makes the referent clear. The first group, Deuteronomy 5:28–29 and 18:18–19, anticipates the coming of "a prophet like Moses." The second group, Numbers 24:15–17, with its mention of the "Star of Jacob" and the "Scepter of Israel," clearly refers to the Davidic, or royal, Messiah. The third group, Deuteronomy 33:8–11, presents a blessing of Levi, and, by extension, the priestly Messiah.

The last group begins with a quotation of Joshua 6:26, followed by an excerpt from the sectarian composition known as the Psalms of Joshua. The quotation concerns a man and his two sons, who are cursed for rebuilding the city of Jericho. The Psalms of Joshua excerpt goes on to state that the man (either the father or the elder son) has brought evil to Israel, and his reign (and that of his son or his brother) is characterized by violence and bloodshed. F. M. Cross has argued that the man and his two sons should be identified as Simon the Maccabee and his two sons, all three of whom were murdered at Jericho. Using this text as one of his proofs, he identifies Simon as the Wicked Priest, the great enemy of the sect found in other Qumran documents. J. T. Milik, however, identifies the three as Mattathias and his sons Jonathan and Simon, claiming that it is the sons who rule, not the father, and that this text is not necessarily a reference to the Wicked Priest. Neither argument is without flaws. Given the preceding material of the Testimonium, the quote must refer to an event of the last days before the coming of the Messiah; whether or not this was a past event when the Testimonium was written is unclear.

Testimonium Flavianum a passage in Josephus that mentions Jesus. Its authenticity is highly disputed since it states that "this was the Christ," a very unlikely statement for Josephus. Also, some versions do not have this or give a different wording. Most modern scholars think either that it was entirely an interpolation by Christian scribes or that Josephus did indeed mention Jesus but Christian scribes added words and phrases to give a more favorable opinion. The latter explanation has tended to dominate. The title means "the Flavian testimony," since Josephus was adopted into the Flavian family.

testimony the statement of a witness given in a court of law. In rabbinic law, testimony of witnesses is not given under oath; a formal oath is deemed unnecessary in light of the Decalogue's admonition against bearing false witness (Exod. 20:16). An oath may, however, be imposed upon an individual to force him or her to indicate whether or not he or she knows testimony that will benefit a litigant. This is allowed because such a witness can refuse to speak without violating the Ninth Commandment. Outside of an oath, there is no means of compelling a person to testify in court.

Scripture refers to testimony "from the mouth of witnesses" (e.g., Deut. 17:16). Accordingly, rabbinic law insists on oral testimony, given in open court, before the judges, litigants, and other witnesses. Questioning is by the court, but the opposing litigant has the right to suggest to the judges points on which to cross-examine the witness. In criminal matters, testimony by deposition is excluded. In litigation over contracts, however, depositions may be allowed, for instance, if a witness is sick or in a different locale.

Rabbinic law follows scripture in requiring evidence from at least two witnesses for convicting the accused (Num. 35:10; Deut. 19:15; B. Sotah 2b; B. Sanhedrin 20a). In a case in which testimony of two witnesses would prove the claim, however, the evidence of one is deemed sufficient to require the accused to take an oath denying the claim. Testimony is not accepted from women, slaves, imbeciles, deaf-mutes or, in the view of some authorities, the deaf or mute, the blind, relatives, parties who are in any way involved in the matter, known criminals, sinners, or those who reject societal norms (who might perjure themselves).

Tetragrammaton (Gr., four letters) term used in reference to the divine name, which in Hebrew is written as the four consonants YHWH, the vowels not being directly preserved; *see also* GOD, NAMES OF; I AM

tetrarch (Gr., ruler over a fourth part) Originally the term referred to a ruler over a quarter of a kingdom; with time, however, it came to mean a ruler over a significant portion of a kingdom, not necessarily a quarter. For example, when Herod the Great died, his kingdom was broken up into three parts. Two of these parts were each some-

what smaller in size; they were called tetrachies and ruled by the tetrarchs Herod Antipas and Philip. Judah proper, which constituted the largest portion of Herod's old realm, was left intact to be ruled by an ethnarch, Archelaus.

Thallus a writer of a history of the world that apparently extended from the Trojan war to the first century B.C.E. or perhaps the first century C.E., since one of the fragments seems to include a date in the latter. The work and the author are difficult to characterize because the six fragments preserved often cite Thallus together with other historians, and it is not clear that more than one or two contain exact quotations. Thus, whether he was a Jew, Samaritan, or pagan cannot be said with any confidence. He apparently mentioned Moses and supposedly gave a euhemeristic interpretation to the god Saturn. He included chronographical data, as well.

thank-offering welfare sacrifice, an offering in gratitude to the Deity. It is a subdivision of the peace-offering that was divided between the altar, the priest, and the one who offered the sacrifice. The latter shared his portion, which had to be eaten on the same day, with family and friends. By the early rabbinic era, the thank-offering was treated as a meal consumed by those making the offering. Josephus and Philo consider some burnt offerings to be thanksgiving-offerings, although the biblical injunction is that burnt offerings were for atonement. The Mishnah classifies the thank-offering in the lower order of sacred offerings.

theater a popular form of entertainment and cultural expression in the Graeco-Roman world. Both comedy and tragedy arose out of religious celebrations. The plays themselves were written in poetry and, like those of Shakespeare, had value both as literature and as live performances, though the author might intend one more than the other. Little is known of theaters in a Jewish context, except that Herod the Great built one in Jerusalem. We also know that Philo of Alexandria had attended theater productions. Finally, the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian was in play format, though we cannot say whether it was ever performed.

theft *see* ROBBERY

theios anēr (Gr., divine man) term used of various charismatic teachers in the Graeco-Roman world who were alleged to have special powers from God. The figure in Greek literature who is generally put forward as the model is Apollonius of Tyana, though both ancients and moderns have seen an alternative in Socrates, whose "divine" attributes were intellectual, not miraculous. Some figures from Jewish history have also been compared. These include holy men noted for their piety and holiness but also with special powers. One example is Honi the Circler, who was alleged to have been able to bring rain, and Hanina ben Dosa. Also included are such ancient sages as Moses. Hence, the argument has been developed that the Jewish holy man had some characteristics in common with the Hellenistic *theios anēr* and that a comparable idea had developed in Hellenistic Judaism by the first century C.E. The concept has been used in New Testament scholarship to try to better understand Jesus. As a result, the term itself—or a related concept—has become widespread in modern scholarship in both the Jewish and Christian contexts, though the appropriateness of this has been debated.

theocracy (Gr., rule by God) term that seems to have been coined by Josephus, who states that Judea was a theocracy. He proceeds to explain that by this he means a state under priestly rule, presumably because the priests were in theory directed by God. The structure of the state was one with the high priest as the head and his fellow priests as his assistants and administrators. The high priest was advised by a council, which may have been composed largely of priests; at times the council may have shared power, as well. In short, a theocracy is essentially a temple state.

theodicy a defense of the justice of God. In a religion that asserted that God rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked, evident instances to the contrary caused consternation and required explanation. Explicit concern with the issue appears in many of the canonical Psalms (see, e.g., Ps. 73) and is dealt with in excruciating detail in the Book of Job. Writings composed in response to such events as the persecution by Antiochus IV, Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem, and the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. are full of attempts to defend God's justice in the midst of great suffering. *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

Theodoret (393–466 C.E.) bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, born in Antioch. He was a defender of Nestorius and an ardent critic of Cyril of Alexandria. He wrote a work against Judasim, now lost. His *Church History* contains many valuable documents, and his *Religious History* contains biographies of ascetics. He tells us that he debated Jews "in most cities of the east." He reports that upon the appointment of Peter as bishop of Alexandria, a mob of Jews and Greeks surrounded the church and threatened him with exile. He also records that the patriarchal family was descended from Herod.

Theodosius I (346–395 C.E.) Roman emperor born in Spain. In 379, Gratian appointed him Augustus of the East. Failing to expel the Visigoths, he signed a treaty with them in 382 which provided them with lands in Thrace. In 386 he and the Persians partitioned Armeania. He became baptized as a Christian early in his reign during a serious illness, and as emperor he supported the followers of the Nicean creed against the Arians. He deposed the Arian bishop of Constantinople, Demophilus, and attempted to replace him with Gregory of Nazianzus. At first he did not close the temples of the old Roman cults, but he did not punish fanatical Christians who destroyed them. Finally, in 391 he closed all their temples and banned their religious practices. Although Ambrose forced Theodosius to annul his order for the bishop of Callinicum to rebuild the synagogue he had destroyed, the emperor continued to speak out against fanatical Christians who destroyed synagogues. Theodosius forbade marriages between Jews and Christians, and in 393 he outlawed polygamy among the Jews. In 383 he annulled the law freeing the rabbis from participation in the curiae, but in 397 he excused the Jewish elders from taking part in non-Jewish communal religious services. He continued the previous policy of legislating against Jewish proselytism.

Theodosius II (401–450 C.E.) Roman emperor. He was not a strong emperor, and others in his court exercised real control of the empire. He had to engage in wars with Persia, the Vandals, and the Huns. In 438 the publication of the Theodosian Code succeeded in reforming the empire's legal system. He was an orthodox Christian, and during his reign Nestorius and Flavian, two bishops of Constantinople, were condemned for heretical beliefs by councils in Ephesus. To discourage conversion to Judaism, in 423 he decreed that the circumcision of a Christian was punishable by confiscation of property and exile, and in 429 any stipulation in a Jewish will that prohibited children who had converted to Christianity from inheriting from their parents was declared invalid. In 438 proselytism of any Christian to Judaism was punishable by death. Eventually, Jews were prohibited from acting as representatives of cities, serving in the army, becoming lawyers, or holding any public office. In 415 all cases between Christians and Jews had to be tried in ordinary civil courts. In 438 he decreed that new synagogues could not be built, and new ones could be repaired only if they were in danger of falling down. In 429 he apparently refused to appoint a patriarch as successor to Gamaliel VI, for a law mentions "the end of the patriarchs."

Theodosius of Rome a Roman Jew also known as Todos of Rome, of the late first century C.E., who instructed the Roman Jewish community to prepare "helmeted goats," roasted with the entrails and legs on the head, on Passover. In response, sages declared that were it not for Theodosius's personal status, they would have excommunicated him for having the people eat meat prepared as a sacrifice outside of the Temple.

Theodotion a translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. At its base seems to be the *kaige* recension, which was evidently a revision of the Septuagint. Theodotian was a Christian figure of the second century C.E. who apparently made further revisions to the *kaige* to improve the Greek style of the text.

Theodotus writer preserved in only a few fragments in Eusebius, forty-six lines in all. These focus on the city of Shechem and the incident recorded in Genesis 34: the rape of Jacob's daughter Dinah by Shechem, the son of Hamor, king of Shechem. Shechem then agreed to marry Dinah and even accept circumcision; subsequently, Simeon and Levi entered the city while the men were incapacitated by the recent circumcision and killed them all. It has been suggested that the work was called *On the Jews,* but this does not fit the exclusive focus on the one incident at Shechem. Also, it has been suggested that the author was Samaritan, again because of the concentration on Shechem. Although this remains a possibility, there are no specifically Samaritan features of the story; for example, nothing is said of a temple or worship. A Jewish writer could have been interested in the incident as a part of his heritage; the poem may even be seen as anti-Samaritan. The poem itself is in classical hexameters and shows knowledge of Homeric verse; the author clearly had a Greek education. Although the poem generally follows the biblical text, an oracle of God is given in justification for the slaughter.

theophany the visible manifestation of God. Although some biblical accounts of God's appearance to humans have little descriptive detail (Gen. 3:8, 15:1–21; Exod. 33:17–34:7), others recount cosmic quaking and storm-like phenomena (Exod. 19:16–19; Ps. 77:16–20; Hab. 3). While the Sinai theophany was unique, a number of biblical texts anticipate a similar theophany when God will descend to judge humanity (Isa. 24:17–23, 66:15–16; Jer. 25:31; Mic. 1:3–4). 1 Enoch 1:3–9 and the Testament of Moses 10:3–10 draw on these texts and Deuteronomy 33:2, to flesh out vivid

descriptions of the final judgment. *See also* EPIPHANY.

Theophrastus (c. 370–285 B.C.E.) Greek writer from Lesbos. He was a disciple of Aristotle and succeeded him as head of the Lyceum (philosophical school). He became the most famous Peripatetic after Aristotle. He is probably best known for his *Characters,* a set of stereotyped personality sketches. Other works preserved include *On Plants,* but much of what he wrote has perished. He is possibly the first Greek writer to mention the Jews directly. He praises them as philosophers who discuss divine things and also make observations of the heavens. With regard to animal sacrifices he thinks they adopted these only reluctantly and are more enlightened about them than the Greeks. This is because they burn the victim straight away, only at night, and while they themselves are fasting (as will be clear, he has confused several things, such as assuming the Jews offer only holocausts). He is also quoted by Josephus as mentioning the oath of *korban* by name. Other references by him mainly concern the natural products of Syria-Palaestina: the date palm, basalm, and various other spices.

theosebes (Gr., fearer of God, or pious one) term sometimes found in Jewish writings and inscriptions in Greek in reference to pious Jews. However, there is also evidence that it could be used of proselytes and "God-fearers", that is, Gentile sympathizers who did not go all the way to conversion. *See also* GOD-FEARERS.

Therapeutai a Jewish monastic community described in the first century C.E. by Philo of Alexandria. His report, in the treatise *On the Contemplative Life,* provides the only information we have on this group. (The name is derived from a Greek verb meaning either "to heal" or "to worship.") Its members lived an ascetic life on a hill west of Alexandria, between Lake Mareotis and the Mediterranean Sea. They gave up their possessions upon entering the community, and devoted themselves to the study of scripture, prayer, and worship. They lived each in a consecrated room called a *monasterion,* devoting themselves six days a week to private spiritual exercises. On the seventh day, they gathered for communal worship, with men and women separated by a barrier constructed in their meeting hall, listening to a discourse by their leader and sharing a common meal. A special festival was observed for the fiftieth day (presumably meaning after Passover, i.e., Pentecost, or Weeks). This festival featured an evening supper and an all-night vigil devoted to antiphonal hymn singing and a choric dance. The vigil concluded at sunrise with special prayers. Philo contrasts the Therapeutai with the Essenes, the latter said to live a more "active" life in contrast to the "contemplative" Therapeutai. However, some scholars have suggested a link between the Palestinian Essenes and the Therapeutai of Egypt. The fourth-century Christian historian Eusebius interpreted Philo's account as a reference to the first Egyptian Christians, but no credence can be given to this.

theriolatry (Gr., worship of animals) term used in reference to cults in which images of the gods were represented in the form of animals. The Egyptians were the major example of this and were often caricatured as worshiping animals, not only by the Jews but also by the Greeks and Romans.

Theudas a first-century-C.E. Jewish prophet who led a group of Jews, with their possessions, to the Jordan River, in the expectation that it would part, so that they could journey on, presumably into the desert or exile, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 20.97–98). The Roman procurator Fadus (served 44–46 C.E.) attacked the group (numbering 400 according to Acts 5:36), killing, capturing, and scattering them. Theudas was beheaded. Acts anachronistically places Theudas much earlier than the time of Fadus. Theudas's movement was one of a number led by popular prophets protesting Roman rule.

Thirty-third Day of the Counting of the Sheaf of First Barley Grain (after the advent of the first full moon after the vernal equinox; Heb.: Lag baOmer) thirty-third day in the seven-week period of counting the omer, from the second day of Passover to Pentecost (Lev. 23:15); day of celebration for scholars

throne of God God's relationship to the world is often described in the Bible in terms of a king ruling over his domain, and like a king he is said to sit on a throne (Heb.: *kiseh;* Aram.: *kursa*): so, for example, Psalm 47:8–9, "God is king of all the earth. . . . God reigns over the nations. God sits upon his holy throne." Psalm 103:9 locates God's throne in heaven ("the Lord has established his throne in the heavens"), but Ezekiel 1:1–28 implies that it moves about, borne on a wheeled vehicle which in later tradition was known as the Chariot (*merkabah*) of God. Daniel 7:9 also speaks of the throne as having wheels. Since the throne symbolizes God's power, its mobility may express the extension of that power throughout the world. The throne, which is not described in detail (though Dan. 7:9 states that it is made of fire), is associated

with judgment: it is the ultimate tribunal, and when God takes his seat upon it, surrounded by his retinue of angels, it is to judge the world (Ps. 9:5,8; 1 Kings 22:19; Dan. 7:9–10). Earlier and later visions of God's throne are recorded in 1 Enoch 14 and the Apocalypse of Abraham 17–19, respectively.

Royal imagery is further developed in the writings of the *merkabah* mystics. They locate God's throne, designated "the throne of glory" (*kiseh hakabod*), in the innermost of seven concentric palaces (*hekhalot*), which are in turn located in the seventh heaven. The adept is portrayed as a petitioner who desires to stand before the throne and see the king. Like the kings of Persia, God sits behind a veil and, although he is served by myriads of angels, only certain privileged archangels are allowed to see his face (cf. Esther 1:14). God alone is allowed to sit; everyone else must stand in his presence—a notion justified by the statement in Ezekiel 1:7 that the angels have "straight feet" or "straight legs," for example, they have no knee joints and so are physically incapable of sitting. This tradition is intended to stress God's uniqueness and to deny that there are "two powers in heaven." By way of contrast, in certain other early Jewish texts other beings beside God are depicted as sitting in heaven: see, for example, Mark 14:62 ("you will see the son of man seated at the right hand of power"), Revelation 4:4, and note the controversy in 3 Enoch 16 over the throne of Metatron. According to some texts, God only descends from hidden, upper heavens at certain times in the day to sit upon the throne and to preside over the sessions of the heavenly law court (*beit din shelemaalah*). The mystical literature describes in great detail the elaborate rituals of adoration, centered on the celestial *kedushah* (cf. Isa. 6:3), that accompany these levees. Many of these ideas were taken up and reinterpreted in the mediaeval Kabbalah, the throne of glory and the chariot being correlated in complex ways with the world of the Sefirot. The philosophers naturally insisted that the language was figurative. Saadia (882–942), for example, maintains that the throne was an entity specially created by God out of fire in order to reveal himself to the prophets (Book of Beliefs and Opinions I, 10).

thyrsus (Gr., reed) a cult object often used in Greek processions, especially those associated with the worship of Dionysus. Resemblances have been seen to the Sukkot procession, because this features palm leaves and other vegetation, and possible influence has been suggested.

Tiberianus governor of Palestine, 114 C.E. He is mentioned by John Malalas and John of Antioch in connection with an event that occurred when Trajan was in Antioch to begin his war with Parthia. Although John of Antioch probably depends on Malalas and the texts are problematic, there is no reason to reject their testimony.

Tiberias city named after the Roman emperor Tiberius. Tiberias was founded in the reign of Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, in 20 C.E. Its location is on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, north of the hot spring known as Hammat. The city's western boundary is marked by Mount Berenice, which rises to an altitude of 200 meters above the Sea of Galilee.

According to Josephus, the city was located "close to the finer parts of Galilee." In order to populate the city for its first inhabitants, the king built "houses at his expense, and granted them land" (Ant. XVIII, 36–38). In 61 C.E. Tiberias was annexed to the kingdom of Agrippa II, whose capital was Caesarea-Philippi (Banias). Berenice, Agrippa's sister and co-ruler, has no connection to the hill and the aqueduct of Tiberias, which bear her name. When the war against Rome began (67 C.E.), Tiberias was fortified, and these fortification walls remained standing even after the surrender of the city to the Roman legions. Tiberias remained part of Agrippa's kingdom until his death in 96 C.E. (Josephus, *Life*, 37–38).

When Tiberias came under Roman rule in 100 C.E., it shared the prosperity enjoyed by the entire empire. In Hadrian's reign, a temple was built in his honor. In the mid-second century, after the Bar Kokhba War, Tiberias was cleansed of the ritual impurity caused by graves within the city, thus clearing the way for Jewish religious scholars to settle there. At the end of the century, Rabbi Judah the Nasi (patriarch) moved his residence from Sepphoris to Tiberias. The institutions of the Jewish leadership were transferred from Sepphoris to Tiberias too: first the Sanhedrin, headed by Rabbi Johanan, and then the patriarchate held by Rabbi Judah (Nesiah). In Tiberias, Rabbi Johanan established the Great Beit Midrash (academy), possibly located at the foot of Mount Berenice. According to tradition, the greater part of the Jerusalem (so-called Palestinian) Talmud was codified in this academy, which is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature.

When Tiberias had become the spiritual capital of the Jewish people, both in Eretz Israel and in the diaspora, it enjoyed a prolonged period of prosperity. Tiberias's fortunes improved after the Muslim conquest. The city became the capital of Jund Urdun (Jordan District) whose boundaries

roughly corresponded to those of the Byzantine Palaestina Secunda, the capital of which had been Beth Shean. Under Muslim rule, Jews were still the majority among the inhabitants, side by side with a fairly large Christian community and a smaller Muslim one.

During the period of Muslim rule, Tiberias suffered several earthquakes. The most severe occurred in 749 C.E. The destruction it brought is evident in all the archaeological sites in the city and its environs. In 1033 another earthquake struck Tiberias, destroying many buildings. Despite the damage it had suffered, the city maintained its status as the capital of Galilee until its capture by the crusaders in 1099. Tancred, the commander of the crusader army, established Tiberias as the capital of the Galilee Principality, the area of which roughly corresponded to that of the Jordan District under Moslem rule. The city wall was restored, and a large fortress was built in the north of the Roman-Byzantine city. The inhabitants clustered around the fortress and abandoned the area of the city which had been settled before then. Thus, the nucleus of a new Tiberias came into being, which developed into the modern city.

In 1187, after the battle of Hattin, the city fell to Saladin and remained under Muslim-Ayyubid rule until 1240, when Tiberias and the entire Galilee once again came under crusader control for a brief period. In 1247 the city fell to the Mamluk forces and remained uninterrupted under Muslim rule until the British conquest in 1917–1918.

Exploration. The remains of ancient Tiberias's walls were first examined by V. Guérin in 1875. A more detailed survey of the walls at the top of Mount Berenice was carried out by G. Schumacher in 1887. A systematic excavation of the southern gate and its vicinity was carried out by G. Foerster in 1973–1974. In addition, a great number of salvage excavations has been carried out. The largest, in both scale and results, was conducted under the direction of B. Rabani (1954–1956). The excavators cleared a section of the city's central colonnaded street (cardo), as well as a bathhouse and vaulted market. To the east, not far from the lake shore, A. Druks (1964–1968) uncovered the remains of a basilical structure. In 1976, F. Vitto excavated a Roman tomb in Tiberias, and in 1989–1990, Y. Hirschfeld's salvage excavation at the foot of Mount Berenice exposed a Roman public building beneath the remains of Muslim dwellings. Later, in 1990–1994, Hirschfeld conducted the excavation on the summit of Mount Berenice.

City plan. Following the Roman urban tradition, Tiberias was a planned city from its inception. As in every Roman city in Eretz Israel, public buildings were constructed for governmental, administrative, and religious purposes, and as centers for culture and entertainment. The rabbinic literature mentions the city gate, the citadel, the council building, thirteen synagogues, academies of learning, marketplaces, a stadium, a bathhouse, a toilet, and monumental tombs. Other sources mention the harbor, the city wall, and a temple erected in honor of Hadrian. Churches and mosques were built in the city in the Byzantine and Early Arab periods.

Along with the public buildings, there were flourishing residential quarters and a workshop area with various industries, such as glass and pottery manufacturing. To the south of Tiberias, in the vicinity of the hot springs, Hammath Tiberias developed into a suburb of wide renown, which served the multitudes who came to bathe in the springs and benefit from their healing properties.

Tiberias developed along the narrow coastal strip between the Sea of Galilee and the eastern slopes of Mount Berenice. In the mid-sixth century, the city was enclosed by a massive wall about 2.8 kilometers long. The line of the wall formed a rough triangle, with its base along the shore and its apex at the summit of Mount Berenice (at about 200 m above the Sea of Galilee). This wall marks the maximal expansion of the city. Hammath Tiberias was also enclosed by a wall during this period. The overall area of Tiberias and Hammath Tiberias was about 230 acres, comparable to the area of the largest cities in the country. The population of the city during the Byzantine period is estimated at twenty to thirty thousand—almost that of present-day Tiberias.

Tiberias, Lake *see* GALILEE, SEA OF

Tiberius (42 B.C.E.–37 C.E.) in full, Tiberias Julias Caesar Augustus; son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia; stepson of the emperor Augustus and his successor as Roman emperor (14 C.E.). Though he is maligned by the Roman historian Tacitus, Tiberius was generally a good administrator and modest leader. His personal qualities did not make him a popular leader, and his reclusiveness late in his life impeded efficient administration and resulted in some governors being left in office too long, such as Pontius Pilate in Judea (26–36 C.E.).

Tiberius Julius Alexander procurator of Judea (46–48 C.E.); born in Alexandria; the son of Alexander, a wealthy tax official, and the nephew of the Jewish philosopher Philo. Tiberius and his family were prominent in the imperial service for several

generations. After some initial appointments, Alexander was named procurator of Judea. Though Alexander had ceased to live as a Jew, according to Josephus, he kept the peace by not interfering with internal Jewish affairs. During his procuratorship he executed James and Simon, two sons of Judas the Galilean, and he also had to deal with a famine. Little else is known of his tenure in Judea. He later fought in Armenia under Corbulo who was campaigning against the Parthians. He became prefect of Egypt, a very important post, in 66. Tiberius was the first provincial governor to support Vespasian's campaign to become emperor in 69. When Titus continued the war in Judea with the siege of Jerusalem in 70, Tiberius was one of his military advisors. Subsequently, he probably served as Vespasian's praetorian prefect in Rome.

Tigranes V Jewish ruler of Armenia (60–61 C.E.). Tigranes was Herod the Great's great-great-grandson. In 60 C.E., the Roman emperor Nero appointed him king of Greater Armenia as part of his plan to make use of loyal Herodians to govern Middle Eastern principalities. Armenia had a fairly substantial Jewish population at this time. It is likely that this population reflected the importance of the Jews in the east–west trade of commodities. None of the Herodian family had maintained any ties to Judaism, and Josephus did not consider any of them to be good Jews.

tikun olam (Heb., setting the world right) the concept of the role of humans in reestablishing the perfectly ordered world that existed at the time of the Creation. *Tikun olam* is accomplished through acts of charity and loving kindness, as well as through observance of the complete system of rabbinic laws.

times or seasons (Gr.: *chronoi ē kairoi;* Acts 1:7) a general term referring to the notion that God has predetermined the time of the end, which is preceded by a series of historical periods or ages. This understanding of history is reflected in a number of apocalypses that provide reviews of such historical periods (Dan. 7; 1 Enoch 85–90, 93:1–10, 91:11–17; 2 Bar. 53–72; cf. also 1QH 1:23–25; 4Q180). Such texts reflect the practice of trying to determine when the end would come. In Acts 1:7 Jesus counsels against such practice, claiming that God alone knows the times (cf. also Matt. 24:36). *See also* ESCHATOLOGY.

Timestheus, Gaius Furius procurator of Palestine, 232 C.E. He had a distinguished career, holding a number of procuratorships. He was probably procurator of Palestine when Severus Alexander began his Persian war. Timestheus was put in charge of collecting the *annona* to support the emperor's military campaign.

Tineius Rufus *see* RUFUS, QUINTUS TINEIUS

Tisha b'Ab *see* AB, NINTH OF

Tishrei first month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding to September/October beginning with Rosh Hashanah, New Year

tithe (Heb.: *maaser*) a tenth of the herd and crop, set aside for the Lord, to be used for the Temple, priesthood, and other scheduled castes

tithe of the tithe a tenth of the Levite's tithe, which is handed on to the priest

Titus (39–81 C.E.) Roman emperor; son of Vespasian. Titus Flavius Vespasianus led the Roman forces in the siege of Jerusalem (70 C.E.) and succeeded his father as Roman emperor (79–81). After early military service and a term as quaestor, Titus accompanied his father on his campaign against the Jews in Palestine (67 C.E.). He was intimately involved in the negotiations that led to his father's accession to the imperial throne in 69. He then led the Roman army in its conquest of Judea and siege of Jerusalem. After weeks of battle the walls fell in succession, then the Temple Mount, and finally the Upper City with its citadel, the palace of Herod. According to the historian Josephus, Titus tried numerous times to negotiate the surrender of Jerusalem and ordered that the Temple not be burned. Since Josephus was a client of Titus and his father Vespasian and sought to present a positive picture of the Flavians, the veracity of his account is uncertain. After the war Titus and his father were granted a triumph by the Roman Senate. Titus then served his father in high office, including that of praetorian prefect. Although he aroused some resentment because he suppressed dissent, when he succeeded his father as emperor in 79 he was known as an affable and generous ruler. He completed the Colosseum and the Baths of Titus, and he responded to the disasters caused by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius (79 C.E.) and the plague and fire in Rome (80). He died of natural causes in 81.

Titus, Arch of arch located on the Via Sacra in Rome. Carved relief sculptures on either side of the passage show the triumph of Vespasian and Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem. The menorah, the Table of Showbread, trumpets, other items from the Temple, and the captives are featured prominently on one panel; Titus in his chariot crowned by victory is shown on the other.

TJ abbreviation for Targum of Jerusalem (Heb.: Targum Yerushalmi; Ger.: Targum Jeruschalmi), the earliest name for the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch

TJ1 (TJI) abbreviations (occasionally written as 1 JT, 1 TJ, TY I, or 1J) that designate Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, which is a component of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, whose earliest name was Targum of Jerusalem (TJ).

TJ2 (TJII) abbreviations (occasionally written as 2 JT, 2 TJ, TY II, or 2J) that designate the Fragmentary Targums, a component of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, whose earliest name was Targum of Jerusalem (TJ).

Tobiah an opponent of Nehemiah referred to in Nehemiah (2:10, 19; 4:3, 7; 6:1, 12, 14) as "Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite." He was the ally of Sanballat of Samaria and Geshem the Arab in opposing Nehemiah's policies in Judah, threatened military action against Nehemiah (Neh. 4:7), and hired prophets to discredit Nehemiah (Neh. 6:12–14). He had close ties with the Judean nobility (Neh. 6:17–19) and the Jerusalem priesthood (13:4–9). "Servant" (*ebed*) is probably an honorific title, and he seems to have been governor of the Ammonite region, east of the Jordan, under Persian rule. *See also* TOBIAH, HOUSE OF.

Tobiah, house of family founded by Tobiah, who was probably the opponent of Nehemiah described in the Book of Nehemiah, though one of the Lachish letters from the last days of Judah mentions a Tobiah who was a "servant of the king." By the third century B.C.E., the Tobiad family was established in the Ammonite region, east of the Jordan, in and around the fortress of Araq el-Emir, where the name Tobiah is engraved on the cliff at the entrance to the fortress (Qasr al-Abd). Something of the history of the family can be reconstructed from Josephus (*Ant.* 12:160–236), the Zeno papyri from the mid-third century B.C.E., 2 Maccabees 3:9–14, and the excavations at Araq el-Emir. Three generations of Tobiads (Tobiah, Joseph, Hyrcanus) supported the Ptolemies and opposed the high priestly family of the Oniads. Joseph became prosperous as a tax collector for the Ptolemies, and his son, Hyrcanus, had a large sum deposited in the Temple treasury (2 Macc. 3:11). Hyrcanus was later forced to retire to Transjordan, where he committed suicide on the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175 B.C.E.).

Tobit, Book of a fictional narrative about the suffering of two Israelite families in Assyria. The book was probably written in the third century B.C.E., but its folk motifs are doubtless much older. A translation of the originally Aramaic work was included in the Greek Bible, and Qumran Cave 4 yielded four fragmentary manuscripts of the Aramaic text and one of a Hebrew translation. Although Tobit was not accepted into the rabbinic canon, late manuscripts in Hebrew and Aramaic indicate its ongoing usage in other Jewish circles. Their place in the textual tradition must await publication of the Qumran texts.

A master storyteller, the author weaves two parallel plots into a common, but complicated resolution. Tobit, a pious Israelite from Galilee exiled to Nineveh, is regularly harassed and persecuted for his piety and righteous life. Blinded because of an act of kindness and the object of reproach, he prays for death to release him from his unfair situation. Certain that God will answer him, he sends his son Tobias across Mesopotamia to collect a large deposit of silver, first instructing him on his responsibilities to his mother and his obligation to marry a women of his tribe. Near Tobias's destination, Sarah, a distant relative, also prays for death because she is unjustly accused of the wedding-night deaths of her seven successive husbands, who in fact have been killed by a demon in love with her. The angel Raphael, sent in human form, guides Tobias on his journey, directs him to Sarah's house, dispatches the demon, fetches the money, and brings the couple back to Nineveh, where he cures Tobit's blindness, so that all live happily and prosperously ever after.

This complex and humorous plot mirrors the author's view of reality and makes a simple and serious point: a providential God orchestrates events toward a beneficent resolution for the pious even when they are totally oblivious of this fact. Tobit's and Sarah's story is paradigmatic for God's people in exile. Through suffering, God "scourges" righteous individuals and the nation for their sins, so that they may obtain "mercy"—release from their ills and return to a restored Jerusalem. Presumed throughout are the Israelites' covenantal obligations, epitomized in Tobit's observance of the Torah (regular visits to Jerusalem, the offering of tithes, and acts of kindness) and in divinely ordained familial obligations such as honoring one's parents and marrying an appropriate spouse.

The book is mainly prose narrative, and the portrayal of Tobit as a persecuted and restored courtier in Mesopotamia indicates the Story of Ahikar and Daniel 1–6 as parallels. However, the author's observations about human emotions and motivations give the story a novelistic color. Additionally, the narrative is embellished with genres such as prayers, testamentary wisdom instruction, an angelophany that includes a guided journey and a dual between two spirits, a hymn of praise, and a predictive summary of Israelite history related to 1 Enoch 93:1–10 and 91:11–17.

Although elements in Tobit recall the Book of Job, its mix of genres, sophisticated and clever narrative technique, use of subthemes, inclusion of magical and demonological elements, focus on Torah piety, emphasis on family, and concern about Israelite history combine to make a unique story.

The diaspora setting, repeated gentile antagonism to Tobit's piety, and emphasis on Israelite identity suggest that the story was composed in a predominantly gentile environment. *See also:* AHIKAR, STORY OF.

Tobit, Targum to a targum to the Greek Book of Tobit composed in the medieval period. The targum is fairly literal and follows the standard Greek texts closely. Fragments of an Aramaic version of Tobit were also discovered at Qumran and clearly represent a different text from that of the targum. It is presently thought that the Qumran fragments indicate that Tobit was originally composed in Aramaic.

Todos of Rome *see* THEODOSIUS OF ROME

Tohorot **1.** Mishnah tractate devoted to susceptibility to uncleanness of food, ordinarily at home. The tractate discusses susceptibility to uncleanness of Holy Things, heave-offerings, and unconsecrated food (chaps. 1–3); doubts in matters of uncleanness (chaps. 3–6); the relationship of observant and nonobservant Israelites in connection with preserving the ritual cleanness of food and drink (chaps. 7–8); and special liquids, olive oil, and wine (chaps. 9–10).

2. sixth division of the Mishnah, devoted to rules of ritual cleanness that govern in the Temple; and rules of ritual cleanness observed in the homes of those who wish to eat their everyday food at home in accordance with the laws governing the Temple priests' meals in the holy place

Tolidah one of the Samaritan Chronicles, also known as Chronicle 3. It consists mainly of a list of high priests with lengths of office, extending from Moses to the nineteenth century, but occasionally containing other data. Some have argued that this is the basis of all Samaritan priestly chronicles, but others disagree.

tomb *see* BURIAL; BURIAL SITES

toparchy (Gr., government of a district) Toparchies might be found in various places, but they seem to have been especially used as administrative units in Egypt, perhaps corresponding to the old *nomes*. The governor of a toparchy was referred to as a toparch.

Torah **1.** (Heb., instruction) referring especially to divine law, a fundamental concept in Jewish texts beginning with the Tanakh (Old Testament). The term is used in several senses, ranging from an individual commandment to the whole Tanakh. It often designates the first five books, Genesis through Deuteronomy, called the "Law of Moses" and regarded as the heart of the Tanakh. These books combine a number of originally independent law codes (e.g., the Ten Commandments in Exod. 20; the Holiness Code in Lev. 17–26; and Deuteronomy, or "the second law"), embedding them in the story of the foundational events of Israel's history (promises to the patriarchs, deliverance from Egypt, the formation of the covenant at Mount Sinai). The Torah stands in the context of the covenant between God and Israel; it is preceeded by divine grace and is itself an expression of grace. As the law, "Torah" is understood as the revealed will of God, which covers all aspects of life, religious and civil. Particular emphases of biblical law include the command to worship one God, the honoring of the Sabbath, circumcision, ritual purity, and dietary laws.

If the Torah is to regulate the life of all Jews, in various times and places, it requires interpretation. The tendency to expand and update the Torah is already evident in the different law codes that scholars have identified within the Tanakh. The texts of early Judaism (2d c. B.C.E.–2d c. C.E.) reflect various ways of expanding the Torah, as well as rival interpretations of it. Jubilees, a retelling of Genesis 1 through Exodus 14, underscores the authority of its peculiar interpretation of the Torah by presenting it as the contents of the "heavenly tablets" which were dictated by the "angel of presence" to Moses during his forty days on Mount Sinai (Exod. 24:18, Jub. 1:5, 2:27). Particular emphases include a solar calendar (which was also followed at Qumran but not in the Jerusalem Temple) and the correct observance of sabbath and festivals.

The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls also believed that they had the exclusively true interpretation of the Torah, hidden from outsiders (CD 3:14), but revealed to the members of the sect (1QS 5:9). Entering the Qumran community is described as "entry into the Covenant of God" and being "converted to the Law of Moses" (1QS 5:7–11); the sect's interpretation of the law is presented as the only true and faithful one (cf. CD 6:2–11) The Scrolls polemicize against those who pervert the law (4QpNah 2:2, 8; 4QPs^a 1:18–19; 2:2–3), and specifically oppose the practices of the Jerusalem priesthood (CD 1:13–20, 5:6–7). A recently published fragmentary "Halakic letter"

(4Q394–99, also known as MMT) exhorts its addressee to forsake incorrect interpretations of certain laws (e.g., laws governing Temple offerings and other matters of purity). Similar polemics against rival interpretations of the Torah are found in the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 92–105): "Woe to you who alter the true words and pervert the eternal covenant . . . (99:2). The Epistle makes exclusive claims for the instruction of "the wise" and claims that those who follow a different interpretation of the law ("falsehood") will be damned (99:9, 98:14).

Tension between the Torah and the ways of the Gentiles is evident in Tobit (1:4–20) and in 1 Maccabees, which describes the attacks on the Torah by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV and the courageous opposition of the Maccabean warriors and of the *ḥasidim,* ("pious ones") who "offered themselves willingly for the Law" (2:42). Willingness to die for the Torah is also exalted in the 2 Maccabees (6:18–31) and 4 Maccabees (9:1–2).

In Ecclesiasticus, the Torah is identified with the personified "Lady Wisdom," who was created by God before the ages, and whose counsel "is deeper than the great abyss" (Ecclus. 24, cf. 2 Bar. 48:24, 51:3). Philo of Alexandria identifies the Law of Moses with the law of nature (*Vita Mos.* 2.52; *Op. Mund.* 1–3) and devises an allegorical interpretation of specific commandments which gives them a philosophical meaning, without, however, denying that ordinary observance was obligatory. The Pharisees, who put particular stress on the laws of purity, teach a twofold Torah: the Written Torah revealed at Mount Sinai and the Oral Torah handed down in a chain of tradition which reaches from Moses to the Pharisaic rabbis (cf. M. Abot 1:1). Further development of the Pharisaic Oral Torah is recorded in the Mishnah (c. 200 C.E.) and the Talmud (5th–6th cs. C.E.), works which had formative influence on subsequent Jewish understanding of the Torah.

In the New Testament, Torah, translated by the Greek term *nomos,* has two main senses. In its first sense, "Scripture," the "Law" (the Old Testament) is universally affirmed as the Bible of the new Christian religion and a witness to Jesus Christ. In the sense of commandments that must be observed (the "Law of Moses"), there was no such unanimity (consider the controversies reported in Acts 15 and Gal. 1-3). Despite a number of stories which portray Jesus deliberately violating portions of the Torah, especially the Oral Torah (e.g., Mark 2), the general picture of Jesus that emerges from the Gospels is that of a Torah-observant Jew. After Jesus' death, some of those Jews who believed in him continued to observe the Torah (Acts 15:5, Gal. 2:11–14). The clearest enunciation of this position is found in the Gospel of Matthew, which presents Jesus as saying: "Until heaven and earth pass away not a letter or part of a letter will pass away from the law" (5:18). This summary statement is followed in 5:21–48 by a series of six commandments from the Law of Moses, which Jesus affirms and makes more stringent.

A very different position is reflected in the letters of Paul. While he regards the five books of Moses as authoritative Scripture (Rom. 3:21), Paul argues vehemently that observance of the commandments is not to be imposed on gentile Christians. For Paul, "Christ is the end (Gr.: *telos*) of the law" (Rom. 10:4). The word "end" means both "goal" and "termination." Paul, who describes his pre-Christian life as that of an especially zealous Pharisee (Phil. 3, Gal. 1), continues to affirm as a Christian that the Law of Moses is "holy" and that it reveals the will of God (Rom. 7:12). But he claims that the aim of the Torah, from the beginning, was to prepare for the saving message of Jesus' death and resurrection (Gal. 3:19). Having achieved its "goal" in these events, the law is now obsolete, or terminated.

Paul felt himself called to be an "apostle to the Gentiles" (Gal. 1:16), and his discussions of the Law of Moses take place in the context of an argument for the full equality of Jew and Gentile in the church. But his views on Torah observance were not merely a matter of expedience in the mission field. They reflect his apocalyptic theology, according to which the death of Christ brought the end of the old, evil age. As a Christian, Paul came to believe that the Torah, despite its divine origin, had become an instrument of the evil powers (sin and the flesh) which rule over the old age (Rom. 7).

Paul's views incited considerable controvery, beginning in his own day. This is especially evident in his letter to the Galatians, where he argues against rival Jewish Christian missionaries who say that gentile Christians must be circumcized and observe the commandments. In our own century, some scholars have claimed that Paul either misunderstood or deliberately distorted the Jewish understanding of Torah. While Paul's conception of the law was a minority position in the church of his own time, it quickly became the dominant Christian view as the church became increasingly gentile, though law-observant Jewish-Christian communities continued to exist for several centuries.

2. In rabbinic literature, the word "Torah" bears

seven meanings: (1) the written Torah; (2) the one whole Torah, oral and written, revealed by God to Moses at Sinai; (3) a particular thing, such as a scroll, containing divinely revealed words; (4) revelation in general; (5) a classification or rules, as in "the torah of . . . ," meaning "the rules that govern . . ."; (6) the act of studying the Torah; and (7) the status of a teaching, namely, deriving from the Torah, as against deriving from the scribes. "The Torah" speaks of the scriptures of ancient Israel (the Old Testament). Between the Mishnah, c. 200 C.E., and the Talmud of the Land of Israel, c. 400 C.E., "the Torah" lost its capital letter and definite article and ultimately became "torah." What for nearly a millennium had been a particular scroll or book thus came to serve as a symbol of an entire system. The word "Torah" reached the apologists for the Mishnah in its long-established meanings: Torah-scroll; contents of the Torah scroll. But even in the Mishnah itself, these meanings provoked a secondary development, the status of Torah as distinct from other (lower) statuses, hence, Torah-teaching in contradistinction to scribal teaching. With that small and simple step, the Torah ceased to denote only a concrete and material thing—a scroll and its contents. It now connoted an abstract matter of status. And once made abstract, the symbol entered a secondary history, beyond all limits imposed by the concrete object, including its specific teachings, the Torah-scroll. When a rabbi quoted in the Mishnah spoke of "torah," he no longer meant only a particular object, a scroll and its contents. Now he used the word to encompass a distinctive and well-defined worldview and way of life. Torah had come to stand for something one does. Knowledge of the Torah promised not merely information about what people were supposed to do, but ultimate salvation. The Torah as a book thus developed into an abstract and encompassing symbol, so that in the Judaism that took shape in the formative age, the first seven centuries C.E., everything was contained in that one thing.

When the rabbinical literature of late antiquity speaks of "torah," the term no longer denotes a particular book, on the one hand, or the contents of such a book, on the other. Instead, it connotes a broad range of clearly distinct categories of noun and verb, concrete fact and abstract relationship alike. "Torah" stands for a kind of human being. It connotes a social status and a sort of social group. It refers to a type of social relationship. It further denotes a legal status and differentiates among legal norms. As symbolic abstraction, the word encompasses things and persons, actions and status, points of social differentiation and legal and normative standing, as well as "revealed truth." In all, the main points of insistence on the whole of Israel's life and history come to full symbolic expression in that single word. If people wanted to explain how they would be saved, they would use the word "Torah." If they wished to sort out their relationships with Gentiles, they would use the word "Torah" to explain what defined Israel as distinct from all other peoples. "Torah" stood for salvation and accounted for Israel's this-worldly condition and the hope, for both individual and nation alike, of life in the world to come. The Torah symbolized the whole, at once and entire. When "the Torah" refers to a particular thing, it is to a scroll containing divinely revealed words. The Torah may further refer to revelation, not as an object but as a corpus of doctrine. When one "does Torah" the disciple "studies" or "learns," and the master "teaches" Torah. Hence, while the word "Torah" never appears as a verb, it does refer to an act. The word also bears a quite separate sense, torah as category or classification or corpus of rules; for example, "the torah of driving a car" is a usage entirely acceptable to some documents. This generic usage of the word does occur. The word "Torah" very commonly refers to a status, distinct from and above another status, as "teachings of Torah" as against "teachings of scribes." For the two Talmuds that distinction is absolutely critical to the entire hermeneutic enterprise. But it is important even in the Mishnah.

Obviously, no account of the meaning of the word "Torah" can ignore the distinction between the two Torahs, Written and Oral. It is important only in the secondary stages of the formation of the literature. Finally, the word "Torah" refers to a source of salvation, often fully worked out in stories about how the individual and the nation will be saved through Torah. In general, the sense of the word "salvation" is not complicated. It is simply salvation in the way in which Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic historians understand it: kings who do what God wants win battles; those who do not, lose. Thus people who study and do Torah are saved from sickness and death, and the way Israel can save itself from its condition of degradation also is through Torah. The expansion of the meaning of the word "Torah" to encompass not only the scriptures (Written Torah) but also the teachings and writings of rabbis of the first six centuries C.E. (Oral Torah) begins with the Mishnah. The framers of the Mishnah gave no hint of the nature of their book, so the Mishnah reached the political world of

Israel without a trace of self-conscious explanation or any theory of validation. They nowhere claim, implicitly or explicitly, that what they have written forms part of the Torah, enjoys the status of God's revelation to Moses at Sinai, or even systematically carries forward secondary exposition and application of what Moses wrote down in the wilderness. Later on, two hundred years beyond the closure of the Mishnah, the need to explain the standing and origin of the Mishnah led some to posit two things. First, God's revelation of the Torah at Sinai encompassed the Mishnah as much as scripture. Second, the Mishnah was handed on through oral formulation and oral transmission from Sinai to the framers of the document as we have it. These two convictions emerge from the references of both Talmuds to the dual Torah. One part is in writing. The other was oral and now is in the Mishnah. Thus the word "Torah" came to refer to not only the ancient Israelite scriptures but also much else and ultimately came to stand for the religion, Judaism.

The Mishnah places a high value upon studying the Torah and upon the status of the sage. A "*mamzer*-disciple of a sage takes priority over a high-priest *am-haAretz*" (M. Hor. 3:8). But if the Mishnah does not claim to constitute part of the Torah, then what makes a sage a sage is not mastery of the Mishnah in particular. The Torah is what comes from Sinai; all who stand in the chain of tradition from Sinai are bearers of the Torah. That is the turning point in the meaning of the word "Torah" as it evolved. The Torah, then, is what the sages of the Mishnah, Talmuds, and Midrash teach. In the tractate Abot, Torah is instrumental. The figure of the sage, his ideals and conduct, forms the goal, focus, and center. Abot regards study of Torah as what a sage does. The substance of Torah is what a sage says. That is so whether or not the saying relates to scriptural revelation. The content of the sayings attributed to sages endows those sayings with self-validating status. The sages usually do not quote verses of scripture and explain them, nor do they speak in God's name. But it is clear that sages "talk Torah." What follows is this: if a sage says something, what he says is Torah. More accurately, what he says falls into the classification of Torah. Accordingly, Abot treats Torah-learning as symptomatic, an indicator of the status of the sage. The beginning is to claim that a saying falls into the category of Torah if a sage says it as Torah. The end will be to view the sage himself as Torah incarnate. The Mishnah is held in the Talmud of the Land of Israel to be equivalent to scripture (Y. Hor. 3:5).

Once the Mishnah entered the status of scripture, it would take but a short step to a theory of the Mishnah as part of the revelation at Sinai—hence, oral Torah. The first Talmud claims that the Mishnah contains statements made by God to Moses. Just how these statements found their way into the Mishnah, and which passages of the Mishnah contain them, we do not know. This new usage of the word "Torah" found in the Talmud of the Land of Israel emerges from a group of stories that treat the word "Torah" (whether scroll, contents, or act of study) as source and guarantor of salvation. At this point the word "Torah" has ceased to constitute a specific thing or even a category or classification—stories about studying the Torah yield not a judgment as to status (i.e., praise for the learned man) but a promise of supernatural blessing now and salvation in time to come. To the rabbis, the principal salvational deed was to "study Torah," by which they meant memorization of Torah sayings by constant repetition and, as the Talmud itself amply testifies (for some sages), profound analytical inquiry into the meaning of those sayings. The innovation was that this act of "study of Torah" was held to impart supernatural power of a material character. For example, by repeating words of Torah, the sage could ward off the angel of death and accomplish other kinds of miracles as well. Thus Torah formulas served as incantations. Mastery of Torah transformed the man engaged in Torah learning into a supernatural figure, who could do things ordinary folk could not do. The category of "Torah" had already vastly expanded so that through transformation of the Torah from a concrete thing to a symbol, a Torah scroll could be compared to a man of Torah, namely, a rabbi. Now, once the principle had been established that salvation would come from keeping God's will in general, as Israelite holy men had insisted for so many centuries, it was a small step for rabbis to identify their particular corpus of learning, namely, the Mishnah and associated sayings, with God's will as expressed in scripture, the universally acknowledged medium of revelation. The key to the first Talmud's theory of the Torah lies in its conception of the sage, to which that theory is subordinate. Once the sage reaches his full apotheosis as Torah incarnate, then, but only then, the Torah becomes (also) a source of salvation in the present concrete formulation of the matter. Since the sage embodied the Torah and gave the Torah, the Torah naturally came to stand for the principal source of Israel's salvation, not merely a scroll, on the one hand, or a source of revelation, on the other. The

history of the transformation of the word "Torah" from scroll to symbol proceeds from its removal from the framework of material objects, even from the limitations of its own contents, to its identification with a living person, the sage, and endowment with those particular traits that the sage claimed for himself. *See also* TORAH, ORAL; TORAH, WRITTEN.

Torah, Oral the orally revealed and transmitted part of the Torah. At Sinai, God gave the Torah to Moses in two media, oral and written; the oral part was formulated for memorization and handed on from master to disciple, in the model of God to Moses: "Moses received Torah at Sinai and handed it on to Joshua, Joshua to elders, and elders to prophets. And prophets handed it on to the men of the great assembly" (M. Abot 1:1). The Oral Torah was committed to writing, beginning with the Mishnah (completed c. 200 C.E.). Since the authorities of the Mishnah and related writings stood in the line of oral transmission of the Torah, what they said is accorded the status of Torah. Relating the Written Torah to the Oral Torah, which, people maintained, encompassed this law code, the Mishnah, presented a problem. The Mishnah presented one striking problem in particular: it rarely cited scriptural authority for its rules. Omitting scriptural proof-texts implied a claim to an authority independent of scripture; in that striking fact, the document set a new course for itself. From the formation of ancient Israelite scripture into a holy book in Judaism, in the aftermath of the return to Zion and the creation of the Torah-book in Ezra's time (c. 450 B.C.E.), new sacred writings had routinely cited the established canon of revelation (whatever its contents) to set their ideas into relationship with scripture. They did so by citing proof-texts alongside their own rules. Otherwise, in the setting of Israelite culture, the new writings would have found no ready hearing.

Over the six hundred years from the formation in writing of the Torah of Moses during the time of Ezra, from c. 450 B.C.E. to c. 200 C.E., four conventional ways to accommodate new writings—new "tradition"—to the established canon of received scripture had come to the fore. First and simplest, a writer would sign a famous name to his book, attributing his ideas to Enoch, Adam, Jacob's sons, Jeremiah, Baruch, and any number of others, down to Ezra. But the Mishnah bore no such attribution, for example, to Moses. Implicitly, to be sure, the statement of Abot 1:1 that "Moses received Torah from Sinai" carried the further notion that sayings of people on the list of authorities from Moses to nearly their own day derived from God's revelation at Sinai. But no one made that premise explicit before the time of the Talmud of the Land of Israel. We note, in this connection, that the authors of the Gospels took the same view as did the authors of the Mishnah. They did not sign the names of Old Testament authorities either. They explained the origins of Jesus Christ by appeal to genealogy, just as in the tractate Abot, we find an explanation of the origins of the Oral Torah by appeal to genealogy: the genealogy represented by tradition. Second, an authorship might also imitate the style of biblical Hebrew and thus try to creep into the canon by adopting the cloak of scripture. But the Mishnah's authorship ignores biblical syntax and style. And the Gospel's authors, of course, did not even try. Third, an author would surely claim his work was inspired by God, a new revelation for an open canon. But, as we realize, that claim makes no explicit impact on the Mishnah. And it would be some time before the canonical Gospels were given the standing of revelation through the Holy Spirit; it is a claim they do not make on their own behalf. Fourth, at the very least, someone would link his opinions to biblical verses through the exegesis of the latter in line with the former so that scripture would validate his views. The authorship of the Mishnah did so only occasionally; far more commonly, it stated on its own authority whatever rules it proposed to lay down. In this regard, Matthew shows, for instance, in chapter 2, how this would have looked; much of Matthew's Gospel places into relationship prophetic teachings about the Messiah and the life, teachings, and actions of Jesus.

The Hebrew of the Mishnah and of the other writings of the Oral Torah complicates the problem, because it is totally different from the Hebrew of the Hebrew scriptures. Its verb, for instance, makes provision not only for completed or continuing action, for which the biblical Hebrew verb also allows, but also for past and future times, subjunctive and indicative voices, and much else. The syntax is Indo-European, just as Latin and Greek are Indo-European languages, in that we can translate the word order of the Mishnah into any Indo-European language and come up with perfect sense. None of that crabbed imitation of biblical Hebrew that makes the Dead Sea Scrolls an embarrassment to read characterizes the Hebrew of the Mishnah. Mishnaic style is elegant, subtle, exquisite in its sensitivity to word order and repetition, balance, and pattern.

The solution to the problem of the authority of the Mishnah, that is to say, its relationship to scrip-

ture, was worked out in the period after the closure of the Mishnah. Since no one then could credibly claim to sign the name of Ezra or Adam to a book of this kind, and since biblical Hebrew had provided no apologetic aesthetics whatever, the only options lay elsewhere. The two options were, first, to provide a story of the origin of the contents of the Oral Torah, beginning with the Mishnah, and, second, to link each allegation of the Oral Torah, again starting with the Mishnah, through processes of biblical (not Mishnaic) exegesis, to verses of the scriptures. These two procedures would establish for the Mishnah the standing that the uses to which the document was to be put demanded for it: a place in the canon of Israel, based on a legitimate relationship to the Torah of Moses. And with the notion that the Mishnah and later writings that amplified and explained its law formed a component of the Oral Torah, the writing down of the Oral Torah began. As people began to bring to the Written Torah, or Jewish scriptures, the questions of amplification and explanation that they brought to the Mishnah, they also wrote down the answers to their questions. These accumulated and were collected and organized in the Midrash-compilations concerning the biblical accounts of Creation, Adam, Noah, the Flood, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Ten Commandments. And that is how the Oral Torah came to be written down. The great sages, honored with the title of rabbi, transformed the Torah into a plan and design for the world, presenting the everyday as an instance of the eternal. They read scripture as God's picture of creation and humanity. They read the life of the streets and marketplaces, the home and the hearth, the nations and the world as an ongoing commentary on scripture and the potentialities of creation. *See also* TORAH, WRITTEN.

Torah, Written the written part of the Torah revealed by God to Moses at Sinai; generally equivalent to the books of the Hebrew scriptures (Pentateuch, Prophets, Writings). The piety of Israel in the Land of Israel encompassed not only prayer but also the public recitation and exposition of the scriptures. Scholars concur that by the first century, people observed the rite of the reading of the Torah, that is, the Pentateuch, as well as of prophetic lections in the synagogue. No one now can identify with certainty the lections in the prophets that accompanied various passages in the Pentateuch, nor do we know how long it took for the recitation of the whole Pentateuch—whether it took one year or three years. The interpretation of the contemporary meaning and requirements of the Torah and of the prophets occupies a principal place in accounts of such special groups as the disciples of Jesus and the Essenes. Moreover, it formed the background of public life in a world that constantly and ubiquitously invoked the authority of the Torah as validation for the policies and practices of everyday life.

The contribution of the Torah to the common piety derived, in the end, from the conviction that "God revealed Torah to Moses at Sinai" (M. Abot 1:1f.). That meant that when people acted rightly and in conformity to the Torah, they carried out the requirements of the covenant that Israel had made with God. Life under the Torah was a life of sanctification in the here and now and salvation in the age to come, because all life found meaning under the aspect of the covenant. Clearly, the conception that the national life found definition in scripture rested on the premise that education, formal and informal, constituted a broad opportunity for the population at large. Certainly people learned scripture, which formed the center of synagogue worship and defined the nation's sense of itself in the world. We do not know whether a formal school system existed or what, beyond scripture and such aspects of piety as formal prayer, people might have learned in such schools. The absence of concrete information on schooling, however, should not obscure the fact that in every available account the population at large is represented as informed about the scripture and traditions of the nation. It must follow that these literary works found their way, through some institutional means, into the lives of the people. But beyond that simple surmise, nothing can presently be said. Certainly one mode of popular education lay in the translation of scripture into the vernacular, which was Aramaic in the countryside and Greek and Aramaic in the towns, such as Jerusalem. The scriptures, read in Aramaic, gained access to the people that public recitation in a language no one spoke would have denied them. We do not now have the Aramaic translations, or Targumim, exactly as these would have been read in the synagogue in the first century. *See also* TORAH, ORAL.

Torah scroll (Heb.: *sefer Torah*) the Hebrew scroll of the Pentateuch used in synagogue worship. The Hebrew Bible does not present Israel's scripture as sacred. In the Second Temple period, however, various texts refer to biblical writings as holy books. In this period, the rituals surrounding the production and reading of scripture are unclear, although special care in the production of biblical scrolls is evident at Qumran.

Rabbinic Judaism developed a distinctive theory and practice of scripture's sanctity, which is manifest in its treatment of the scroll of the Pentateuch (*sefer Torah*). Scripture had sacred status in rabbinic Judaism. Consequently, human dealings with scripture were circumscribed. Mishnah Yadayim 3:5 declares that "all the holy writings render the hands unclean" (also M. Kelim 15:6; Yadayim 3:2, 4:6). A scroll's sanctity extended to its blank margins (M. Yadayim 3:4; T. Yadayim 2:11) and its wrappings and containers (T. Yadayim 2:12). People were enjoined to violate Sabbath restrictions to save scripture and its wrappings from fire (M. Shabbat 16:1)—an exemption otherwise applied only to save a human life. A damaged, worn, or unfit scroll retained its sanctity and therefore was to be buried, by itself or in the coffin of a sage, but not burned or otherwise destroyed (B. Megillah 26b).

The category "holy writings" could include works in Hebrew and in translation (M. Shabbat 16:1), but the Torah scroll was the the scriptural paradigm and prototype. A Jewish community could do without a synagogue, an ark, or other books of scripture, but not a Torah scroll. The Talmud's elaborate rules for the scroll's production and treatment distinguish it from ordinary writing. The Torah scroll was used in worship and had to be written without vocalization. It had to be transcribed on specially prepared parchment marked with lines (B. Megillah 19a), in a particular script (B. Shabbat 104a), and with orthographic uniformity (B. Erubin 13a). In the scroll, seven Hebrew letters, each time they appeared, were to be drawn with three-stroke decorative crowns at the top of the letter (*tagin*) (B. Menahot 29b). A sheet of Torah parchment with four errors was to be buried, not corrected (B. Megillah 29b), but scrolls produced by heretics or sectarians were to be burned (B. Gittin 45b). Worshippers were to rise before the Torah scroll, and no other scroll could be put on top of it (Y. Megillah 4a; T. Megillah 3:20). It was unacceptable to touch the parchment of the Torah scroll with bare hands (B. Shabbat 14a).

Torah writing also could serve as an amulet. It was used in phylacteries and affixed to dwellings in *mezuzot,* both of which acquired sacred status because of the Torah writing they contained. Rabbinic culture judged that the sefer Torah distinguished Israel from the nations and generated God's loyalty to Israel (Sifra Behukotai, Perek 8:10). At the sight of a burned Torah scroll, rabbis were to perform the mourning ritual of *qeriah* (tearing one's clothes). For a torn Torah scroll, they were to do so twice, once for the parchment and once for the writing (B. Moed Katan 26a). These materials suggest that rabbis regarded the Torah writing itself as a sacred object.

Rabbinic teaching claimed that both the writing of the Torah scroll and the vocalization of the written consonants were the possession of rabbinic tradition, of Oral Torah. The Torah scroll was rabbinic Judaism's most revered and sacred artifact, the stable center for rabbinism's system of piety. Rabbis claimed that the Torah scroll was central to Israel's relationship to God and claimed mastery over it by making its reading and writing a part of their distinctive traditions.

Torah shebeal peh *see* TORAH, ORAL

Torah shebikhtab *see* TORAH, WRITTEN

Torah shrine *see* ARK

Torah study (Heb.: Talmud Torah) systematic memorization and recitation of teachings of Torah, whether the written or the oral Torah, and explanation of those teachings. Torah study is accorded the highest value in Judaism: "The Torah study outweighs all of the other [religious duties]."

Tosefta a corpus of complementary materials for the Mishnah, following the plan and order of the Mishnah, citing the same authorities, and cast in the same language and syntax. Since the Tosefta contains numerous verbatim citations of the Mishnah, the document as a whole certainly is later than the Mishnah, which was completed c. 200 C.E., and since its materials are cited in the Talmud of the Land of Israel, which was completed c. 400 C.E., the closure of the Tosefta should fall some time between those two estimated dates. A guess of c. 300 seems justified. The Tosefta is made up of three types of distinct statements. The first type cites and then glosses a sentence of the Mishnah. The second refers to a principle given in the Mishnah but does not cite it verbatim; this second type cannot be fully understood without reference to the Mishnah. The third sort stands completely separate from the Mishnah; it contributes a rule on a topic found in the Mishnah but in no way relates to, or intersects with, a rule on the same topic given by the Mishnah. The materials of the Tosefta tend to start with citation of the Mishnah's rule, then provide an amplification, and finally give those autonomous, free-standing statements that are essentially supplementary to the Mishnah's treatment of a given subject.

Tosefta targums Tosefta targums, or targumic *toseftot,* as they are sometimes called, are interpretive passages in Aramaic that add to or expand

upon biblical verses. They appear either in different manuscripts of Targum Onkelos, sometimes inserted into the text, at other times placed in the margins or at the end of a book, or they are gathered into independent collections. In literary conception, they usually follow additional material found in the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch. In language, however, they contain many features of the Eastern Aramaic of Targum Onkelos. These two features suggest that the targumic *toseftot* are Palestinian traditions that were later revised by eastern Mediterranean Jewry to fit with the newly dominant Targum Onkelos.

tours of the cosmos Beginning in the Second Temple period and extending into the Middle Ages, there developed in Jewish and then in Christian literature a literary genre in which especially righteous individuals are given "tours of the cosmos" by heavenly, usually angelic, beings. The tour is normally construed as a reward for the individual's great piety. The seer is picked up from his everyday environment and whisked away into a supermundane, heavenly realm, where he is granted visions of supernatural phenomena. The tour often occurs at or near the end of the seer's life.

Normally, the tour's climax is a vision of God sitting on God's heavenly throne. The tours also typically involve journeys through heaven, multiple heavens, or parts of the earth usually inaccessible to humans. The heavenly being who conducts the tour often acts as "guide," pointing out unusual sights and answering questions. Because of their revelatory content, the tours, and the books that contain them, are often termed "apocalypses."

Although the Hebrew Bible itself describes no such extended tours, it does have a number of passages that influence or reflect the extrabiblical tours. Displacements of Enoch and Elijah into a realm of God or a heavenly realm are described in Genesis 5:24 and 2 Kings 2:11, respectively, while Ezekiel's intermittent spiritual journeys are related in the Book of Ezekiel. Exodus 24:9–11; 1 Kings 22:19–23; Isaiah 6:1–4; Ezekiel 1 and 10; and Daniel 7:9–14 all describe individual's visions of God and of other heavenly phenomena.

The first, and most influential, examples of full-fledged tours of the cosmos in Jewish literature occur in 1 Enoch, in the Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1–36) and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (chaps. 72–82). The Book of the Watchers contains three relevant sections—Enoch's ascent into heaven and vision of God's throne (chaps. 14–16), and two separate tours in which Enoch is conducted to the ends of the earth and shown various hidden natural and cosmic phenomena (chaps. 17–19, 20–36). The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries focuses on Enoch's visions of the courses of the sun and moon.

Later books describing tours of the cosmos generally feature similar types of revelatory experiences. There is an increasing tendency, however, for the tours to transcend the earthly plane and focus exclusively on heavenly realities. Sometimes "heaven" is a single plane, and the tour proceeds horizontally (e.g., the Parables of Enoch [1 Enoch 37–71]; Test. of Abr.; Apoc. Zeph.; Rev.). In other cases heaven is portrayed as being composed of various levels (usually three or seven), through which the seer sometimes proceeds in an ascent to God's throne in the highest heaven (e.g., 2 Enoch; Apoc. Abr.; Test. Levi 2–7; 3 Bar.; Asc. Isa.).

Many of the tours show a special interest in the fates of human souls after death (e.g., Test. Abr.). In general, however, the cosmic tours do not place a strong emphasis on eschatology. Various categories of later Jewish and Christian literature continue the tradition of the cosmic tour.

Trajan Roman emperor (r. 98–117 C.E.). His mother was Spanish and this may account for Nerva's adopting him. Nerva needed to quiet the criticism of the legions and the Praetorian Guards, and Trajan was respected as a general but was still considered to be a Roman "outsider." As emperor he distributed free corn to the needy, instituted a massive program of public works, probably financed by the booty he gained from the Second Dacian War, and took firm control of the Praetorian Guards. In 113 Trajan moved against Parthia who had removed Axidares as ruler of Armenia. In 114 he conquered Armenia, and by 115 Trajan captured Ctesiphon, Parthia's capital. However, in 116 there was a revolt in southern Mesopotamia, and Parthian troops attacked his forces in northern Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Adiabene. Apparently, the Jews joined the fighting against Trajan, and Lucius Quietus was appointed governor of Palestine after he quelled the rebellion. In 115 there were Jewish revolts in Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene and a short-lived uprising in Palestine. There is no evidence that the revolts in North Africa were related to the Jewish disturbances in either Mesopotamia or Palestine but seem to have been the result of continued tensions between the Greeks and the Jews of the region. *See also* TRAJAN, WAR OF.

Trajan, War of Jewish uprisings against Rome, 115–117 C.E.; called the War of Quietus in rabbinic literature. In 115 C.E., while Trajan was on a

lengthy campaign in Mesopotamia fighting the Parthians on the borders of the Roman Empire, Jews in Egypt and Cyrene and later Cyprus and Mesopotamia attacked their non-Jewish compatriots and revolted against the Roman Empire. The cause of the uprising is unknown, but probably Trajan's absence in the east with substantial military forces left an opening for insurrection. Since the uprisings occurred only in a small number of Jewish diaspora communities and not in Palestine, the motives for the uprisings were probably local, deriving from intercommunal tensions, ongoing conflicts, previous persecutions, and present threats. In Egypt, a Jewish attack in 115 C.E. defeated the Greeks and the Roman governor, Marcus Rutilius Lupus, who were forced to withdraw to Alexandria, where they counterattacked successfully against the Alexandrian Jews, killing and imprisoning many. The next year (116 C.E.) battles between Jews and Greeks spread over the country and were put down only with the intervention of Roman legions. Many battles were fought in villages throughout the country, and extant papyri detail extensive damage and slaughter. Some areas of Egypt were devasted for years afterward. The conflict was so severe that even about eighty years later, a festival celebrating the defeat of the Jews was still celebrated in Oxyrhynchus. Though a Jewish community in Alexandria survived, it was moved outside the city and so weakened that it never exercised the influence and creativity of the first-century community.

In Cyrenaica to the west, the uprising became a war against Rome. According to a later Greek historian Dio, the Jews, led by Lucuas (or Andreas, in another source), tortured and massacred 220,000 inhabitants of the region and destroyed many public installations. Though Dio probably exaggerates the numbers and clearly wishes to sensationalize the atrocities of the war, his account shows the seriousness of the conflict. Archaeological excavations have revealed that many of the public buildings in the city of Cyrene were destroyed at this time and that other cities in Cyrenaica were damaged. Roads and temples were also destroyed by the Jews, as inscriptions concerning their rebuilding attest. The uprising was so widespread and violent that it became a revolt against Roman rule. The claim to kingship by the leader of the revolt may imply messianic hopes as one motive. Trajan sent one of his ablest generals, Marcius Turbo, to North Africa to put down the revolt in 116, a task that Marcius accomplished after a year-long, difficult campaign. Roman legions killed thousands of Jews in both Egypt and Cyrenaica. Peace was restored by the middle of 117. After the war, the number of Jewish names on tax lists and papyri decreased greatly, indicating that the community suffered substantial fatalities.

Inspired by the uprisings in Egypt and Cyrenaica, Jews revolted elsewhere in the Roman empire. Dio says that on Cyprus Jews, led by Artemion, killed 240,000 (probably another exaggeration) and destroyed Salamis, the capital city. When Roman legions restored control, they killed many Jews and banned all Jews from the island.

By 116, Trajan had conquered most of Mesopotamia and organized its regions into provinces. However, a Parthian counteroffensive from Media into northern Mesopotamia led to a general uprising against the Romans among the indigenous population, an uprising that included the Jewish communities throughout the east. Probably the Jews of Mesopotamia, along with other ethnic groups, hoped to throw off Roman rule with the help of the Parthians, under whom they had more intracommunal freedom. The Christian historian Eusebius speaks of a specifically Jewish revolt, but Jewish participation in a general uprising is more likely. Since this revolt threatened a sensitive border region of the Roman empire, Trajan ordered his general, Lucius Quietus, later governor of Judea, to put down the revolt. In the course of the campaign, thousands were massacred. After Trajan's death in 117, his successor, Hadrian, abandoned his eastern conquests as too costly to defend. Thus, eastern Jewish communities escaped Roman rule.

Though some fragments of evidence suggest unrest against the Romans in Palestine, no revolt of any consequence took place until almost twenty years later under Bar Kosiba (Bar Kokhba).

transgression going beyond the boundaries as a type of sin that connotes deliberate disobedience to God. This term is often used to translate the Hebrew root *psh*ʿ (rebellion) and the Greek *parabasis* (transgression). Second Temple Jewish literature and the New Testament use these words especially to characterize the activities of those community members who are deliberately disloyal and do not lead proper lives according to God's law and commandments. Transgressors are conceived of as hardened sinners in deliberate and permanent defiance of God. *See also* SIN; TRESPASS.

Transjordan modern name for the area east of the Jordan that included at the end of the Israelite monarchies (from north to south) Karnaim east of the Sea of Galilee, Gilead and Ammon east of the

Jordan, and Moab east of the Dead Sea. Edom lay southeast and south of the Dead Sea. The Persian satrapy called "Beyond the River," that is, west of the Euphrates, consisted of the same place names during Persian hegemony, except the Jewish kingdom of the Tobiads which occupied the ancient Ammonite area south of the Jabbok and east of the Jordan, including the ancient cities of Abila, Tyrus (the capital), and Rabbath-bene-Ammon (The Height of the Sons of Ammon, later Philadelphia). The subsequent Hellenization of this entire area is made plain by the Greek names applied to the leading cities of Transjordan. From north to south these included Seleucia (biblical Abila), Berenice-Pella (biblical Pehel), and Philadelphia (biblical Rabbath-Ammon or Rabbath-bene-Ammon). About 144 B.C.E. Jonathan Maccabeus managed to win back roughly the area of the Tobiads from Demetrius, who represented the Seleucid Greeks. From this point onward the area would be known as Perea. It was apparently the policy of the Maccabees to replace Greek populations with Jewish populations wherever possible. In 128 B.C.E., the Jewish king John Hyrcanus I added the cities of Medeba and Esbus (biblical Heshbon) immediately south of Perea. His successor Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 B.C.E.) expanded the borders of his kingdom to include virtually every area his ancestor David had ruled. East of the Jordan rift from north to south, his rule included the Greek cities of Gaulanitis, such as Gamala and Hippos, similar cities of Galaaditis, such as Abila and Pella, the region immediately east of the Jordan with the cities of Ammathus, Gedor, and Macherus, and the region of Moabitis, which included Esbus and Medeba, but not Philadelphia. South of this territory lay the kingdom of the Nabateans.

With the coming of Rome in 63 B.C.E., the political divisions of the area east of the Jordan changed. The Roman general Pompey ceded Gaulanitis to the Itureans and Syria. The ten Greek cities in the north he joined into a league of ten cities—the Decapolis—including Scythopolis (biblical Beth Shean) west of the Jordan. Perea became a narrow strip of land about 100 kilometers by 26 kilometers, again not including Philadelphia or Gerasa. This state of affairs continued under Herod the Great, except that he expanded his territories eastward in the north to include Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. He also expanded Gaulanitis to the north to include Caesarea-Paneas. In the south he annexed Esbus by defeating the Nabateans in 32 B.C.E. At the death of Herod the Great, Perea passed to his son Herod Antipas, who ruled Perea until his exile in 39 C.E., when it passed under the control of Agrippa I (37–46 C.E.) and then to Roman procurators. Gradually, however, as Agrippa II (44–95 C.E.) proved an able administrator, many of the territories of his father were transferred to him. The central part of Transjordan, however, remained always under the control of the procurators. During the First Revolt of 66–73 C.E., the area east of the Jordan was under Jewish control until 68 C.E., when it returned to the Roman general Vespasian. In 97–98 C.E. the city of Capitolias was founded in the northern Transjordan area. Furthermore, in 106 C.E. the emperor Trajan annexed the kingdom of the Nabateans southeast of the Dead Sea and south of Perea as the province of Arabia. The cities of Dium and Philadelphia east of the Sea of Galilee were added to Arabia, so that Perea was now bordered by this new province on the south and east. During the Bar Kokhba Revolt (131–135 C.E.), Perea was administered from Jerusalem as a Jewish territory.

After the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Jerusalem was refounded as a Roman city under the name Aelia Capitolina, and Perea was ruled from Aelia as part of the province of Syria Palaestina. Sometime in this period the Decapolis broke up into independent cities. In 242 C.E., the emperor Philippus Arabus gave his native village in Syria municipal rights and the name Philippopolis. This state of affairs continued until about 400 C.E., when Perea was designated with Judea, Idumea, and Samaria as Palaestina Prima with its capital at Caesarea on the coast. Palaestina Secunda included Galilee, Gaulanitis, and the cities of the Decapolis, with its capital at Scythopolis. Early in the fifth century C.E., the emperor Theodosius could address an edict to the Jewish Sanhedrins of the "two Palestines."

With the royal patronage of Christianity given by Constantine the Great, ecclesiastical divisions became civil divisions. In Byzantine Palestine, Perea had shifted to Palaestina Prima. East of Perea were the city territories of Adraea, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Heshbon, and Medeba as part of the province of Arabia. On the other hand, Palaestina Secunda included the northern Transjordanian territories, including Clima Gaulanes (Gaulanitis), Hippus, Gadara, and Pella. In the former Auranitis new cities were founded, although their locations remain unknown: Constantia, Neapolis, and Hierapolis. A city of Maximianupolis was founded in Trachonitis.

Excavations in the cities of Transjordan in this period reveal a thriving population, sometimes mixed, sometimes wholly non-Jewish. Herod built

temples at Esbus, for example, that rival anything west of the Jordan. A marvelous water system at Abila is rivaled only by the similar system at Sephoris in Lower Galilee. Furthermore a Roman road system has been traced from southeast of the Dead Sea to Medeba, Heshbon, and Philadelphia. At Philadelphia a fork turned north and east to Bostra. The west fork lead to Pella, and from there to Hippos and eventually Damascus.

treasure (Gr.: *thēsauros, thēsaurizō*) metaphors for the heavenly accumulation of deeds that will affect one's fate in God's judgment. When Ezra worries about his fate, Uriel promises him that he has "a treasure of works laid up with the Most High" (2 Esdras 7:77; cf. 8:33, 36; 2 Bar. 14:12; Gen. Rabbah 9:9). The metaphor was especially at home in admonitions to the rich (Tob. 4:8–9, where retribution takes place in this world, and 2 Enoch 50:5). In two sayings ascribed to Jesus, the gathering of wealth on earth is contrasted to laying up treasures in heaven, through generosity and almsgiving (Mark 10:17–22; Matt. 6:19–21; Luke 12:33–34). The parables in Luke 12:16–21 and 16:1–9 and the story in Luke 19:1–10 make the same point. Thus good deeds, and especially the generous distribution of one's wealth, pay dividends when it counts. The idea that sin constitutes a debt may be the other side of this coin. The treasure image is extended to refer to the storing up of immortality and God's wrath in heaven (2 Esdras 8:54; Rom. 2:5; James 5:3). *See also* DEBT; JUDGMENT, DIVINE; REWARDS AND PUNISHMENT; WEALTH.

tree a multivalent symbol for people and groups that emphasizes vitality, strength, and, paradoxically, vulnerability. Its widespread usage reflects the agricultural environment in which it is used.

Psalm 1:1–3 depicts the righteous person as a tree that bears fruit as it draws life from the river of the Torah, and the Psalms of Solomon 14 extends the image to the community of the pious, who are "the Lord's paradise, the trees of life" (vv. 2–4), devoted to the Torah. Isaiah 61:3 also emphasizes this communal aspect, referring to the poor and afflicted of Israel as "oaks of righteousness" and the "plantation of YHWH." As texts like 1 Enoch 10:3, 16, 93:2, 5, 10 and the Damascus Document 1:7 indicate, the related image of the "plant of truth," begun with Noah or Abraham, becomes a regular way of speaking about Israel and the eschatological community of the righteous and chosen. New Testament sayings ascribed to John the Baptist and Jesus contrast the righteous and the wicked by describing them as good or evil trees that bear good or evil fruit, or no fruit at all (Matt. 3:8–10, 7:16–20, 12:33). Bearing fruit becomes a regular image for doing (good or evil) deeds—whatever plant envisioned in the metaphor (Mark 4:20; and Matt. 21:41 and John 15:1–8, probably reflecting Isa. 5:1–7). In a relatively rare use of agricultural imagery that may reflect his use of tradition, Paul contrasts Israel and the Gentiles, describing them as a cultivated and a wild olive trees (Rom. 11:16–24).

Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4:4–26 employ the image of a great tree to depict the power of the kings of Egypt and Babylon. In each case, however, the mighty tree falls before the superior power of the axe wielded by God or God's agents. A similar notion occurs in Isaiah 10:33–34, which is followed immediately by reference to the shoot from the stump of Jesse, the Davidic king, an association that was not lost on the author of one of the Qumran commentaries on Isaiah (4QpIsa^{a} 8–10; cf. 2 Bar. 36–40). The saying ascribed to John the Baptist also describes God's judgment as the felling of trees (Matt. 3:10; cf. also Luke 13:6–9). Great strength and its vulnerability before God's judgment is the point of comparison in several texts that depict the prediluvian giants as fallen trees (CD 2:19; 4QEnGiants^{b} 7–10; cf. 1 Enoch 83:4; 2 Bar. 36–37). *See also* TREE OF LIFE; TREE OF WISDOM.

tree of life one of two identified trees in the Garden of Eden, said to offer immortality to those who eat its fruit (Gen. 3:22–23). Although the idea appears to draw on ancient Near Eastern motifs, its precise origins are obscure. In eschatologically oriented Jewish and Christian texts, the righteous are promised that in the future they will receive the sustenance and eternal life that the tree provides (1 En. 25:3–6; Test. Levi 18:10–11; Rev. 2:7; 2 Esdras 8:52; 2 En. 8:3; perhaps Apoc. Moses 9:3–13:5 and Life of Adam and Eve 36:2). *See also* OIL OF LIFE; TREE OF WISDOM.

tree of wisdom primarily a metaphor for the source of divinely given wisdom, associated with the story of paradise. The association between wisdom and the first human being is explicit in the version of the Eden story preserved in Ezekiel 28:1–17. Different from Genesis 3, where "knowledge of good and evil" are wrongly sought after, here wisdom appropriate to the first human is corrupted (v. 17). Interpreting Genesis 2–3 and perhaps Ezekiel 28, 1 Enoch 32 describes Enoch's journey to "the paradise of righteousness," where he sees the tree of wisdom, whose fruit was wrongly eaten by the first parents but enables certain others (perhaps the angels) to understand great wisdom. Picking up the idea attested in

1 Enoch 32, the Life of Adam and Eve 29:2–11 ascribes to Adam apocalyptic knowledge of the future gained when he ate the tree of knowledge. 1 Enoch 82:1–3 implies the image of the tree of wisdom to describe the life-giving power of the apocalyptic wisdom that Enoch brought down from heaven. For Ben Sira, the Mosaic Torah is the tree of wisdom that grants life (Ecclus. 24:12–22), and allusions to the paradise story are close at hand (24:23–29). In various versions of the Gnostic myth, with their inverted exegesis of Genesis 2–3, the snake and the tree of wisdom provide the knowledge that allows Eve and Adam to overcome the ignorance imposed on them by the Creator, which impedes their salvation. *See also* PARADISE; TREE OF LIFE.

trespass sin. The terms "trespass" and "transgression" are used to translate Hebrew words for sin derived from the root *psh*ʿ (to rebel) and the Greek *paraptōma*. The latter is also translated as "debt." Trespasses generally are individual sins, which may be followed by repentance and improvement (Wisd. of Sol. 12:2; Rom. 5:15–20). *See also* SIN; TRANSGRESSION.

trials *see* TEMPTATION

trials, legal According to the Mishnah tractate Sanhedrin, the Great Sanhedrin was a court (as well as legislature) and conducted trials according to clearly articulated legal procedures. There is no evidence prior to the Mishnah, however, for either a standardized, formally constituted court or standardized regulated procedures. From the few cases for which we have accounts it appears rather that rulers governed and judged as the Roman overlords and the domestic balance of power allowed. Indeed, it was standard procedure for a ruler to convene a court (*synedrion*), but the ruler-convener could manipulate or circumvent the court. This is suggested by Josephus's accounts of Herod being summoned to trial for murder of the bandit-chieftain Hyrcanus in Galilee. In this case Herod manipulated the court under pressure from Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria. Once established as king, Herod himself convened and manipulated both courts and wider assemblies at will—to frame the former high priest Hyrcanus II, to convict his own sons, or to condemn the scholars and their students who cut down the Roman eagle from over the Temple gate. The synoptic Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus of Nazareth and Josephus's account of the trial of his brother James similarly portray the principal ruler, in these cases the high priest (Caiaphas and Ananus, respectively), convening a court and virtually directing its verdict (Mark 14:53–64; *Ant.* 20.200). In Jesus' case the Roman governor ratified the verdict and carried out the execution by crucifixion, while in the latter case, the Roman authorities were displeased by Ananus's own execution of the condemned.

Rabbinic Judaism articulated clear and complete procedures for legal trials. A court of three judges had jurisdiction in civil matters, including divorce, conversion, and absolution from vows, and was empowered to penalize a defendant through fines, flogging, and even enslavement. Courts of twenty-three adjudicated criminal matters. Despite this fully defined system, in rabbinic times and thereafter, Jewish courts had only limited power. This was so particularly in capital cases, in matters involving a Jew and non-Jew, and in cases in which a Jew chose to resort to a non-Jewish court.

The trial depended upon oral testimony, given in open court before the judges, litigants, and other witnesses (see Deut. 17:16). The judges conducted the interrogation, but the opposing litigants had the right to suggest questions. In criminal matters, testimony by deposition was completely excluded; in litigation over contracts, it was allowed, for instance, if a witness was sick or in a different locale. Testimony was not given under oath, deemed unnecessary in light of the Decalogue's admonition against bearing false witness (Exod. 20:16). In criminal matters, testimony of at least two witnesses was required to convict the accused (Num. 35:10; Deut. 1915; B. Sotah 2b; B. Sanhedrin 20a). Testimony was not accepted from women, slaves, imbeciles, the deaf or mute, the blind, relatives, parties in any way involved in the matter, known criminals, sinners, and those who rejected societal norms (who might perjure themselves).

tribes, ten ten of the twelve social units of Israel, all of which are presented as the direct descendants of Jacob's sons. The biblical tribal lists vary somewhat regarding the names for the ten. The ten sons of Jacob from whom the tribes come are Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, and Joseph (see Gen. 29–30). In the lists of tribes, Levi, the priestly clan that had no land, is often eliminated, but the number of tribes remains the same because Joseph is divided into two, which are named after his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (see Num. 26). When Israel was split into two kingdoms after Solomon's reign, most of the tribes formed the Kingdom of Israel. In 1 Kings 11-12, the prophet Ahijah gives the new king, Jeroboam, ten of the twelve pieces into which he had torn a new garment; these symbolized the tribes

(other than Judah and apparently Benjamin) over which he was to rule. This realm existed until 722–721 B.C.E., when the Assyrians killed or deported thousands (see 2 Kings 15–17). The fact that these tribes are not mentioned again in the Hebrew Bible has given rise to the idea of the ten lost tribes. They do, however, play a part in some extrabiblical texts. The Testament of Moses 3–4 predicts that the two other tribes, when exiled, will summon the ten to repent. They do so, but eventually they grow and spread out among the nations. In 2 Baruch (c. 100 C.E.), the remaining two tribes are said to have done more evil than the ten who were deported; 4 Ezra 13:39–50 looks to a return of the ten tribes in the last days. *See also* TRIBES, TWELVE.

tribes, twelve the basic constituent units of Israel, all descended from the twelve sons of Jacob. The sons' names are Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin. For the tribal lists, Joseph is usually divided into two tribes, which are named after his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, and Levi, the priestly tribe to which no land was given, is removed from the roster. These tribes are said to have grown in number in Egypt (Exod. 1) so that they became a great nation. After their Exodus and wilderness wanderings, they entered the land of Canaan, where nine and one-half tribes were allotted land, with the other two and one-half remaining on the east side of the Jordan River. They formed the united Kingdom of Israel in the time of Saul, David, and Solomon, but later split into two: ten tribes followed Jeroboam and established the new Kingdom of Israel; Judah and Benjamin remained under the rule of Davidic kings. The motif of the united twelve tribes did not die out with political rupture, however. Elijah referred to it when he took twelve stones for the altar that he rebuilt (1 Kings 18), and Ezekiel, in his vision of restored Israel, divides the land into twelve parts (chap. 47). After the return from exile and reconstruction of the temple by some Judeans, the number of sacrifices offered at the new sanctuary reflected the full number of the tribes (Ezra 6:17, 8:35).

Outside the Hebrew Bible, the clearest appeal to the number twelve is in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which present what are supposed to be the final speeches of Jacob's twelve sons to their descendants. The Qumran community was governed by a council of twelve lay members representing the tribes (Manual of Discipline 8). The Temple Scroll, which describes a splendid, massive temple complex, has twelve gates in different courtyards, and they are named after the sons of Jacob. There are also areas for them in the complex (see cols. 39–41, 44), and sacrifices are connected with them (cols. 24–25). The War Scroll, which describes the final battles, mentions the presence of the twelve several times and says that their names were written on the great standard and on the shield of the prince of the congregation (cols. 2–3, 5). The Testament of Moses 3–4 predicts that the twelve tribes will have contact in their exile, while the Testament of Benjamin 9 pictures the twelve at the future temple. Testament of Abraham 19 speaks of their judgment, but Ben Sira prays that all may be gathered to their original inheritance (36:11). In the New Testament, Jesus' twelve disciples reflect the tribal number; in fact, they will judge the twelve tribes when the Son of Man sits on his throne (Matt. 19:28; Luke 22:30). The Epistle of James is addressed to the twelve tribes of the dispersion (1:1). In the Revelation of John, the twenty-four elders seated around the heavenly throne seem to represent the twelve patriarchs or tribes and the twelve apostles (chap. 4). The symbolic total of 144,000 redeemed people is reached by assigning 12,000 to each of the twelve tribes, all of which are listed (chaps. 7 and 14). The woman who represents God's people has twelve stars in her crown (chap. 12), and the holy Jerusalem that is lowered from heaven is surrounded by a wall with twelve gates named after the twelve tribes (chap. 21). *See also* TRIBES, TEN.

tribulation (Heb.: *tzarah;* Gr.: *thlipsis*) the great trouble expected to come upon God's people prior to their rescue as the end time, which is sometimes described as the "time of distress." This uniquely terrible time is first mentioned in Daniel 12:1, "There will be a time of distress such as has not been since the nation came into being until that time." The notion recurs in Testament of Moses 8:1, Mark 13:19, and Revelation 7:14, and many apocalyptic texts describe in detail the woes of this time of trouble. *See also* SIGNS, ESCHATOLOGICAL.

tribune Latin term for two sorts of official. First, there was the *tribunus plebis,* an official who served as an ombudsman for the people in Rome during the republic and empire. The office arose because of the old system in which the aristocracy governed. As a representative of the people, the tribune had a major say in legislation, including a veto against most judicial and legislative acts. A second sort of tribune, the *tribunus militum,* was a military officer above the centurion. Half a dozen were normally assigned to each legion, where they acted as magistrates, among other duties.

triennial cycle the practice in Israel in early rabbinic times of publicly reading in the synagogue the entire Torah, divided into weekly portions (each called a *parashah* or *sidra*) over a span of three years. The portions are probably based on the division of the Torah into 153, 155, or 167 *sedarim* (Heb., orders, or divisions). The Babylonian custom to complete the cycle in one year has been most widely practiced since the eighth century C.E., although some places used the triennial cycle during the Middle Ages. In the annual cycle, Genesis is divided into twelve portions, Exodus eleven, Leviticus ten, Numbers ten, and Deuteronomy eleven, for a total of fifty-four. That cycle begins after Sukkot in the fall. Special readings are added for festivals, the new moon, Purim, Hanukkah, fast days, and for four Sabbaths in Adar and Nisan. The sequence concludes on Simhat Torah with special recognition for those called to read the last section of Deuteronomy and the first of Genesis. Each portion was further subdivided among members of the congregation who each read several verses. Reading from the Torah in the synagogue was considered an honor. On the Sabbath seven men were called to come up to read (Heb.: *aliyot*). A priest was called to read the first segment, a Levite the second, and ordinary Israelites the remaining portions.

trumpet, eschatological God's signal for the return of the dispersion at the time of the end. The association between a trumpet blast and the beckoning voice of God appears already in the Sinai account in Exodus 19:13 and 16. In Isaiah 27:12–13, it sounds the signal for the gathering of the people of Israel lost in Assyria and driven to Egypt. 1 Enoch 102:1–3 refers to the mighty sound of God's voice as the theophany is imminent. Jesus' prediction of the end in Mark 13 alludes to Isaiah 27 in its description of the return of the diaspora (v. 27), but it is Matthew's revision of this passage that mentions the great trumpet (24:31). Both texts may be alluding to the resurrection of the dead, a traditional interpretation of the return of the dispersed; however, it is Paul who associates the trumpet explicitly with the resurrection (1 Thess. 4:16; 1 Cor. 15:51–52). This last passage is cited in Handel's oratorio, "Messiah," and in the "Tuba Mirum" of the Dies Irae in the Roman Requiem. *See also* SIGNS, ESCHATOLOGICAL.

trust *see* FAITH

truth and falsehood a construct that polarizes religion into two categories, what is right and receives God's favor, and what is wrong and leads to divine condemnation. The construct can include right and wrong conduct as well as right and wrong teaching. This teaching may involve the Torah and its interpretation or prophetic revelation. Three sets of texts promulgate this viewpoint: 1 Enoch, the Qumran scrolls, and the New Testament.

In 1 Enoch, truth and falsehood turn on the authors' claims to have received revealed wisdom and knowledge. Enoch received the contents of the astronomical book while guided through heaven by Uriel (chaps. 72–82). According to the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90), Israel's history is marked by continual apostasy, depicted as blindness, which repeatedly falls under God's judgment. This blindness continues after the exile and includes a polluted Temple cult (89:73–74). In the Hellenistic period, a younger generation is enlightened, and the opening of their eyes leads to the struggles that culminate in the great judgment and the reversion of humanity to its pristine unity. Chapters 1–5 indict sinners for revisionism (that is, changing the Torah; 2:1–5:4), celebrate the eschatological gift of wisdom (5:8), and anticipate the great judgment and the reward and punishment respectively of the righteous chosen and the sinners (1:4–9, 5:5–9). Chapters 92–105 work these notions out in detail. Although the author is deeply concerned with social injustice, he also focuses on right and wrong religious teaching. Right and wrong conduct are described as walking on the paths of righteousness or truth and the paths of wickedness or perversity. Perversity and changing the commandments of the eternal covenant are at the heart of the evils that this author opposes (99:2, 104:9–11) and are tantamount to idolatry (99:1–2, 6–9). This error derives from false teachers who write lies and lead many astray with their errors (98:15–16). However, the author claims to possess revealed knowledge about God's Torah and about the rewards and punishments due the righteous and the sinners. All of this is given an eschatological cast in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which construes the postexilic generation as thoroughly perverse, but posits the receipt of "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" and the revelation of righteous Torah, which will be available for "all the sons of the whole earth" (93:9–10, 91:11–14; cf. 104:12–105:2).

At Qumran, the Enochic scheme is enhanced by the imposition of a two-spirits theology with a cosmic dimension (1QS 3:15–4:26). These spirits—the Prince of Light, or Angel of Truth, and the Angel of Darkness—preside over humanity and influence human deeds. The repeated pairings of light and darkness, truth and falsehood, indicate that human

virtue and wickedness are, to a considerable degree, the result of a right and wrong understanding of sin and righteousness. As in 1 Enoch, the Qumran texts describe a time when some in Israel come to understand the wrongness of their ways and turn to God, specifically through the tutelage of the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 1:3–18, 6:2–11; 1QS 8:1–10). Those responsible for writing these texts had strong halakhic differences of opinion with their opponents, whom they dubbed "interpreters of slippery things" and persons who "lead many astray through their false teaching, lying tongue, and deceitful lips" (4QpNah 2; cf. CD 1:18; 1QH 4:5–29). As in 1 Enoch, wrong halakhah includes error in the calendar (3:14–15) and also results in the pollution of the Temple (CD 5:6–7). This opposition between right and wrong Torah is exacerbated by conflict about right and wrong prophetic revelation (1QH 4:5–21). Thus, the Qumran sectarians orient their religious self-understanding and their place in history within a massive cosmic struggle between truth and falsehood. As the eschatological community of the chosen, they obey the true Torah as God has revealed it (1QS 5:8–11) and await vindication in the judgment that will also condemn the rest of humanity.

Many of the dualistic motifs in 1 Enoch and the Qumran literature recur in the New Testament and often govern the self-understanding of the New Testament authors. The crucial issue and principal eschatological factor is Jesus of Nazareth. In the Gospel according to Mark, Jesus, as the Son of God and presence of the Spirit, is pitted against a demonic realm, whose agents include the protagonists of the Torah itself: the scribes, Pharisees, and chief priests. Moreover, Jesus warns against false messiahs and false prophets who will lead many astray at the end time (Mark 13:5–6, 22). The Fourth Gospel epitomizes the viewpoint. Jesus, the heavenly Logos, descends to witness to the truth in the darkness of a world dominated by Satan. His revelation is accepted by a few, but rejected by most. Those who believe in him receive eternal life. The First Epistle of John sees human reactions to Jesus Christ as the criteria for truth and falsehood. *See also* DUALISM; ERROR; SPIRIT OF TRUTH; WAYS, TWO.

Tryphon, Diodotus general of the Seleucid emperor Alexandar Balas (r. 151–145 B.C.E.). After Alexander's death, Tryphon fought Demetrius II Nicator (r. 145–140/139 B.C.E.) for the throne in the name of Alexander's minor son, Antiochus VI (145–142 B.C.E.). He then killed Antiochus and sought the throne for himself, but was besieged in Apamea by Demetrius's brother Antiochus and committed suicide in 142 B.C.E.

tumtum *see* HERMAPHRODITE

Turbo, Quintus Marcius Roman general under Trajan. He was born in Dalmatia. Trajan sent Turbo to quell the Jewish revolt in North Africa in 116 C.E., believing that the general was more important for that task than for continuing with Trajan's army against the Parthians. Most likely, Turbo's authority extended over the military leaders of both Cyrenaica and Egypt. Since he was given a joint naval and land force, he was probably charged with putting down the revolt in Cyprus as well. Eusebius tells us that Turbo faced a difficult situation and that it took many battles and a long time to stop the rebellion. It appears that Turbo succeeded in bringing peace to the area by the end of 117. The following year, Hadrian put him in charge of Pannonia and Dacia with a rank equal to that of prefect. Eventually, Hadrian became suspicious of Turbo and dismissed him from office.

turgeman *see* METURGEMAN

Twelve Patriarchs, Testaments of the a twelve-part collection of texts purporting to contain the deathbed instructions of Jacob's sons. The document is preserved in many Greek manuscripts and in Armenian and Slavonic translations of the Greek. Patent christological references indicate that *in its present form* the collection is a Christian product. Scholars have explained the origin of the document in three ways: (1) a Jewish collection of twelve testaments was Christianized through interpolation; (2) a nucleus of Jewish testaments was expanded by a Christian into a collection of twelve testaments; (3) a Christian author or authors composed the collection, making use of Jewish traditions. The discussion of these options has reached no consensus; however, it is generally recognized that interpretation should begin by accepting the collection as the Christian document that it presently is.

Each testament has the following formal components: (a) a deathbed setting in which the patriarch gathers his sons for instruction; (b) a narrative about the patriarch's life which illustrates his vices and/or virtues (excepting Test. Asher); (c) ethical exhortations that the sons should emulate or avoid the father's virtues or vices; (d) eschatological predictions that their descendants will not heed this advice; and (e) a description of the patriarch's death and burial.

The Testaments emphasize ethical issues, with the narrative, exhortations, and predictions supplementing one another to this end. Taken together

the testaments provide instruction on a range of virtues and vices—both emotions and internal dispositions, and the behaviors they inspire. Two sets of opposing categories govern the Testaments' ethical viewpoint: love, compassion, and mercy, stand in opposition to hatred, anger, and envy; moderation, chastity, and continence are opposed to drunkenness, greed, and sexual promiscuity. Human actions and the emotions and dispositions behind them are functions of two opposing (groups of) spirits, who lead one along the right or the wrong path (see esp. Test. Asher). The list of vices and virtues that one can abstract from the Testaments has many parallels in Jewish wisdom literature, early Christian ethical exhortations, and pagan moral philosophy.

The narratives in the Testaments have been inspired by details in the Joseph cycle (Gen. 37–48) and elements in the testaments of Jacob and Moses (Gen. 49, Deut. 33). Joseph, especially, is presented as a model of virtues, and his brothers' actions against him as examples of vices. Parallels in Jubilees indicate that the Testaments draw on Jewish tradition, and some narrative details reappear in rabbinic literature and in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

The Testaments' eschatology has four noteworthy features: the defeat of Beliar and his spirits, which will overcome the human disposition to sin; the salvation of the Gentiles and the condemnation of many in Israel; the appearance of a pair of anointed figures from Levi and Judah or a single figure descended from both tribes; a tendency to identify this figure, or one of the two, with Jesus.

The Jewish roots of the Testaments (however one hypothesizes the process of composition) are indicated by the following factors: the narrative parallels cited above; Qumran teachings about two anointed ones, with the priestly figure predominating; Jewish two-ways and two-spirits teachings. Manuscript evidence includes a Hebrew genealogy of Bilhah from Qumran that parallels Testament of Naphtali 1, several manuscripts of a Qumran Aramaic Levi document, and medieval copies of a Hebrew Naphtali testament and an Aramaic Levi document. Parallels to the Testaments' teachings are found in second- and third-century Christian writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen, who quotes the Testaments. Thus, the Testaments provide a wealth of comparative material for the study of early Judaism and second- and third-century Christianity. *See also* SPIRITS, TWO; TESTAMENT; WAYS, TWO.

Twelve Prophets, Targums to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

TY *see* TJ

tyche (Gr., fate, or destiny) The abstract concept is personified as a goddess, Tyche (Fortuna in Latin). The idea of fate was a strong one in the Graeco-Roman world, ranging from simple luck to a strong sense of one's future being laid out in advance according to a preconceived plan (e.g., in Stoicism). The concept is also well known in some Jewish literature. According to Josephus, the Essenes believed all was determined in advance. His own history exhibits an interest in destiny with regard to the nation, though here it was not impersonal but God fulfilling his plan.

tzaar baalei ḥayim *see* ANIMALS, CRUELTY TO

Tzaddok the Pharisee a founder of the "Fourth Philosophy," according to Josephus, and a leader of the revolt against the Roman census and Roman governor Quirinius (6–7 C.E.). Judas the Galilean enlisted Tzaddok to help arouse popular resistance to the census and the Romans. Josephus judges Tzaddok's teaching to be nontraditional and disastrous for Israel. *See also* FOURTH PHILOSOPHY.

tzaraat *see* LEPROSY

tzedakah *see* PHILANTHROPY

Tzidduk haDin (Heb., acceptance of the judgment) general term for the funeral rite. The phrase implies its theological purpose: accepting God's judgment of death.

tzitzit (Heb., fringe) the tassels referred to at Numbers 15:38–39, which Israelites are to place on the corners of their garments as a reminder of God's commandments. Rabbinic legislation defines the fringes (Sifre Num. 115), describes the garments that require them (B. Menaḥot 39b), and notes that the fringes must be removed before the garment is sold to a non-Jew (B. Menaḥot 43a). The rabbinic literature generally follows the scriptural view that the fringes remind people of their obligations and prevents them from engaging in inappropriate behavior (B. Menaḥot 44a).

Tzitzit the title of one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. A collection of Tannaitic sources in one chapter, it contains rules for tying, dyeing, and wearing fringes on one's garments in accord with Numbers 15:38–40.

Uktzin Mishnah tractate on connections between different parts of food, for example, the twig and the apple, the husk and the nut. The tractate discusses susceptibility to uncleanness and joining together of distinct parts of the same piece of fruit (chaps. 1–2); connection in food (chap. 2); and susceptibility to uncleanness of food (chap. 3).

Ulam Rabata location corresponding to the town of Chula, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Ulla II Palestinian amora of the second half of the fourth century C.E.; cited infrequently in the Jerusalem Talmud and not at all in the Babylonian Talmud; a younger contemporary of Raba

Ulla b. Ishmael Palestinian amora of the second half of the third century C.E.; in the Babylonian Talmud called simply Ulla, without a patronymic; a student of Yoḥanan b. Nappaḥa, Simeon b. Lakish, and Eleazar b. Pedat. He frequently visited Babylonia, where he had contact with the exilarch (see, e.g., B. Shabbat 157b).

Ulpius Arabianus *see* ARABIANUS, MARCUS ULPIUS

Umm el-Amud *see* HORVAT AMUDIM

Umm el-Kanatir Synagogue synagogue site in the Golan Heights about 8 kilometers due east of the east shore of the Sea of Galilee. The village and its synagogue were located on a level plain on the east side of the Wadi esh-Shebib beneath a steep cliff. The building facade is oriented to the south. In antiquity a narrow porch or narthex, held up with two columns, stood at the facade. The nave was reached through a single entrance in the facade. A second means of entrance is a door that opened to the west aisle. The main hall measures nearly 19 by 14 meters, which is large for a village site. The building is a fine repository of ancient Jewish art, as the facade was decorated with an eagle in relief and the forequarters of a lion. A large stone slab in the shape of a triangle was probably a pediment of some kind; it is decorated with moldings. A vine scroll and grape clusters decorated a window frame. A second eagle with outstretched wings decorated yet another stone. The building is usually dated to the fifth century because a basket capital stood on one of the columns in the porch or narthex.

uncircumcised those who had not entered Israel's covenant by the initiatory ritual of circumcision. Uncircumcised males were classed with the unclean (Isa. 52:1; Ezek. 44:7.9; Rest of Esther 14:15) and metaphorically Jeremiah could condemn Israel for being uncircumcised in heart (Jer. 9:26). At the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, when Jason was high priest of Jerusalem, some Jews attempted to hide their circumcision (1 Macc. 1:14). As known from later Greek and Roman sources, there were two ways to do this: one could undergo minor surgery called epispasm or could attempt to hold some covering in place with a pin. The later Testament of Moses (8:3) suggests that epispasm was forced upon young Jews during persecution. In keeping with his sense of living at the end of time, Paul argues that a Gentile should not become circumcised, nor a circumcised man undergo epispasm (1 Cor. 7:18), and that what matters is not circumcision but a new creation (Gal. 6:16). In line with

Jeremiah, Paul maintains that real circumcision is a matter of the heart (Rom. 2:29). This idea of spiritual circumcision is continued in the Odes of Solomon 11:1–3. The apostolic council described in Acts of the Apostles 15 held that Jews were to stay circumcised, while Gentiles were not obliged to be circumcised, and Ephesians 2:11 holds that the division between the uncircumcised and the circumcised has been abolished. *See also* CIRCUMCISION.

unclean *see* TAHOR, TAMEI

universalism term used to describe a more open attitude toward the gentile world on the part of Jews. Although Ezra and Nehemiah show an exclusivistic attitude, others thought the community should be more outward looking and open to the surrounding culture. This reached a peak in the Hellenistic reform of Jason.

Urbanus Christian governor of Palestine (304–307 C.E.). Eusebius mentions him as one of the governors during Diocletian's persecution of the Christians. He was in office at the time of Diocletian's fourth edict against the church in 304. He was executed in the fifth year of the persecutions, most likely in 307.

Urbinus, Codex shortened name of the Codex Urbinates Ebr. 1, which was written (copied) in 1294. Now housed in the Vatican Library, the Codex Urbinus contains the texts of the entire Hebrew Bible, Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, Masorah Magna, Masorah Parva, as well as the Aramaic targums to the books of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and some of the Writings.

Uriel (Heb., light of God) one of seven holy ones (angels) who stand in God's immediate presence. In 1 Enoch 18 and 21, he oversees the prison for the watchers and the heavenly luminaries who have rebelled against God. In 1 Enoch 72–82, he guides Enoch through the heavens and explains the functions of the luminaries.

Ur of the Chaldeans city in southern Mesopotamia, present day Tell el-Muqayyar; the home of Abram before he moved to Haran (Gen. 11:31). Tradition saw it as a center of idolatry and astrology and interpreted the name to refer to a fire (Heb.: *ur*) that destroyed the city's idols, from which God-fearing Abram was rescued. According to Jubilees 12, Abram burned the idol temple and then fled from Ur. In a revision of the Daniel 3 story in the Book of Biblical Antiquities 6, Abram refuses to help build the idolatrous Tower of Babel, and he is thrown into a fiery furnace, from which God rescues him.

Ursicinus fourth-century-C.E. Roman general. In 351 Jews in Palestine under the leadership of Patricius revolted against Rome. The rebels first seized the armory in Sepphoris, and then, joined by Jews from Lydda and Tiberias, spread throughout the Galilee, capturing Lydda on the coast. The Roman forces, under Ursicinus, quickly defeated the Jews. In rabbinic sources Ursicinus ("the king") is described with respect. The Talmud indicates that during the time of Ursicinus the Jews of Sepphoris put on disguises to avoid capture, and a Torah scroll in the village of Sennabris, south of Tiberias, was burned. Some sages permitted the Jews to bake bread for Ursicinus's troops on the Sabbath.

Usha town in Lower Galilee that was a site of Israelite habitation from biblical times. Usha was of particular importance following the Bar Kokhba Revolt, when it became the center of rabbinical study and the seat of the Sanhedrin. The establishment of this academy is described at Song of Songs Rabbah 2:5, 3, which notes the roles of Judah, Nehemiah, Meir, Yose, Simeon b. Yoḥai, Eliezer b. Yose the Galilean, and Eliezer b. Jacob, who called upon the sages of Galilee to gather in Usha.

Usha, archaeology of Usha, a seat of the Sanhedrin after the destruction of the Second Temple, is identified with two possible sites: (1) Khirbet Hosha, a ruin 14 kilometers west-northwest of Sepphoris and lying within the city territory of Sepphoris; and (2) Horvat Amudim (the ruin of the columns), which stands 15 kilometers west-northwest of Sepphoris, but within the city territory of Tiberias. Khirbet Hosha has not been excavated, but surveys published as early as 1881 established that at the site one could see foundations of buildings, a mosaic floor, a well and plastered tank, and rock-cut tombs. Horvat Amudim, on the other hand, has been excavated and its synagogue was first reported in 1869. The synagogue is about 19 by 14 meters, one of the largest in Galilee. The facade faces south towards Jerusalem. The lintel on the central portal bore two lions with their forepaws resting on the head of a calf and a two-handled amphora above the calf. A lintel on the east was decorated with floral rosettes and a wreath. An Aramaic inscription in one of the walls reads: "Yoezer the hazan and Shimon his brother made this gate of the Lord of heaven." It is usually understood that "gate" refers to the synagogue itself, in which case Yoezer and Shimon were benefactors.

usury *see* INTEREST

Uziel *see* AZAEL

Vaballathus king of Palmyra (r. 267–271 C.E.). He was a vassal of Rome. He was a minor when his father was assassinated, so his mother, Zenobia, was the real ruler of Palmyra. Some Christian sources claim that Zenobia was Jewish and that she and her son were friendly to the Jews.

Valens, Flavius eastern Roman emperor (r. 364–378 C.E.). He was the brother of Valentinian, who gave him the traditional title Augustus and made him ruler of the East. He allowed Visigoths to cross the Danube and settle in Thrace (376), from where they plundered and threatened the East. Foolishly not waiting for Gratian's military support, Valens fought the barbarians at Adrianople, in Thrace, in 378. The Roman army was annihilated by the superior barbarian cavalry, and Valens lost his life—the last emperor killed by barbarians in battle until Nicephorus I in 811. Theodosius succeeded Valens in the East and made peace with the Visigoths; Arianism, together with religious toleration, which Valens had favored, fell with Valens.

Valentinianus governor of Palestine, 310/311 C.E. He is known from a dedication inscription to Galerius. His dates are mere conjecture, but this is the only year that is not covered by the governors mentioned by Eusebius in connection with Diocletian's persecution of the Christians.

Valerian Roman emperor (r. 253–260 C.E.). He was proclaimed emperor by his troops upon Gallus's death. During his reign, the empire was beset by internal revolts and external attacks. In 253 the Persians moved into Syria, captured Antioch, and probably raided Palestine. By 256 the Goths sacked Nicomedia, Nicaea, and other Bithynian cities in northwest Asia Minor. That same year, Dura fell to the Persians. In 260 Valerian gathered troops, including some from Judea, and marched against the Persians; however, at Edessa he was defeated and captured by the Persians. At this point, Palestine came under the control of Odenathus of Palmyra.

Valerianus, Lucius Valerius *see* VALERIUS VALERIANUS, LUCIUS

Valerius Gratus *see* GRATUS, VALERIUS

Valerius Maximus author about whom little is known, other than that he was a contemporary of the emperor Tiberius (r. 14–41 C.E.), to whom he dedicated his *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*. The nine books of *Sayings* are a didactic, preachy collection of limited value, consisting of tales, historical anecdotes, and judgments intended for rhetors and educators.

Valerius Valerianus, Lucius governor of Palestine. The dates of his tenure in Palestine are uncertain because of the questionable reading of a dedication to him set up in Caesarea. However, a date at the time of Caracalla seems preferable to a date at the time of Elagabalus. Between 214 and 240 he was prefect of Mesopotamia and Osroene at the same time.

valuation (Heb.: *arakin*) pledge of the value of a person, in line with Leviticus 27:1–8; *see also* ARAKIN

Varro (116–27 B.C.E.) Roman encyclopedist. Of his many works, only those on the Latin language and agriculture have survived. He had included a good

deal on religion in his great work on the *Antiquities of Human and Divine Matters,* which has unfortunately perished except for quotations in such writers as the church father Augustine. In it he had dealt with temples, priests, festivals, sacred objects, and the gods. The preserved fragments give a quite positive view of the Jews. Varro opposed the use of images in worship and claimed that the Romans originally did not use them; instead, he held up the Jews as a good example for avoiding such inferior worship. He also identified the Jewish God with Jupiter, apparently because he thought the Jews worshiped the highest god and none was higher in the Roman pantheon. He was also aware that the Jewish God was called Iao in some contexts. He mentions the date palm, which bears fruit in Judea. In a historical reference, he makes mention of Pompey and his lavish expenses when he was campaigning in Judea, a fact also noted by Appian. Where he obtained his knowledge of Jewish beliefs is uncertain.

Varus, Publius Quinctilius Roman governor of Syria (7/6–4 B.C.E.). He put down the revolt and disturbances after the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.E.) in two campaigns, during which he destroyed Sepphoris, relieved the besieged Roman soldiers in Jerusalem, and crucified two thousand rebels.

vaticinia ex eventu (Lat., prophecy after the event) Many prophecies of the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish Apocalypses give a review of history as if uttered by an ancient sage. A good example is Daniel 11. Much of these reviews will usually contain identifiable events of history, even with their somewhat disguised language. Rather than being genuine prophecies, though, the review of history would simply show the author's understanding of past history from his own perspective. When the author's own time is reached, however, the prophecy may become a genuine prediction of the future.

vegetarianism Genesis 9:3–4 suggests that only after the Flood was humanity granted permission to consume animal products. The Therapeutae were vegetarians, as were the Pythagoreans and the Jewish-Christian Ebionites but not—*pace* Jerome—the Essenes. Romans 14:2 labels those who eat only vegetables (perhaps those observing Jewish dietary laws) as "weak" but exhorts the carnivorous "strong" to refrain from judging them.

veil The veil was part of the outer garment (*himation*), as the Judae Capta coins illustrate. Several sources from diverse periods (Song of Sol. 4:1, 3; Isa. 47:2; 1 Cor. 11:2–16) note that women wore veils, but one cannot determine on the basis of these scattered references that all Jewish women throughout antiquity practiced this custom. Veils were worn by brides (Gen. 24:65–67) and Moses (Exod. 34:29–35; 2 Cor. 3:13), and a veil or curtain hung over the entrance to the inner sanctum of the Temple (2 Chron. 3:14; Mark 15:38; the heavenly counterpart of this veil is described in 3 Enoch 45). Paul argues that women must wear veils in worship (1 Cor. 11:2–16) "because of the angels," a statement variously interpreted as a reference to the watchers, who might be distracted by women, as a concern that Christian women not be regarded as prostitutes, and as a means by which gender distinctions could be enforced.

vengeance (Heb.: *nekamah*) punishment inflicted in retaliation for injury or offense. In the Hebrew Bible, revenge, that is, seeking recompense for wrongdoings, is usually given over to God. Thus God speaks in Deuteronomy 32:35, "Vengeance is mine, and recompense, for the time when their foot shall slip. . . ." Because of Israel's and, later, Judah's position of relative political powerlessness in the Ancient Near East, God is often portrayed as taking vengeance on a people or nation that has wronged the Israelites. A striking example of this portrayal occurs in Jeremiah 50, in which God declares revenge on the Babylonians for their treatment of Judah before and during the exile.

This concept of vengeance as God's peculiar right on behalf of his people continues into the Second Temple period, particularly in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the sectarian writings among the Scrolls there is an expectation of a day in which God will vindicate the sect and punish its opponents. This is made explicit in the War Scroll, which calls the day of the final battle between the forces of good and evil the "day of vengeance." The War Scroll uses the word "vengeance" to denote the (military) action of God on behalf of the Community. In early Christianity, persecuted Christians also looked forward to a "day of vengeance," when they would be vindicated and their enemies brought low (cf. especially the Book of Revelation).

Like the Bible, the rabbis view vengeance as the primary tool used by God both to punish Israelites' wrongdoings and to bring to justice the nations that have oppressed Israel (Ruth Rabbah 45; Lev. Rabbah 34). While God's vengeance is generally understood to be a future act, the rabbis also depict as examples of God's vengeance the troubles that befall enemies of Israel (see, e.g., Lev. Rabbah 22, regarding God's vengeance against Titus). The importance of vengeance is indicated by Psalms

94:1, where the term appears between two references to the divine name ("God of vengeance, O Lord"). Vengeance is, however, solely God's tool. Israelites are forbidden from exacting vengeance (see Lev. 19:17–18), defined as any act of retaliation (Sifra Kedoshim 4).

Vespasian Roman emperor (69–79 C.E.), commander (67–69) of the Roman forces that fought in the war against the Jews in Palestine. Titus Flavius Vespasian had served as an army commander and in various offices when Nero appointed him to subdue the Jewish rebellion in 67 C.E. He conquered the northern part of the country, but when Nero died in 68, he became involved in the politics of succession. After the deaths of three emperors in a year, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the legions in the East. He ruled successfully for ten years and was succeeded by his two sons, Titus and Domitian. They are referred to as the Flavian dynasty.

vessels, hidden *see* HIDDEN FURNISHINGS AND VESSELS

Vetus Latina the Old Latin translation of the Bible that preceded the Vulgate. The Old Testament part of the Old Latin was usually translated from the Septuagint. Although the Vulgate became the standard Latin version, the Deutero-canonical books in it were taken over from the Vetus Latina.

vices *see* VIRTUES AND VICES

vidui *see* CONFESSION OF SIN

vindication (Heb.: *hitzdik;* Gr.: *dikaioō*) putting things right legally. Often used in a religious sense, the term denotes that someone is innocent of certain charges, has acted in a righteous or just manner, or has been upheld when treated unjustly. *See also* JUSTIFICATION.

vine and vineyard The grapevine was one of the most important crops in ancient Israel. The vine and vineyard, by virtue of their particular qualities, also assume figurative dimensions in the thought of biblical Judaism. For example, we find that while the vine is generally a symbol of prosperity and fruitfulness in the Bible, in the part of the Bible known as Prophets, the vine is typically used metaphorically, with Israel being the "vine" or "vineyard" of God (e.g., Jer. 2:21; Hos. 10:1). When the people of Israel disobey God, the vineyard will be destroyed (Jer. 5:10; Ezek. 19:12).

The vine and vineyard receive limited attention in intertestamental Jewish literature. In the Wisdom of Ben Sira 24:17–21, Wisdom compares herself to a fruitful vine and invites people to come and eat of her. In 4 Ezra 5:23, Israel is the "one vine" specially chosen by God from among all the trees of the earth.

There are two pseudepigrapha in which the "tree of knowledge" in Genesis 3 is represented as a vine. The first is the Apocalypse of Abraham, in which Abraham sees the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden as having fruit "like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine," with Azazel as a serpent feeding the grapes to Adam and Eve (23:5–11). The second—3 Baruch—characterizes the "tree of knowledge" as a vine that was planted in Eden by Satan. God curses the vine and its seed and forbids Adam to touch it. Consequently, Satan becomes envious and tricks Adam and Eve into eating from the vine (3 Bar. 4).

The vine also figures prominently in 2 Baruch. According to that text, the earth will be so productive in the Messianic Age that one vine will have 1000 branches, each producing 1000 clusters, each yielding 1000 grapes, each giving 120 gallons of wine (29:5). In 2 Baruch 36–40, the seer has a vision in which a vine and a fountain, jointly representing the rule of God's messiah, overthrow a great forest, which stands for a major world kingdom that presumably is Rome.

Vines and vineyards provide important images in early Christian literature, notably in a number of striking parables and metaphors in the New Testament. In the eschatological parables in Matt. 20:1–16; Mark 12:1–12 and parallels; and Luke 13:6–9, Jesus uses a vineyard to represent the sphere of worldly activity. In Matt. 14:25 and parallels, he promises not to drink of the vine's fruit until the time of the eschatological kingdom. In John 15:1–11, Jesus identifies himself as the true vine, his "father" as the vinedresser, and his disciples as the vine's branches. Revelation 14:18–20 uses the harvesting of the vineyard as a metaphor for eschatological destruction.

According to Josephus, the image of a grapevine appeared around the top of the Jerusalem Temple, and the vine also appeared frequently on Palestinian synagogues, probably to demonstrate a link between the two institutions. As in the Bible, in the talmudic literature the vine and, in particular, the grape cluster symbolized what is desirable and good. The word for cluster (*ishkol*) was interpreted to refer to a perfect man, in which there is everything (*ish shekol bo;* B. Sotah 47b; B. Terumah 15b). Early rabbinic masters, held to have no blemishes (that is, faults), were symbolized as grape clusters (Mishnah Sotah 9:9; Tosefta Baba Kamma 8:13; Jerusalem Talmud Sotah 9:10). This interpretation may be related to Micah 7:1–2, which associates a scarcity of grape clusters with the perishing from the earth of godly and upright men. Aibu

(Gen. Rabbah 19:8) holds that grapes were the forbidden fruit eaten by Eve. Marrying one's daughter to a rabbinic scholar is equated with grafting one grapevine to another. This is contrasted with marrying the child of an unlettered man, which is deemed comparable to grafting a grapevine to the lesser berry bush (B. Pesaḥim 49a–b). *See also* GRAPES, GRAPEVINES; VITICULTURE.

vine scroll a common motif in Jewish art as a variation on the vine trellis. The vine scroll is a repeated pattern of round openings formed by the vine itself, which may be a grape or ivy vine. An inhabited scroll contains animals, birds, or other figures in each round opening. Vine scrolls without inhabitations occur on tombs, synagogue floors, sarcophagi, and occasionally on architectural fragments.

vine trellis a common motif in Jewish art formed of a geometric pattern shaped by vines, vine tendrils, and vine leaves. It is a motif borrowed from Graeco-Roman art, where it was exceedingly popular. Sometimes the vines represented are grape vines, but sometimes it is simply ivy. The vine trellis appears in mosaic floors as a repeating pattern of openings framed by the vines; then the openings are filled with figures. The inhabited scroll is an example of a vine trellis in which the tendrils form round medallions filled with the figure of an animal, bird, or other art motif. One of the most famous of these pavements is from the synagogue of Maon.

vipers, brood of the insult hurled by John the Baptist at the Pharisees and Sadducees according to Matthew 3:7 (the parallel in Luke 3:7 addresses the crowds) and by Jesus at the Pharisees and scribes (Matt. 12:34). Matthew 23:33 implies that contact with these four groups of Jewish leaders is deadly (see Isa. 59:5; Job 20:16; and contrast Mark 16:18 and Acts 28:1-10).

virgin The Hebrew word *betula* (separated) originally indicated an unmarried young woman, then a virgin. High priests could only marry virgins (Lev. 21:7–8, 13–15; also Philo and Josephus). Applied to cities and peoples, such as "virgin Israel" or Jerusalem (Jer. 18:13), the designation suggests virtuousness. Chastity and, hence, virginity received greater emphasis in the Graeco-Roman period: Philo's Therapeutrides; the stress on Asenath's virginity as well as on Joseph's in Joseph and Asenath; Abode of the Rechabites/ Apocalypse of Zosimus 11:6–8; Pseudo-Phocylides 215–16 (on daughters). References to male and female virginity are found as well in early Christian material: Mary (Matt. 1:23, using the Greek *parthenos,* quotes from the LXX of Isa. 7:14; the Hebrew reads *alma* [young woman]); Philip's four unmarried daughters (Acts 21:9); and the 144,000 male virgins of Revelation 14:4. Paul exhorts virgin men and women in his congregations not to marry and acknowledges celibacy to be a spiritual gift (1 Cor. 7:7–9, 25–38).

Within rabbinic culture a virgin was the preferred bride, reflected in the value of her jointure, set at twice that of a widow (M. Ketubot 1:2). If the husband did not find her hymen intact, he could ask the court to annul the marriage, as a "purchase made in error" (M. Ketubot 1:6). In developing this idea, rabbis debated whether a woman whose hymen was broken but who never had intercourse should be deemed a virgin (Gen. Rabbah Parashah 60). While virginity was equated with sinlessness (Sifrei Deut. 321), the rabbinic obligation to procreate meant that celibacy was discouraged. The rabbis understood marriage and sexual relations within marriage to be a religious obligation.

Virt. *see* DE VIRTUTIBUS

virtues and vices The Greek word for virtue, *arete,* is used in reference to positive human characteristics in Greek philosophy as well as in Jewish and Christian religious literature. To define and list the qualities that should characterize humans at their best was a major concern among Greek philosophers from the time of Plato on, and especially in the thinking of Stoic philosophers. Jewish thought was influenced by this intellectual development, and in many writings from the second century B.C.E. and later, there is a shift of focus from the specifics of the moral laws in the tradition of Moses to the abstract principles and moral qualities that should characterize the people of God. Both the positive (virtues) and the negative (vices) features of the moral life are described.

In Plato's *Republic* (4.427–428), moral issues are focused on four principles: justice, wisdom, courage, and self-control. These moral qualities were affirmed by the Stoic philosophers as well. Aristo—a pupil of Zeno, who founded Stoicism—wrote, "Virtue, when it considers what should be done and what should not be done, is called prudence; when it controls desire and defines what is moderate . . . it is called self-control; when it is concerned with dealings and contracts with others, it is called justice." The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs identify the virtues as integrity, piety, uprightness, honesty, generosity, compassion, hard work, and self-control. The vices are sexual promiscuity, anger, envy, greed, envy, cruelty to fellow human beings, and debauchery.

Among the later historical books, 2 Maccabees describes Onias the high priest as one who is noble and good, modest in bearing and having a gentle manner, and trained from childhood in all that belongs to excellence. 4 Macabbees begins with the affirmation that devout reason is the absolute master of human passions, while the forces hindering temperance are gluttony, lust, malice, rage, fear, forgetfulness, and ignorance. Reason can lead to justice and courage (1:1–6). Pious reason produces a life in conformity with the law of God, while passion fosters pretentiousness, avarice, contentiousness, backbiting, and gluttony (2:1–15). Josephus observes that humans, created in God's image, should strive to participate in the perfection of virtue God possesses (*Ant.* 1.23).

Like Greek philosophers, rabbinic authors attempted to determine the essence of morality and proper behavior. The broadest and most complete statement of human virtues and vices was understood to be expressed by the system of rabbinic law itself. Within this law, the rabbis enumerated 613 commandments and 248 positive requirements believed to be parallel to the number of organs in the human body and 356 prohibitions corresponding to the number of days in the year.

A number of rabbinic passages attempt to ascertain the essence of this system of law and so to define the most basic virtues. B. Makkot 24a presents one of the most developed of these passages. Simlai cites biblical texts that he holds progressively condense the commandments into a smaller number of essential virtues. Psalm 15 lists eleven of these, ranging from not doing evil and honoring those who fear the Lord to not lending out money at interest. Isaiah 33:15 lists six virtues, including the refusal to listen to reports of bloodshed or even to look upon evil. Micah 6:8 comprehends the system of commandments as just three virtues: to do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with God. Isaiah 61:1 expresses this in two concepts, observing justice and doing righteousness. Amos and Habakkuk finally present single ideals seen as capturing the essence of virtue as expressed by the rabbinic system: "Seek me and live" (Amos 5:4) or "The righteous man shall live by his faithfulness" (Hab. 2:4).

visions the sight of things not normally perceptible to human eyes, the most common mode of revelation in Jewish and Christian apocalypses. Visions in the Tanakh (Old Testament) include several which portray the throne of God (Exod. 24:9–11, Isa. 6:1–13, Ezek. 1:1–3:15, 1 Kings 22:19–23). In the prophets, the dominant mode of revelation is the oracle, but visions (e.g., Amos 7:1–9, Jer. 24) also occur. Visions are particularly prominent in the prophet Ezekiel (chaps. 1–3, 40–48), a book which is the forerunner of apocalyptic; compare, for example, Ezekiel's vision of heavenly throne of God (Ezek. 1:1–28, 10:9–17) with Daniel 7, 1 Enoch 14, and Revelation 4–5.

In the apocalypses, visions are associated with dreams and heavenly journeys, and their principal theme is revelation of the secrets of heaven and of God's plans for the end of history. The visions of Daniel 7–12, the only apocalypse in the Tanakh, depict the end of history in terms of battles, in which God and his angels defeat terrifying beasts (symbols of the human and superhuman powers of evil, including the Seleucid rulers of the author's own time). The apocalypse of 1 Enoch, a compilation of five originally independent books (3d c. B.C.E. to 1st c. C.E.), all ascribed to the shadowy biblical figure Enoch (Gen. 5:18–24), contains visions with quite varied content. Book 1, "the Book of the Watchers" (chaps. 1–36) portrays the fall of the angels (cf. Gen. 6:1–4) and also Enoch's journeys to heaven, where he learns heavenly secrets such as the sources of wind, water, and thunder. In Book 4 (chaps. 83–91), "the Dream Visions," Enoch tells his son Methuselah of two visions, one of the destruction of the cosmos and the second an extended allegory of the history of Israel, in which biblical figures are visualized as animals. Allegorical visions also play an important role in two apocalypses that reflect on the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., 2 Esdras and 2 Baruch.

In the New Testament, the two-volume work Luke-Acts reports Paul's vision on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–8) as well as several other visions (Luke 1:8–22; Acts 1:3–11; 7:55–56; 9:10–16; 10:1–6, 9–16; 11:5–10, 13–14; 16:9–10; cf. 12:7–11). In 2 Cor. 12:1–4, Paul, in a curious third person account, tells of being caught up to the "third heaven." The Revelation to John, the only New Testament apocalypse, consists almost entirely of visionary accounts, from an opening vision of Jesus as the exalted son of man (1:9–20) to the concluding visions of the last battle against Satan and the establishment of God's perfect reign (19:11–22:7). The central part of the book consists of a picture of the heavenly throne of God (chaps. 4–5), followed by three cycles of seven visions each, which repeat the story of God's eschatological judgment. These exhibit the general characteristics of apocalyptic visions: lavish use of symbols (animals, colors, numbers, etc.), many of which have become traditional, repetition (a series of visions that treat the

same event or theme), the presence of heavenly intermediaries, and an emphasis on mystery and secrecy.

visitation (Heb.: *pekudah;* Gr.: *episkopē*) a common expression for God's judgment, whether to reward the righteous or punish the wicked. Some eschatological texts in the late Second Temple period envision God actually making a visit to the earth (1 Enoch 25:3), while in others the term is simply a synonym for judgment or retribution (1QS 4:6, 11). The Greek verb and noun mean "[to conduct] an inspection or investigation," although, like the Hebrew, they can mean simply "[to execute] judgment" (Luke 1:68). *See also* JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

Vita Con. *see* DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA

Vita Mos. *see* DE VITA MOSIS

Vitellius, Lucius Roman legate in Syria (35–39 C.E.). He removed Pilate from office in 36 C.E. and sent him to Rome to answer for his attack on a Samaritan religious gathering. He also returned the care of the high priest's vestments to the Jerusalem Jews and abolished a market tax on fruit in Jerusalem. When campaigning against Aretas the Nabatean, he ordered Roman troops carrying images of the emperor on their standards to avoid Judea.

viticulture the branch of agriculture that deals with tending and exploitation of the vine, including the use of its fruit for making different products. In First Temple times, several different kinds of grapes were cultivated and the fruit was used for making wine, raisins, syrup and vinegar. Vine tenders were professionals known as *koremim* (Joel 1:11; 2 Chron. 26:10). After the destruction of the Solomonic Temple, the Babylonians exiled a certain segment of the population but retained on the land peasants and vine dressers (2 Kings 25:12; Jer. 52:16).

Very little pertaining to agriculture in general and viticulture in particular can be found in the later books of the Hebrew Bible. Nonetheless, the few references to viticulture suggest that this branch of agriculture flourished and was respected as seen in Proverbs 31:16, where planting a vineyard is mentioned as one of the activities of the diligent wife, or the several instances in Song of Songs where metaphorical references are made to vineyards (1:6, 8:11-12) or the grape vine (6:11, 7:9, 13).

Other written sources from late antiquity, such as the Zeno Papyri, suggest that during the Second Temple period, wine was exported from Palestine to Egypt. The Letter of Aristeas (dated to the Hellenistic period), in describing the richness of Palestine, mentions vineyards among other agricultural resources. Pliny in his *Natural History* (XIV, 103) describes Syrian wine flavored with myrrh. Famous wines of that period were Sharon wine, Carmel wine, and Ammon wine. From the fourth to the seventh centuries C.E., Ascalon and Gaza were known for exporting excellent wine to Syria and Egypt. Wine exported from these cities reached as far as Gaul and Italy. Its production in the area surrounding Ascalon has been recently documented in survey work where kilns for amphora and wine presses were found.

During the Second Commonwealth most Jews were agrarians as reflected in descriptions contained in Tannaitic literature and in the writings of Josephus. According to Rabbi Tarphon, rich is one "who owns one hundred vineyards and one hundred fields" (Shab. 25b). Rabbi Johanan spoke of diversification as protection against agricultural loss, suggesting the division of land into three: cereals, olives, and vines (B.M. 107a). New vineyards were planted as one can see from R. Simeon b. Gamliel's involvement with the *orlah* law (B.Q. 69a). While during Mishnaic and Talmudic times most of the Palestinian economy continued to be agricultural, every region specialized in certain cultivars. The Galilee specialized in olives for oil, and grapes were cultivated in Judea and in the south. The fact that hardly any wine presses were found in the Golan suggests that its inhabitants imported wine from other regions.

Decrees made by the emperors Vespasian and Hadrian in the first and second centuries C.E. resulted in the decline of Jewish land ownership and Jews were reduced to the status of tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Although the two rebellions against the Romans caused agricultural destruction in many parts of the country, it continued to rely on agriculture. Only in the middle of the third century C.E., when bad economic times weakend most of the Roman Empire and Jews had to leave Palestine to find livelihoods elsewhere, the Jewish attitude toward agriculture changed and denigrated it as a means of earning a livelihood. This period sees the rise of large estates and the growing number of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, hired hands, and laborers.

Archaeological remains related to viticulture from the Persian and Hellenistic periods are scant. It can be safely assumed that during these periods viticulture practices developed in the Iron Age were maintained. Nevertheless, much archaeological information is available for wine making in the Roman-Byzantine period. Many wine presses were found in Judea, the southern Shephelah, and in the Negev, where wine presses were found in most of

the so-called Nabatean cities. The large size of many of these wine presses suggests that they were operated not by small planters, but by either large land owners, groups of farmers, or by the government. Most wine presses have a treading floor, a tesselated collection tank with a sump, and plastered walls.

During late antiquity, viticulture continued to occupy a very important place in daily life and thus influenced many of its aspects, such as art. For example, mosaics as well as tombs and stone sarcophagi were decorated with motifs of the grape vine or bunch. Coins from different periods carried similar motifs. As early as the reign of Antiochus VIII (c. 126–125 B.C.E.), a coin struck in Jerusalem depicts on its reverse side a grape bunch. Herod the Great and Herod Archelaus used the motif of a grape leaf and cluster which became Jewish symbols. Coins of the first rebellion against the Romans bore on the reverse side a depiction of a grape leaf and cluster. The chalice or the amphora on the obverse side might have indicated a vessel used for wine libations. In the first half of the second century C.E., Bar Kosiba coins of different denominations also display a vine leaf or a grape bunch on the reverse side. Silver-plated Bar Kosiba coins displayed a grape bunch on the obverse side, as well. A suggestion was made that the grape leaf and cluster depict a golden decoration of Herod's temple. Being a Jewish motif is highlighted by the fact that other contemporary coins, as, for example, Nabatean coins, do not bear any viticultural motifs.

Vologases III Parthian ruler (r. 148–192 C.E.). His foreign policy was to foment rebellion against Rome in the frontier territories, and he probably encouraged Jewish anti-Roman activity in Palestine, Osrhoene, and Adiabene. Jews at this time did wage war against Rome, and those battles coincided with Parthian interests.

vow A promise either to forgo something not ordinarily forbidden, or a promise to perform some act in return for divine help or in thanksgiving for such help. Examples of the first category include the story of Paul's having his hair cut off (Acts 18:18) and the four Christians under vow who have to undergo some ritual of purification at the Temple of Jerusalem, which involves having their heads shaved (Acts 21:23–24). Examples of the second are attributed to Cyrus, king of Persia, who is said to have vowed to destroy Babylon and to restore the vessels taken from Jerusalem (1 Esdras 4:44), and Judas Maccabeus, who in the manner of Numbers 21:2–3, promised that the city of the Baeanites would be devoted to the Lord in utter destruction if the battle was successful (1 Macc. 5:5). As for the thanksgiving vow, on coming to the throne, Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, are said to have vowed to rebuild Jerusalem (1 Esdras 4:43–45), and some of the Jewish leaders, after returning to Jerusalem, vowed to erect the Temple as best they could in thanks to God for bringing them back to Jerusalem (1 Esdras 5:44); Heliodorus, the Seleucid minister, made lavish vows to the Lord, who had spared him (2 Macc. 3:35). A person should think before making a vow, but if a vow is made, one is bound to perform it (Ecclus. 18:22–23; Letter of Jeremiah 6:35). The Temple Scroll at Qumran maintains the rules about vows found in Numbers 30 (11QTemple 53–54). Members of the Qumran covenant are required to vow to follow the Law, but they are not to vow to the altar articles acquired unlawfully, or the food of their own house, nor can they vow another to destruction by gentile law (CD 16:7–8, 13–15; 9:1).

Perhaps because of the ever present possibility that one who vows will not be able to fulfill his obligation, or perhaps because of the potentially devastating unforeseen consequence of vows (see Judg. 11:30–40, where a vow leads Jephthah to kill his daughter), rabbinic sages almost uniformly discourage vowing. Leviticus Rabbah 37:1 states that people who do not fulfill their vows in a timely fashion ultimately will worship an idol, commit fornication, and spill blood, claims proven from the experiences of the patriarch Jacob. Samuel (B. Nedarim 22a) and Dimi (B. Nedarim 77b) hold that a person who makes a vow, even if he fulfills it, is deemed wicked or sinful. B. Shabbat 32b argues that making vows results in the premature death of one's children.

In keeping with their negative attitude toward vows, the rabbis developed a sophisticated procedure through which vows can be annulled. This is quite different from biblical law, which recognizes only the absolution of the vow of an unmarried woman by her father, or of a married woman by her husband (Num. 30:3–15). By contrast, rabbinic law allows a court to annul vows brought before it by discovering an unforeseen circumstance, knowledge of which would have deterred the individual from making the vow in the first place. If, when made fully aware of the impact of the vow, the individual regrets having made it, the vow is deemed invalid *ab initio*.

Even while discouraging vows and allowing their annulment, rabbinic law is clear that an individual's statements are binding, so long as they

were made voluntarily and he or she was aware of their scope and significance. Only vows made by mistake or under compulsion are not valid.

Vulgate the Latin translation of the Old Testament by the church father Jerome. He learned Hebrew while living in Bethlehem and translated directly from the Hebrew text, though he sometimes used Greek translations to help in understanding the Hebrew text, as well as being influenced by the Vetus Latina.

W

Wadi ed-Daliyeh site of a cave, Mugharet Abu-Shinjeh, in which Bedouin found papyri (the Wadi ed-Daliyeh or Samaria manuscripts) in 1962. The wadi arises out of the eastern edge of Palestine's central highlands west of Samaria and falls to the Jordan Valley about 15 kilometers north of Jericho. Several caves in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh were excavated in 1963 and 1964 to determine the findspot for the manuscripts and the circumstances of their deposit.

In 1962 the Bedouin middleman brought some papyrus fragments to the Palestine Museum. It was determined that the fragments belonged to the fourth century B.C.E., and they were purchased through a manuscript fund of the American Schools of Oriental Research. When the cave from which the papyri came was identified by the Bedouin, it was necessary that scientific excavation in the cave take place to confirm their findspot, determine an explanation for their presence in the cave, and recover any fragments or artifacts the Bedouin may have missed. Several other nearby caves in the wadi were also explored.

The manuscript area in the cave was evident from the digging and exploring of the Bedouin. It was thoroughly cleared and the dirt sifted. In addition a meter-wide trench was dug from the mouth of the cave back to the manuscript area and several recesses in order to determine the occupational history of the site. Fourth-century B.C.E. (Late Persian) occupation was confirmed, with an indication of a slight later Roman use.

Among the finds related to the fourth-century occupation were cloth, wood, bones, remains of food, a few small papyrus fragments, seals, a tiny silver coin, some jewelry, and much pottery.

In another cave slightly up the wadi, evidence of Second Revolt (132 C.E.) and Early Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.E.) occupation led to further excavation there. Twenty large ovoid storage jars and globular cooking pots found intact from the Early Bronze Age witnessed to cave habitation toward the end of the third millennium. Early Roman pottery and artifacts indicated that refugees had probably used the cave as a hideout in the early second century C.E.

From the story the Bedouin told and from the content of the papyri and the other finds from the cave clearance, an explanation for the deposition of the manuscripts can be given. According to the historians Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 297–345) and Q. Curtus Rufus (*Hist. Alex.*, iv. 8.9–10), the leaders of Samaria had rebelled against those Alexander the Great had left in charge. When the leaders who were implicated heard of Alexander's return from Egypt and march toward Samaria to take vengeance upon them, they fled down the Wadi Farah into the wilderness hoping for temporary refuge in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh cave. There were perhaps about a hundred of them, including members of their families. They brought with them large storage jars and cooking vessels, as well as various personal articles, and their seals and legal documents. Their origin and status is attested by these finds. They were dis-

covered in their hiding place by Alexander's men, who may have built a fire in the entrance and suffocated them.

Wadi ed-Daliyeh Papyri fragments of documents found by Bedouin in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh. They were left by refugees from Samaria who fled from Alexander the Great in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.E.

Many of the papyri are fragmentary. About twenty pieces are large enough to be numbered as papyri but none are complete. There were about two hundred small rolls in the first purchase and hundreds of small fragments. The original deposit may have consisted of more than a hundred documents. The main destructive element was worms, and their lacy patterns can be traced on the remaining fragments. A papyrologist was able to do some reconstruction by fiber analysis and a study of the destructive patterns.

The documents were sealed with bullae (clay seal impressions), and over a hundred of these seals have been recovered. The best preserved papyrus roll was sealed with seven bullae. Two other rolls had four seals. Two of the seals were inscribed in paleo-Hebrew, but they usually carried Attic motifs in the contemporary Greek style or Persian mythic and royal motifs.

The documents were all legal and administrative. Many are slave documents, while others are concerned with loans, sale of property, and marriage. The opening and closing formulas are preserved in some. They record that the contract was written in the province or city of Samaria and executed before the governor or prefect. In cases where the year in a governor's reign is given, it has been possible to date the document closely. The earliest is dated between the thirtieth and fortieth years of Artaxerxes II, between 375 and 365 B.C.E. Others are from early in the reign of Artaxerxes III (358–338 B.C.E.). The latest and best preserved papyrus was written on March 19, 335 B.C.E. The range is thus about 375 to 335 B.C.E.

The names that appear most often are Yahwistic, that is names combined with Yahweh. There are also foreign names reflecting the mixed Samaritan population. On one of the seals Sanballat is named as governor, perhaps Sanballat III, great-great-grandson of the Sanballat of Nehemiah's day. The name Nehemiah also appears as a slave for one of the nobles of Samaria.

The script of these papyri provide absolute dates for the fourth-century Aramaic cursive. When they are fully studied, the contents of the documents and the circumstances of their find will provide significant historical and cultural information about this period.

wages *see* EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES

Wailing Wall *see* WESTERN WALL

walk (Heb.: *halakh;* Gr.: *peripateo*) to live one's life, righteously or wickedly. This major metaphor for the ethical dimension of human conduct implies the imagery of the two ways and is the source of the term *halakhah*. *See also* WAYS, TWO.

walled cities cities encompassed by walls. Such cities are subject to several special rules: (1) Hereditary property situated in walled cities may be redeemed from a purchaser for a year from the date of purchase (Lev. 25:29; M. Arakhin 9:3–8). But such property is exempt from the law of the Jubilee, which, every fifty years, has hereditary property returned to its original owners. (2) Following the practice recorded at Esther 9:18, in walled cities, the Scroll of Esther is read annually on the fifteenth of Adar, the day after it is read in cities without walls (M. Megillah 1:1–2). (3) Walled cities in the Land of Israel are held to have a higher level of sanctity than that of unwalled cities. Lepers may not remain in them, and corpses, once removed, may not be brought back into them (M. Kelim 1:8).

war armed conflict between nations using lethal force to compel one side to do the other's will or, in extreme cases, intending totally to obliterate the enemy. In the Hebrew Bible, war resulted in the annihilation of the defeated army and the capture of noncombatants, whose possessions were taken as spoils of war (see, e.g., Gen. 14:1–12, 34:25–29; Num. 31:21–30). Biblical law even makes provision for Israelite warriors to take wives from among captive women (Deut. 21:10–14). By contrast, in certain instances, especially when fighting an enemy understood to be hostile to Israelite theocracy, the defeated nation and all of its property were devoted to God and deemed forbidden for Israelite benefit. In such a circumstance, noncombatants as well as enemy warriors were killed and their possessions destroyed (see, e.g., Josh. 8). Failure completely to carry out such a ban of extermination had devastating consequences for the Israelites, whose act of sacrilege turned God against them (1 Sam. 15).

While war and the destruction of an enemy frequently were understood to be demanded by God, biblical law also required concerted attempts to avert bloodshed. Prior to the battle, terms of peace were to be offered. These demanded surrender and payment of tribute or providing of forced laborers (Deut. 20:10–11; see, e.g., Judg. 1:28, 30, 33, 35). If the enemy did not accept terms of sur-

render, a siege would ensue with the ultimate purpose of killing all of the enemy's males and taking the women, children, and property as booty. While sieges were brutal and affected noncombatants as well as soldiers, the level of permissible devastation was in some respects limited. Israelites were forbidden from cutting down fruit-bearing trees, since destroying the food supply would make the land desolate and permanently uninhabitable (Deut. 20:19–20).

Service in the Israelite army was by conscription, which may explain the Israelite census procedure that counted only those of military age and required payment of a ransom of atonement (see, e.g., Exod. 30:12–16) similar to that required of a person guilty of manslaughter (Exod. 21:29–31). When the army faced battle, those who might not fully dedicate themselves to the task were allowed to return home. These included the fearful, anyone who had just built a new house, planted a vineyard, or betrothed a wife. Such people were to enjoy their new possessions rather than risk death (Deut. 20:5–10). I Maccabees 3:56 speaks of the implementation of this practice.

The Pentateuch and historical writings view war positively, expressing the perspective of an Israelite nation pursuing the divine commandment to take control of the land of Israel. The prophetic literature, by contrast, considers war from the vantage point of a small and weak people beset by significantly more powerful adversaries. Within this context, Jeremiah advises submission to Babylon rather than entry into a war that the Israelites will certainly lose (Jer. 27:12–22). In general, the prophets depict war in all of its horror. They portray the messianic age as a time in which there will be no more war, when swords will be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks (Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3; Joel 3:10).

The rabbinic literature discusses the morality of going to war and the conditions under which war is permissible or even required. The rabbis broadly distinguished a discretionary war (*milḥemet reshut*) from one that was mandatory (*milḥemet ḥoḇah, milḥemet mitzvah*) (M. Sotah 8:7). A mandatory war was required to repel an attack on an Israelite city and could be declared by the king acting alone. This was in contrast to a discretionary war, which was initiated by the Israelites themselves in order to increase their territory. Such a war needed to be declared by the full Sanhedrin of seventy-one members (M. Sanhedrin 1:4). According to the rabbis, the Bible's exemption of certain people from fighting applies only in a discretionary war. By contrast, in the case of an obligatory war, even a bride and bridegroom were required to join the battle (M. Sotah 8:7).

Rabbinic sources differ regarding the offer of terms of peace required by Deuteronomy 20:10–14. Sifre Deuteronomy 199 is explicit that terms of surrender are to be offered only in the case of a voluntary war; if Israel is attacked, no such negotiation is permitted. Leviticus Rabbah 17:6 and Deuteronomy Rabbah 5:13, by contrast, propose that Joshua offered the Canaanites terms of surrender, suggesting that Deuteronomy 20:10–14 applies even in the case of an obligatory war. Additional regulations control the actual conduct of the battle. For instance, while a siege should not be initiated within three days of the Sabbath, once started it is to be maintained even on the Sabbath until successful (Tosefta Eruḇin 4:7).

The Talmud holds that during the war for the conquest of the land of Israel, Israelite troops were permitted to eat meat found in Canaanite homes, even though such foodstuffs were normally forbidden under the dietary laws (B. Ḥullin 17a). In general, rabbinic texts propose that soldiers are released from ritual obligations that would impede their ability to find and prepare food in order to carry out their military objectives.

While the rabbis provide a system of laws indicating the circumstances under which wars may be fought and defining the conditions under which the enemy is to be engaged, their interest is largely theoretical. Though speaking of wars declared by king or Sanhedrin in defense of or to enlarge the territory of the land of Israel, the rabbis lived and worked in a period in which there was neither king nor Sanhedrin and in which Jews did not control the promised land. In practice, the rabbis' attitude toward war is illustrated by the actions attributed to Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, the founder of the rabbinic academy at Yaḇneh. In 70 C.E., unable to convince the Jews to give up their fight for freedom from Roman dominion, Yoḥanan reportedly escaped the besieged Jerusalem and went to the Roman camp, where he received permission from Vespasian to establish a center for study and religious observance (B. Gittin 56a–b). Rabbinic Judaism thus is founded on the precept that God demands that the people of Israel observe the terms of the covenant through the practice of its religious and social precepts and that war is not the best path to achieve God's messianic promise.

See also WAR, HOLY.

war, holy Since "YHWH is a man of war" (Exod. 15:3), the idea that God fights for and with his

covenant people, and sometimes against them (Amos 1–2), runs throughout biblical literature. Placing all the God-led wars of the Bible together led scholars to construct a "holy war" typology, with motifs of consultation of the deity, trumpet blasts to call an assembly and attack, consecration of the soldiers, YHWH's leadership, the need for total belief, the enemy's loss of courage as "divine terror" overtakes them, the carrying out of the ban, and dismissal of the army. More recent scholars have correctly pointed out that this scheme is only a construct and actual wars were not fought following this outline. Nevertheless, an early attempt to bring together disparate elements of a war code is found in Deuteronomy 20, and this summary was to be influential in later depictions of wars.

After the end of Judah's independence, which occurred with the destruction of the First Temple in 587 B.C.E., the language of holy war was used more and more to describe a final battle between YHWH and hostile nations (e.g., Zech. 14). One can note, however, how the Temple Scroll from Qumran carries on and develops the code of Deuteronomy 20, particularly emphasizing the need for sexual purity and consultation of the deity (11 QT 58:3–21), and how elements of holy-war language are found in the descriptions of battles fought by the Maccabees (e.g., 2 Macc. 8:12–29; 1 Macc. 3:17–24, 3:42–4:25. In 2 Maccabees one also has descriptions of divine helpers (10:29–30, 11:8), and here, besides the influence of Hellenistic historiography, one might also see the synergism between the heavenly and the earthly realms. Conflict between the Israelites and their enemies on earth is seen as but one aspect of a cosmic event. To the earthly war corresponds a war in heaven, alluded to in Daniel 10:20–11:1 but most fully sketched in the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness (1QM). There one sees all the cultic requirements of the holy war fulfilled as the Israelites battle the Kittim, but this battle reflects the angel Michael's battle with Belial, and all are subsumed under the cosmic categories of light and darkness.

Finally, sometimes God acts with human agents (e.g., 1 Enoch 90:19), sometimes not (Dan. 7:26, 8:25, 11:45); and sometimes God acts through a Messiah (4 Ezra 11:36–12:3; 12:31–34; Test. Levi 18; Test. Judah 24; Test. Dan. 5:10–13; Ps. Sol. 17) or a transcendent agent (1 En. 37–71; 4 Ezra 13; 11 Q Melchizedek; Mark 13; Rev. 16).

Talmudic rabbis conceived of a future war fought to fulfill the divine promise that the Israelite nation would dwell sovereign and secure in the Promised Land. The concretization of such thinking is evident in the rabbinic reports that Akiba deemed Bar Kokhba to be the messiah, such that the Jewish Revolt against Rome in 133–135 C.E. was fought both in the name of God and in the person of the messiah under divine leadership. While familiar in its underlying idea to scripture's holy war, the rabbis did not describe the battle through which the nation will fulfill its destiny within the covenantal relationship in the terms operative in the biblical and later Hellenistic typologies of such wars. On the one hand, they conceived of God personally fighting on behalf of the Israelites against the other nations of the world (e.g., Mekhilta Shirata 1). On the other, they failed to delineate the character of this future war or to describe, for instance, the consecration of soldiers, the need for total belief, or the prospective enemy's terror. The rabbis' relatively minor concern for the eschatological battle reflects their insistence that the path to salvation is not war at all but the fulfillment of their nation's covenantal duty through observance of Torah.

War of Quietus *see* TRAJAN, WAR OF

War of the Jews *see* JEWISH WAR, THE

War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness *see* WAR SCROLL

War Scroll an eschatological text describing the battle between the armies of God and Belial, first discovered in 1947 in Cave 1, Qumran. This manuscript, 1QM (also known as Serekh haMilḥamah or War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness), the most complete of the manuscripts of the War Scroll, consists of nineteen badly mutilated columns of text, and was first published by E. L. Sukenik in 1954. Six other fragmentary manuscripts were found in Cave 4 in 1952 ($4QM^{a-f}$) and were published by M. Baillet in *DJD* VII. The manuscripts range in date from the first half of the first century B.C.E. to the mid-first century C.E. The date of composition is disputed, ranging from the Hasmonean to the late Herodian periods (an impossible date, given the date of the oldest manuscript).

The War Scroll is a description of the final eschatological battle that will take place between the Sons of Light, which includes an army of angels led by the archangel Michael in addition to the sect itself, and the Sons of Darkness, headed by Belial and including apostate Jews, the nations of the world as listed in Genesis 10, and the Kittim of Asshur, who should be identified in the later stages of the work as the Romans. The War Scroll is a composite document, with columns 1 and 15–19 describing the war against the Kittim, columns 2–9 describing a war forty years in length, and col-

umns 10–14 containing miscellaneous hymns and prayers. Therefore, certain inconsistencies are noticeable. The war against the Kittim will take place in seven "lots": in three lots the Sons of Light will prevail; in three, the Sons of Darkness; and in the seventh God will intervene to defeat the forces of Belial. The war against the various nations, however, will last forty years, during which the army will rest every seventh year, in accordance with the sabbatical law.

The latter points to an important characteristic of the scroll: its concern with the correct conduct of the army and the purity of the camp (because of the presence of angels) leads to some definite impracticalities in the conduct of war. For example, the warriors are between forty and fifty years of age, while the baggage handlers are between twenty-five and thirty! Also, the war will be conducted by priests; the absence of any mention of a Davidic Messiah is remarkable. For reasons such as these, the war described in the War Scroll resembles a choreographed dance, where the enemies fall or flee on cue, rather than a practical manual for the conduct of battle.

washing of hands Scripture requires priests to wash their hands and feet prior to cultic service (Exod. 30:18–21). The rabbinic system of ritual purity focuses in particular upon hands, which, if unwashed, are held to suffer from second-degree uncleanness. In this state they convey uncleanness to food that is heave-offering, so that it may not be eaten by the priest. The Pharisees and later rabbis extended this concern for cultic cleanness to common Israelites, whom they wished to consume everyday food as though it were a sacrifice at the temple altar. Cleansing of the hands required a minimum of a quarter log of water, which was poured over the hands up to the wrists prior to the consumption of food (M. Yadaim 1:1, 2:3). The concern of this procedure was cultic not hygienic. For this reason almost any water could be used, no matter how dirty (M. Yadaim 1:3), and it could be poured out over the hands from any vessel, even one made of dung (M. Yadaim 1:2).

A "tradition of the elders" ignored by the disciples (Matt. 15:1–20; Mark 7:1–23), the practice of washing the hands is contrasted by Jesus with internal cleanliness. The negative resonance of the practice for early Christians is heightened in the Matthean passion narrative, when Pilate washes his hands to symbolize his innocence in Jesus' execution (Matt. 27:24).

watchers (Aram.: *irin*) a class of heavenly beings in 1 Enoch and Daniel, who serve primarily as messengers or envoys. The term is often combined with "holy ones" (*kaddishin;* see also Dan. 4: 13–23). Used alone in 1 Enoch 6–16, "watchers" designates the rebels who lost their holy state by mating with women. The term is usually derived from the Aramaic *ur* (to be awake, watchful), as indicated in 1 Enoch 39:12 (those who sleep not) and perhaps 1 Enoch 14:23, but the derivation is contested. Where the Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch are extant, "watcher and holy one" is the counterpart to "holy angel" (*angelos hagios*) in the Greek translation. *See also* HOLY ONES; ANGELS.

water In biblical Jewish culture, water was, as it is now, an indispensable component and sustainer of life, and, by virtue of having these qualities, water also acquired a symbolic significance. Since it has always been a scarce commodity in the Land of Israel, water's very presence was seen in the biblical world as a blessing from God and a symbol of God's care for creation.

Water is also important in the Bible as a cleansing agent that can remove impurity and render an object "clean" or holy for ritual and other purposes. In the context of God's creation of the world, water represents both one of the primordial elements of creation (Gen. 1:1–10) and also the chaos that God overcame to create the world. In the flood story in Genesis 6–9, God uses water as an agent to both destroy and cleanse the earth.

In intertestamental Jewish literature, water retains many of the significations it had acquired in earlier times. On the one hand, it represents abundance, goodness, and grace. Ben Sira (15:3) and 4 Ezra (14:47) use water as a symbol of knowledge and wisdom. Several texts speak of the salvific qualities of "living water" or the "water of life" (1 Enoch 17:4; 1QH 8:7–16; CD 19:34). Ritual submersion of humans in water figures in several contexts—in Pharisaic proselyte baptism, in the Life of Adam and Eve 6–17, and, perhaps most notably, at Qumran, where purificatory ablutions before meals and on other occasions were mandated.

Water often figures in intertestamental literature in narratives of the process of creation (2 En. 27–28; 4 Ezra 6:41–52; Jdt. 9:12). It can designate the primeval chaos (Wisd. of Sol. 19:7) or the turbulence and raging of the sea (Wisd. of Sol. 5:22, 13:2). In Daniel 7, as in Revelation 13, evil beasts arise from the sea. Apocalyptic texts sometimes picture the drying up of the sea as a sign of the end of the world.

In early Christian usage, water generally carries a positive valence, due to an increasingly spiritualizing interpretation and to the importance of bap-

tism. Perhaps the best-known reference is the story in John 4 of the Samaritan women at the well whom Jesus promises to provide with "living water," an unceasing source of spiritual refreshment. Salvific "living water" is also mentioned in the Odes of Solomon 6:8–18, 11:6–8, 30:1–7; John 7:38; Revelation 7:17; Ignatius' Letter to the Romans 7:2; and Didache 7:1-3.

The notion of "living water" also functions in an eschatological context, in, for example, Revelation 21–22. Here baptism in water combines the idea of purificatory cleansing or salvific power with the concept that the washing is an initial or preparatory eschatological cleansing.

In the rabbinic literature, water frequently symbolizes divine teachings, produced by the master and "drunk" by the disciple (e.g., B. Ḥagigah 3a; B. Baḇa Metzia 84b). Abtalion (M. Aḇot 1:11) worries that the result of sages' inappropriate talk will be exile to a place of "bad water," which later disciples will drink, causing them to die and to profane the name of heaven. Alongside this metaphorical usage, throughout the rabbinic literature, attention is placed on the role of water in the processes of cultic purification and to the procedure through which water is to be collected and used in the ritual bath (*mikveh*).

Wayiqra Rabbah *see* LEVITICUS RABBAH

way of the land (Heb.: *derekh eretz*) normal custom, correct conduct, good manners, courtesy, or etiquette; also, mode of earning a living, job, career, or profession. Disciples of sages are expected to master both Torah-learning and *derekh eretz,* that is, to study the Torah and also earn a living. They also are supposed to show *derekh eretz* to masters, that is, to treat teachers with dignity; and all Israelites are expected to display *derekh eretz,* that is, courtesy, to all persons they meet.

ways, two a metaphor for the good and evil alternatives of human conduct. Depicting human actions as walking along a path was common in antiquity, and the imagery of the two ways is attested in texts as disparate as Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.21.21–34 and Jeremiah 21:8. Jewish and early Christian texts develop the metaphor in great detail.

The ways are described by word pairs that characterize the alternative types of behavior (righteousness and iniquity, truth and falsehood), the source of this activity (light and darkness), and its outcome (life and death). Good and evil spirits are companions along the way, battling for one's loyalty as they prompt one to right or wrong actions. Sin involves straying or turning aside from the right path. The roads end at a pair of gates leading to eternal life or destruction. The continuity implied in travel along a road can characterize one's behavior as already participating in life or death (Wisd. of Sol. 1–6).

In early Jewish literature, the metaphor appears in a variety of genres with a wisdom flavor (see, e.g., Ecclus 15:11–12 [a collection of proverbs]; Tob. 4:5–6 [a narrative containing a testament]; 1 Enoch 91:3–4, 18–19; 94:1–4 [an apocalypse in testamentary form]). The Qumran Community Rule provides our first example of a special genre that structures ethical instruction around the imagery. There are two ways and two angels; the deeds appropriate to each are cataloged with reference to the vices and virtues that motivate them; then follow lists of the rewards and punishments for the two kinds of behavior (1QS 3:15–4:26). The Testament of Abraham literalizes the metaphor's eschatological aspect. Abraham watches souls being taken down two paths toward perdition and life (Test. Abr. 11 [a]; cf. Test. Asher).

The Sermon on the Mount ends with reference to the two ways and two gates appropriate to those who obey or disobey Jesus' teaching (Matt. 7:13–14). In Galatians 5:16–26, Paul organizes his ethical exhortation according to the alternatives of flesh and spirit, his counterparts to the two angelic principles that are at war with one another, catalogs the respective deeds in a manner similar to the Community Rule 3–4, admonishes his readers to "walk according to the spirit," and then mixing his metaphors, refers to the consequences of such behavior—the reaping of corruption and eternal life (Gal. 6:7–10). Later Christian texts building on the form found in the Community Rule include Didache 1–6; Barnabas 18–20; and the Mandates in the Shepherd of Hermas. *See also* DUALISM; ERROR; LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

ways of the Amorites (Heb.: *darkhei haAmori*) practices deemed superstitious and forbidden, for example, use of charms or good luck omens

wealth Attitudes about the possession and use of wealth varied in early Jewish writings and the Christian texts that were influenced by them. In the Deuteronomic view, the accumulation of wealth might be seen as a sign of divine favor for one's piety, and, in any case, splendid tombs and burials paraded the accomplishments of the rich. On the other hand, the poor and their protagonists could rail against the oppression of the rich (1 Enoch 94–105), and a text like 1 Enoch 103:5–8 pits the two points of view against one another. In general,

writings in the wisdom tradition see wealth as ambiguous. The Book of Tobit encourages almsgiving and the responsible use of one's resources. For the sage, Ben Sira, generosity was a virtue, and the abuse of wealth was to be avoided (Ecclus. 13). His observation about undue dependence on one's wealth (11:18–19) stands in a long tradition that sometimes condemns the rich (1 Enoch 97:7–10; Luke 12:16–21; cf. also Mark 8:36–37). In the New Testament, the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle of James, in particular, encourage the responsible use of wealth and warn that God judges the oppressive rich. *See also* ALMS; MAMMON.

wedding *see* ḤATTUNAH; MARRIAGE

weights and measures those objects and vessels devised in Palestine to weigh and measure commodities, land, cloth, and other items. In the Persian period the old biblical weights and measures still pertained, though in certain areas, doubtless, the Persian system was imposed. In the Bible, the basic unit of dry measure was the *log,* usually calculated at 0.3 liters. There were twelve *log*s to the *hin,* seventy-two *log*s to the *bath,* and seven hundred and twenty *log*s to the *kor.* In dry measures, some of the measurements come from the Babylonian system and some from the Egyptian, so there are often curious relationships. For instance, the basic unit of dry measure is the *qav.* There are 1.8 *qav*s to the *omer-issaron,* six *qav*s to the *seah,* eighteen *qav*s to the *ephah,* ninety *qav*s to the *letekh,* and one hundred and eighty *qav*s to the *homer.* In terms of weight, the basic unit is the *shekel,* which is observed to average about 10 to 11.4 grams from archaeological finds of stone weights inscribed "shekel" in Hebrew. One-half *shekel* was a *beqa,* inscribed examples of which have been found, and one-twentieth of a *shekel* was the *gerah.* Inscribed stone weights in the form of round, polished limestone objects with flat bottoms, occur as five *gerah,* one *beqa,* one *netsef* (which is perhaps 5/6 of a *shekel*), one, two, four, eight, and forty *shekel*s. The *netsef* does not occur in the Bible and may not be part of the *shekel* system at all. Other inscribed weights are known in which the actual weight is not in accord with the system assumed in the Bible. Many weights inscribed "pim" have been found and average about 7.8 grams. This name occurs in 1 Samuel 13:21. On the other hand, weights have been found that are inscribed "beqa," but they do not weigh one-half *shekel.* The Phoenician system was also in use on the coast, in which fifty Phoenician *shekel*s (or *skater*s) make one *mine.* The Phoenician system also has one-half *shekel* and one-sixteenth *shekel* weights. Phoenician weights resemble bronze blocks with flat tops. These and other finds suggest that there was more than one weight system available in the biblical period.

In the Hellenistic period, the papyri from the Jewish colony of Elephantine in Egypt mention the *seah* and the *qav.* In the Septuagint, or the Greek translation of the Bible, there appears an addition to Daniel called Bel. In Bel 3, two measures appear, the Persian *artaba* for flour and the Greek *metretes* (measure) for olive oil. At Qumran, a jar has been found inscribed "two seah and seven log."

By the time of the Talmud, the biblical system was correlated with the Roman system. Furthermore there is some literary evidence that weights and measures after 200 C.E. varied according to three systems: the measure of the wilderness, the measure of Jerusalem, and the measure of Sepphoris (B. Eruvim 83a). The basic measure of volume was the *log.* There were four *log*s to the *qav,* twelve *log*s to the *hin,* and seventy-two *log*s to the *ephah* or *bath.* There were also larger measures of volume: five *bath*s to the *letekh* and ten *bath*s to the *homer* or *kor.* Other units of dry measure include the Greek *sextarius,* which was considered the equivalent of one *log.* There was also the Roman *modius,* which was equivalent to 2/3 *seah.* The *modius* is depicted in ancient Greek or Roman art as a basket on the head of an Eastern goddess of fertility, such as Ceres.

Soft limestone vessels with two handles, often called "measuring cups" by their excavators, appear to be intended to hold one *log.* Most of these cups contain about 0.54 liter. Since the Talmud says that the ratio of the *seah*s of the wilderness, of Jerusalem, and of Sepphoris is 144:173:207 (the number of eggs that can be placed in each *seah* measure), and if the stone cup is the *log* of Jerusalem, then the *log* of the wilderness was about 0.45 liter and the *log* of Sepphoris was about 0.65 liter.

Units of length in the Talmudic period are the *etzba* (fingerbreadth), *tefach* (handbreadth or palm breadth), *zeret* (span from thumb to little finger), and *ammah* (cubit). According to literary sources there are six handbreadths to the cubit, or seven handbreadths to the royal cubit. The cubit is usually reckoned at about 45 centimeters (estimates range from 45 to 53.3 cm), which makes the royal cubit 52.5 centimeters. The ratio of fingerbreadth to palmbreadth to span to cubit is 24:6:3:1. Other measures include the Roman mile of 5,000 Roman feet, or 2,000 cubits. The Roman mile was also reckoned at 7.5 *stadia.* The Persian league (*parasang;* Heb.:

parsah) was reckoned at thirty *stadia*. During this period one could also measure according to the Roman cubit of about 1.6 Roman feet.

During the Talmudic period, it appears that the *shekel* was about half the weight of the Biblical *shekel*. There was a mixture of Roman and Jewish systems. There were 3,000 *shekels* to the *kikkar* (*talent*, 34.2 kg), eighty *shekels* to the *mina* or fifty *shekels* to the Italian *mina*, twenty-five *shekels* to the *tartimar*, four *shekels* to the Roman *uncia*, and two *shekels* to the *sela* or Greek *tetradrachm*, actually a silver coin. One *zuz* weighed one-half *shekel*. The Roman *litra* or *libra* (lb, 360 g) was also in use. The *libra* was divided into twelve *uncia* or forty-eight *sicilici*. Many examples of Roman pounds or other weights have been excavated. One square and flat lead weight recovered at Sepphoris was inscribed with the name of the market official, Simon, and was evidently his official weight.

In the Byzantine period, the *libra* or *litra* was still in use, as was the *uncia* (Gr.: *ouggia*). The *libra* was further divided into seventy-two *numisma* (Gr.: *exagios*) or ninety-six *drachma*, which was also a coin. The *gramma* (Lat.: *scripulum*) was one-third of a *drachma*, the *obol* was one-sixth of a *drachma*, and the *keratios* (Lat.: *siliqua*) was one-eighteenth of a *drachma*. Byzantine weights are flat round discs or flat squares with the weight clearly inscribed on the top.

Measures of area in the Bible were usually expressed in square cubits, but in the Mishnah they are expressed as so many cubits by so many cubits. A second system is to describe the area by the amount of seed required to sow it. A field that required one *seah* of seed to sow would be described as a *beth seah*, which equals 2,000 square cubits. Other such areas include the *beth rova* of about 10.5 by 10.5 cubits, and the *beth kor*, which is a plot of land that requires one *kor* of seed to sow.

Western Aramaic *see* ARAMAIC, WESTERN

Western Wall (Heb.: Kotel Maarabi) wall of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, which survived the destruction of 70 C.E. and still stands as a Judaic shrine today

wheel a minor motif in Jewish art, particularly Roman and Byzantine synagogue art. The wheel is simple and unadorned with varying numbers of spokes. For example, a wheel with nine or ten spokes appears to the left of an eagle with outstretched wings in a stone relief fragment from the synagogue of Umm el-Kanatir in the Golan Heights. A wheel with eight spokes was found painted on a ceiling in one of the catacombs of Beth Shearim. A nine-spoked wheel appears in low relief on a lintel in the synagogue of Eshtomoa south of Jerusalem. A six-spoked wheel appeared in low relief on a stone from the synagogue of Khirbet Kanef. The motif also appears on the bottom of late Byzantine lamps, but it was not intended to be seen. No one knows what such a wheel might represent.

Wicked Priest the label given to one of the enemies of the Teacher of Righteousness, the leader of a group of Jewish sectaries who eventually settled at Qumran. The sobriquet "Wicked Priest" appears in the Habakkuk Commentary and the Commentary on Psalm 37, where a portrait emerges of a ruling high priest who persecutes the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers, but who is eventually punished by God. The Habakkuk Commentary describes him as one "called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, and he forsook God and betrayed the precepts for the sake of riches. . . . And he lived in the ways of abominations amidst every unclean defilement" (1QpeshHab 8:8–13). Further, the Habakkuk Commentary claims that the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher to his settlement, disrupting the Day of Atonement; and 4QpeshPs 37 states that he tried to murder the Teacher. Finally, however, the Wicked Priest is murdered by his enemies (1QpeshHab).

Two candidates emerge for the identification of the Wicked Priest: Jonathan and Simon, the Maccabees. Both held the office of high priest in the mid- to late second century B.C.E., and both died a violent death. However, the sect seemed to favor the Wicked Priest at the beginning of his rule, and only condemned him for iniquity later. This would seem to fit Jonathan slightly better, since he began his rule as the hero of the Maccabean war, but later fell into the habits of an oriental despot. Moreover, Jonathan was killed by his enemies the Seleucids, while Simon was murdered by his son-in-law. Overall, then, Jonathan seems the best candidate for the Wicked Priest.

widow in biblical and Hellenistic traditions, a woman whose husband has died. A widow without sons may have entered into a levirate marriage or, if released, sought a new husband. Some widows, especially the wealthy, did as they pleased (Judith), yet others returned to their childhood homes (Tamar to her father's house; Orpah to her mother's). For widows without means, public protection was mandated (Deut. 10:18, 24:17–22; Isa. 1:17; Jer. 49:11, etc.). The Apocalypse of Zepha-

niah 7:4 (visiting widows and sick men); 4 Ezra 2:20; several passages in the Testament of Job; and Sibylline Oracles 2:76 and 270–271 emphasize proper treatment of widows, while Sibylline Oracles 3:75–93 describes Cleopatra as a widow whose universal rule is accompanied by cosmic destruction.

According to Luke 7:11–17, Jesus restores life to a widow's son, hails the Temple contribution made by a poor widow (the "widow's mite," Mark 12:42–44; Luke 21:1–4), and condemns those who "eat up widows' houses" (Mark 12:40). Christian teaching includes exhortations to maintain widows at the community's expense (1 Tim. 5:4, 16; see also Acts 6:1–6). The overlooking of Hellenist widows in the daily food distribution prompted the appointing of deacons (Acts 6:1-6). First Timothy 5:3–16 establishes three sets of widows: real, to be supported by the church; enrolled, to provide congregational service; and young, to be remarried lest they become idle gossips (1 Tim. 5:3–16).

Under rabbinic law, a widow could continue to live in her deceased husband's house or return to her own father's home. In either case, she was supported from her dead husband's estate until she either remarried or accepted full payment of her dowry and jointure. These sums could be exacted from any of the estate's assets, even landed property, which the widow had the right to sell in order to collect her due. The widow's claim upon the estate generally was prior to that of other creditors. The rabbis contemplate the widow's remarriage, although her apparently reduced value as a bride was reflected in the monetary terms of her new marriage contract. The stipulated jointure of a widow who remarried was 100 *zuz*, half that of a virgin-bride (M. Ketubot 1:2). While Leviticus 21:14 prohibits a high priest from marrying a widow, rabbinic law holds that, should appointment as high priest occur after the marriage, he may retain her as his wife (B. Yebamot 77a).

wilderness of Judea the narrow strip of rugged arid land, about ten miles wide, descending from the mountains stretching from Jerusalem–Jericho in the north to the southern end of the Dead Sea. It was a place of escape or retreat. In the wake of the Maccabean Revolt and the Hasmonean assumption of the high priestly office, a group of priests and scribes established their new exodus and covenantal community in the wilderness of Judea at Qumran near the northeast corner of the Dead Sea, where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in 1947. Much farther south, Herod built his nearly impregnable fortress at Masada, where the Sicarii held out against the Roman siege for years prior to their mass suicide. The Gospel of Matthew locates the preaching of John the Baptist in "the wilderness of Judea" (Matt. 3:1).

will the last instructions of a dying person to his family regarding the disposal of his property and their future conduct and often expressing a blessing for them, as in the wills or testaments of the biblical figures Abraham, Jacob, and Moses. Property distribution often was not a primary issue since it was fixed by rabbinic law, which allocated a double portion for the firstborn and equal inheritance for the remaining sons. Deathbed bequests had special validity in the rabbinic system. Written wills were accepted as valid by rabbinic authorities in accord with the prevailing local customs.

wine the primary beverage of antiquity. The rabbinic use of the Hebrew word for wine, *yayin*, connotes the undiluted extract of grapes. It was mixed or diluted with water before the liquid was consumed. Rabbinic custom prescribed that grace recited over every meal be accompanied by a cup of wine (Ber. 50a). The individual blessing over wine was central to the table ritual for the inauguration and conclusion of Sabbaths and festivals (namely, the rituals of *kiddush* and *habdalah*). Four cups of wine were drunk at the Passover Seder and a fifth was set aside for Elijah (M. Pesaḥ. 10). Mourners drank several cups of wine as consolation according to custom (Ketub. 8b). The Talmud encouraged moderation in drinking wine, citing its medicinal and health values (B. Bat. 58b). Alcohol abuse was not a dominant concern, although the Talmud prescribed some remedies for drunkenness (Shabb. 66b). Wine used in pagan ritual was deemed unclean and prohibited. Any ordinary wine prepared or handled by non-Jews also was prohibited either because it was suspected to have been a libation to a pagan god or because the rabbis wanted to restrict social interaction between Jews and Gentiles (Abod. Zar. 36b).

Wine, Festival of New *see* NEW WINE, FESTIVAL OF

Wisdom, figure of Wisdom was pictured as a woman as early as Proverbs 8 and 9, and the figure continued to develop in later Jewish writings, such as the Wisdom of Solomon. In writings such as those of Philo of Alexandria, it moves on further to become a hypostasis and interchangeable with the Logos. The origin of the figure of Wisdom is much debated. Wisdom in Proverbs 8 and 9 seems more than just a personification of an abstract quality. Many think that the description has been influenced by the language used of various godesses, such as Isis and Maat from Egypt.

wisdom literature a modern designation for two types of texts in the Bible: (1) aphoristic sayings or instructions, and (2) reflective analyses of existence, particularly divine justice and life's meaning. Besides Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, wisdom literature includes two books in the Apocrypha, Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon. This king's reputation for wisdom led later editors to attribute the majority of the wisdom corpus to him, although others questioned the accuracy of that tradition. A few psalms, especially 37, 49, and 73, resemble Job and Ecclesiastes in asking profound questions. Both types of wisdom texts were common in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and some familiarity with these writings by Jewish authors appears likely.

Egyptian wisdom consists of instructions from as early as the third millennium and "sentences" from as late as the second century B.C.E. The most significant of the former are the Instructions of Ptahhotep, Ani, and Amenemope, while Papyrus Insinger and Ankhsheshanky make up the most notable texts from the latter. The philosophical reflections are represented in a brief section of The Admonitions of Ipuwer, as well as The Dialogue of a Man with his Soul. Scribal texts and The Teaching of Duauf praise the profession of scholars. Mesopotamian wisdom, largely magic and incantation, contains reflection on suffering (A Man and His God; I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom; The Babylonian Theodicy; and A Dialogue between a Master and His Slave) and proverbial collections (The Instructions of Suruppak; Sumerian, Neo-Assyrian, and Babylonian sayings). An incomplete Aramaic wisdom text, the Sayings of Ahikar, has survived.

The social location of the sages in Egypt and Mesopotamia was the school, whether secular or within temple precincts, and the profession was at times connected with the royal court. In Israel the earliest proverbial sayings arose among the folk, then were transmitted by parents instructing their children on ways to attain success. Over the years these teachings were given literary form so as to function in the professional education of male scribes, perhaps for the royal court in Hezekiah's day. The world of the aphorisms is the small town, with family at the center and ordinary life as the fundamental concerns.

Wisdom themes naturally cover a swath as wide as life itself, but its perspective is that of a reasoned analysis based on experience. Observation of nature and human behavior led to conclusions about laws governing one's efforts to master daily experience. By drawing analogies from one realm and applying them to another, sages endeavored to withstand all threat and to attain wealth, honor, progeny, and long life. Philosophical probings about life's meaning, divine justice, and the possibility of pure virtue complemented "practical" wisdom.

At the center of wisdom literature was the idea that religious devotion, the fear of the Lord, preceded all knowledge, indeed was its final destination as well. Good people were called wise, wicked persons fools. Foreign women posed the chief threat to sages; this expression may have been a religious designation for strange types of worship, including sexual behavior. Her rival, personified Wisdom, was the agent of creation and the guide of sages in their quest for knowledge. Early optimism about the power of human reason eventually waned and sages looked to sacred traditions to supplement a flawed intellect. In this way the distinctive perspective of wisdom literature was compromised by revelation.

Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach *see* SIRACH, WISDOM OF

Wisdom of Solomon *see* SOLOMON, WISDOM OF

witness *see* TESTIMONY

woe a literary form that laments the fate of the wicked. Attested frequently in the prophetic corpus of the Hebrew Bible, woes begin with a stereotyped formula, "Woe to you (*or* those) who . . . ," that is followed by a description of the conduct, quality, or situation that is the cause for the lament and a prediction of judgment. Derived from mourning cries in ancient Israel, the form was employed by the prophets to express their distress over the sins of the people and the nations, and to contrast present arrogance, especially sins of social oppression, with the disasters that awaited the sinners when judgment was exacted on the day of YHWH (Isa. 5:8–22; Jer. 22:13; Amos 5:18, 6:1). The woe is one of several prophetic forms employed by Ben Sira (Ecclus. 2:12–14, 41:8–9). Its most striking use, however, is in 1 Enoch 92–105, where thirty-six woes, most of them shorter than their biblical counterparts, punctuate the seer's message of imminent judgment on the rich and powerful who oppress the righteous and poor. Similar woes are juxtaposed with Luke's version of Jesus' beatitudes, thus contrasting the future fate of the righteous and the wicked (Luke 6:24–26). *See also* BEATITUDE.

woes of the Messiah an expression that has been somewhat literally translated from the "birthpangs [Heb.: *ḥebalim*; Gr.: *ōdines*] of the Messiah." An idea current as early as the late Second Temple period was that the days preceding the Messiah

would be ones of social trouble and even cosmic upheaval.

woman, born of circumlocution for "human being" (Job 14:1, 15:14), used in the Community Rule 11:20–21 parallel to the term "son of man." Paul employs it to refer to Jesus' humanity (Gal. 4:4; cf. Rom. 8:3).

women, in Jewish inscriptions the appearance of women's names and titles in inscriptions on material such as stone, ceramic, metal, ivory, or even glass. Inscriptions may consist of only a few letters or contain entire texts of several hundred words. Jewish inscriptions appear on a diversity of objects, from marble memorial or dedicatory plaques on synagogue walls to ceramic oil lamps used for lighting. Many of these inscriptions were created by women, or mention the names of women. Most frequently, names of women are found on tombs as parts of epitaphs. Sometimes the woman's name may be accompanied by a title such as the Greek *kura* (lady), which was popular in tomb inscriptions of Jewish women. A symbol such as a menorah, olive branch, or shofar may also appear on the epitaph.

Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, or Latin are the languages in which Jewish inscriptions are written, although often women's names (and men's) may be transliterated from one language to another. For instance, an inscription may be written in Hebrew, but the names may be transliterations of Greek names, or it may be written in Latin with Hebrew names. There are many examples of this type of difference between the language of the inscription and the language of origin of the name.

An inscription on a coffin lid (late 2d c. C.E. to the beginning of the 3d c. C.E.) from Beth Shearim in Palestine provides an example of a Hebrew inscription with the title "lady" and where the woman's name is Mega, a Hebrew transliteration of the Greek word *megas* (large): "This is the coffin of the lady Mega, the wife of Rabbi Joshua, son of Levi. Peace."

Inscriptions about women are not limited to tombs, however. A number of inscriptions have been found in synagogues commemorating women donors. The Tralles synagogue at Caria contains a good example of a donation inscription (3d c. C.E.). The woman's name is a Greek transliteration of a Latin name: "I, Capitolina, most worthy and God-fearing, having made the entire threshold, decorated this staircase with mosaic on behalf of a vow for myself and my children, and for my family. Blessings."

Many more examples of Judaic women's inscriptions exist in ancient Jewish catacombs and synagogues, and include names from a variety of languages: Sara, Marame, Rahel (Heb.); Theodora, Artemis, Irene (Gr.); Julia, Veriana, Caelia (Lat.); Zera (Aram.). As well as being found in Palestine, these inscriptions have appeared in locations scattered all over the ancient Mediterranean, including Greece, Rome, Syria, Egypt and Africa.

women, position of *In biblical times.* The Bible envisioned a society in which men were heads of household and women were subordinate to and dependent upon them. The basis of biblical Judaism was a covenant struck between God and the Jewish people: in exchange for worshiping Him and performing prescribed acts of piety, God promised security, prosperity, and continuity. Although all stood at Sinai, the covenant was made with the men, and through the men, with the women. Evidence of this can be found in the Ten Commandments, which say—to men— "Do not covet your neighbor's wife" (Exod. 20:17) and in the holiness code in Leviticus 18, which lists the various consanguineous women with whom a man may not have a sexual relationship. Even though much of biblical law bound women as well, it was men who transmitted it to them and who were responsible for its implementation. In fact, biblical society was defined in terms of its male members, as indicated by the census in Exodus 30, and in Numbers 1 and 26, which counted adult males but no women or children.

The principal legal institutions of biblical society favored men. It was a man who took himself a wife, paid her father a bride-price, bound her to him, and set her aside for his exclusive use. It was therefore only he, and not she, who could end the marriage, by giving her a bill of divorcement and dismissing her from his home (Deut. 24:1). She could not choose to leave of her own accord or remain against his will. Within marriage, however, he was required to provide for all her needs.

Since marriage was not viewed as an exclusive relationship between the two members of a couple but as ownership of a woman by a man, adultery was defined as sexual relations between a married woman and any man other than her husband, either married or unmarried. Since married men were not forbidden to have sexual relations with unmarried women, it follows that wives had no claims on husbands for marital fidelity; husbands, however, could not only demand it of their wives but even test for innocence or guilt. Numbers 5:5–31 sets forth in gruesome detail the ordeal to

which a wife must submit if her husband merely suspects her of extramarital sexual activity.

The punishments the Bible prescribes for crimes against women yield an even sharper understanding of women's status, both before and during marriage. The Bible deems the rape of an already betrothed girl far more serious than that of an unbetrothed girl—the former being a capital crime and the latter punishable only by forced, indissoluble marriage of the rapist to the woman he raped (Deut. 22:25–29)—because from the future husband's perspective, what he had paid for and had not yet taken possession of had been appropriated for use by someone else.

According to the Bible, it was incumbent upon a wife to bear children for her husband. The special case of levirate marriage, still in effect today, shows that the course of a woman's marital life was determined by her ability to fulfill this male prerogative (Deut. 25:5–10). If a man died childless, his widow was not free to remarry but was considered to be already betrothed to his brother. The purpose of her marriage to her levir was to produce an heir, presumably a male, who would continue the name and line of his father's deceased brother and inherit his property. In this situation, a woman glided from one marriage to the next, suffering no period of financial distress, but having no choice of life options or partners. It was only the levir who could choose to release his sister-in-law from the marital bond, by undergoing a ceremony called *halitzah;* she could not refuse to live with him.

In economic matters women were totally dependent on men. Real estate, the most valued asset, was usually owned by men. According to the Bible, the Land of Israel was to be distributed to men only (Num. 26:53, 27:6–11). Upon death, a man's parcel of land was to pass to his agnatic kin—sons, brothers, or uncles. In the event that he left no sons but only daughters, they were to supersede all other relatives and inherit their father's land, sharing it among themselves. In cases like these, women were required to marry within the tribe so as not to reduce its land holdings.

The laws of vows (Num. 30:2–17) provide an important—but limited—exception to the general rule of women's subordinate status. It was standard behavior in the biblical period for people to take a vow in order to influence or implore God to grant a request. In return for engaging in some form of self-denial, the vowing individual hoped to gain healing for a sick family member or the safe return from war of a husband or son. The main point of this section of Torah is to distinguish between men's and women's vows. If a man takes a vow, no matter what transpires, he must keep his word; if a woman takes a vow, her intentions may be subverted by either father or husband. However, Numbers 30:11 notes, the vows of widows and divorcees may not be canceled by anyone. Thus women as women are viewed as competent and able to maintain absolute control over their own affairs, religious and even financial. But when they are under the aegis of a father or husband, their vows need approval.

In ritual areas, men predominated: it was the males of the priestly class who served as religious functionaries in the Temple and lay Israelite men who were bidden to make a pilgrimage to the Temple three times a year. Women, however, did take some part in organized religious life. Their ability to enter the holy precincts of the Temple was impaired by their regular periods of ritual uncleanness due to menstrual flow (Lev. 15:19–30). But when ritually clean, women could bring voluntary offerings and were even required to bring a sin-offering after each birth. As for ritual restrictions, such as not working on the Sabbath, fasting on Yom Kippur, and avoiding leaven on Pesah, women were bound by these rules, just as men were.

The one area in a woman's life in which she achieved parity with men was her status as a parent. In the eyes of the Bible, the older generation, both males and females, had absolute authority over the younger. A child was to honor and fear both its father and its mother; a son or daughter who cursed or struck either parent was to be put to death (Exod. 21:15, 17). Both mother and father had to declare a son rebellious for him to be punished (Deut. 21:18–21). Upon death, the same rites of mourning obtained for a mother as for a father (Lev. 21:2).

It is thus evident that Judaism in the biblical period was, in general, both androcentric and patriarchal. Women were dependent upon men but also protected and supported by them. Although important life decisions were made for a woman by others, and she had no involvement in or control over financial matters, she seems to have occupied a secondary but not insignificant role in society. Inasmuch as the Bible envisioned a sacred society, women were included in that vision but were accountable to men, who in turn were accountable for them to God.

One of the unresolved issues regarding the position of women in Judaism in the biblical period is the relationship of law to life. Did the social reali-

ties conform to the legal prescriptions? The narrative portions of the Bible suggest that women's position in society, although not equal to that of men, was still not as subordinate and marginal as one might have expected. The matriarchs, as well as other female biblical characters, exhibited independence of thought and action and critically influenced the course of Jewish history, although differently from men. Rebecca behaved more like a patriarch than did her passive husband, Isaac, securing the patriarch's blessing for her favorite son, Jacob, to whom it was meant to go, and thwarting Isaac's plan to bestow it upon Esau, his favorite (Gen. 27). Tamar (Gen. 38) and Ruth, in different ways, each enticed a man to engage in marital or quasi-marital sexual relations so that he would maintain the family's line. In reward for and acknowledgment of the merit of their actions, each of them became an ancestress of King David. These heroines, and scores of others who appear throughout the Bible, show that women, despite sociolegal limitations, could act resolutely to shape the future according to their own vision.

Traditionalist perspective. In the Mishnah, where we find the postbiblical law of Judaism, the dominant interest is in two crucial stages in the transfer of women and of property from one domain to another: (1) the leaving of the father's house for the husband's through marriage; and (2) the leaving of the husband's house at the marriage's dissolution through divorce, the husband's death, or the wife's infidelity. There is yet a third point of interest, though it is much less important than these first two stages: (3) the duration of the marriage. Women have numerous rights in the law of the Mishnah. Even while married, women may become property owners of substance, as their fathers leave them land. True, the husband enjoys the usufruct so long as the marriage continues. But the woman is ultimate owner. That means the husband has every material reason to want to preserve those conditions that will secure and perpetuate the marriage. Moreover, the Mishnah makes provision for a husband's relinquishing his rights over his wife's property, even as a condition of marriage. The Mishnah, within its theoretical frame, accords the woman rights of property. It secures the marriage, through the marriage contract and its settlement upon the occasion of divorce or death of the husband, so that the wife is not completely dependent upon the husband. The woman does not enjoy a position in her realm equivalent to that of the man, in his. But a woman's status in this system is not that of utterly lacking a measure of autonomy, dignity, and control of her own affairs. It is the point at which a woman is perceived as requiring legislation—when she has the capacity to become a wife and a mother but is not yet in a position of realizing it, or when she ceases to be a wife—that her status requires the regulation, ordering, and protection of Mishnah's elaborate and reverent intellectual attention.

Women are treated as anomalous by the law of Judaism represented in the Mishnah and its commentaries, the two Talmuds. The anomaly of woman is addressed at its most anomalous, that is, disorderly and dangerous, moment, the point at which women move from one setting and status to another. The very essence of the anomaly, woman's sexuality, is scarcely mentioned. But it always is just beneath the surface. For what defines a woman's status—what is rarely made explicit in the Division of Women—is not whether she may have sexual relations, but with whom she may have them and with what consequence. It is assumed that long before the advent of puberty, a girl may be married and in any event is a candidate for sexuality. From puberty onward, she will be married. But what is selected for intense and continuing concern is with whom she may legitimately have sexual relations, and with what economic and social effect. There is no sexual deed without public consequence; and only rarely will a sexual deed not yield economic results, in the aspect of the transfer of property from one hand to another. What is anomalous is the woman's sexuality, which is treated in a way wholly different from a man's. And the goal and purpose of Mishnah's Division of Women are to bring under control and force into stasis all of the wild and unruly potentialities of sexuality, with their dreadful threat of uncontrolled shifts in personal status and material possession alike.

The Mishnah invokes heaven's interest in this critical moment for individual and society alike. Its conception is that what is rightly done on earth is confirmed in heaven. A married woman who has sexual relations with any man but her husband has not merely committed a crime on earth. She has sinned against heaven. It follows that when a married woman receives a writ of divorce and thus is free to enter into relationships with any man of her choosing, this, too, is confirmed in heaven. What was beforehand a crime and a sin afterward is holy, not subject to punishment at all. The woman may contract a new marriage on earth, which heaven, for its part, will oversee and sanctify. What is stated in these simple propositions is that those critical turn-

ings at which a woman changes domains produce concern and response in heaven as much as on earth. And the reason is that heaven is invoked specifically at those times, and in those circumstances, in which the Mishnah confronts a situation of anomaly or disorder and proposes to effect suitable regulation and establish order.

It is to a situation that is so fraught with danger as to threaten the order and regularity of the stable, sacred society in its perfection and at its point of stasis that the Mishnah will devote its principal cognitive and legislative efforts. For such a situation, the Mishnah will invoke heaven and express its most vivid concern for sanctification. What breaks established routine is subject to the fully articulated and extensive reflections of a whole division of the Mishnah. The Mishnah provides its own most reliable exegesis in calling each one of its six principal divisions an order (Heb.: *seder*). The anomaly of woman is worked out, that is, held in stasis, by assigning her to man's domain. It follows that the stasis is disturbed at the point when she changes hands. Then Mishnah's instincts for regulating and thereby restoring the balance and order of the world are aroused. Thus from the recognition of the anomalous character of women, we find ourselves moving toward the most profound and fundamental affirmations of the Mishnah about the works of sanctification: the foci and the means. Women are sanctified through the deeds of men. So, too, are earth and time, the fruit of the herd and of the field, the bed, chair, table, and hearth—but in the nature of things, women most of all. *see also* GENDER ROLES, IN RABBINIC JUDAISM; MARRIAGE; VIRGIN; WIDOW.

Woodgathering, Feast of festival mentioned by Josephus at the time of the siege of Jerusalem during the 66–70 C.E. war. It was apparently given in celebration of bringing wood for the altar. Such a festival is now known from the Temple Scroll found at Qumran, as are the Feast of New Wine and Feast of New Oil.

word of God (Heb.: *dabar elohim;* Gr.: *logos tou theou* or *hrêma theou;* more idiomatically translated, the message of God) Since the God of the Bible is perceived as a personal God who is vitally concerned with human destiny, He is depicted as revealing His will to humanity in the form of speech, so that the word of God is the primary way in which the biblical God disclosed Himself to human beings. In the Hebrew Bible the phrase word of God is occasionally used of the revelatory message communicated to prophets and priests by God in the formula "the word of God came to Nathan" (1 Kings 12:22; see 1 Chron. 17:3; Luke 3:2), and the resultant message proclaimed by the prophet can be designated as "the word of God" (1 Sam. 9:27). The formula preferred in the Hebrew Bible, however, is "the word of YHWH," or "the word of the Lord," in such expressions as "the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel" (Ezek. 1:1; see 1 Sam. 15:10; 1 Kings 6:11; Jon. 1:1; Hag. 1:1; Zech. 1:1). The message which prophets proclaim is therefore called "the word of the Lord" (1 Sam. 8:10; 1 Kings 12:25; Isa. 1:10; Jer. 36:11), which can be proclaimed with the formula "hear the word of the Lord" (Isa. 1:10; Hos. 4:1). The Torah or Law which was revealed to Israel at Mount Sinai by Moses, particularly the Ten Commandments, is also understood as divine revelation and is called "the word of God" (Exod. 24:4, 34:21–27; Ps. 119:10–11). The Hebrew phrase translated "the Ten Commandments" literally means "the Ten Words" (Exod. 34:28).

In the New Testament "the word of God" is used from the Hebrew Bible or Greek Septuagint (Mark 7:13; Matt 15:6). In the Gospels the phrase is used for the teachings of Jesus only in Luke (5:21, 8:11, 21, 11:28), though the other Gospels use analogous phrases such as "the word" or "my [i.e., Jesus'] word" (Mark 2:2, 33, 4:14; John 8:31), "the word of the Kingdom" (Matt. 13:19). In the New Testament generally, the phrase "the word of God" is frequently used of the gospel or good news, that is, the early Christian proclamation of the saving significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus (1 Cor. 14:26; Col. 1:25; Phil. 1:14; Rev. 1:2, 9, 6:9, 20:4). This is particularly the case in Acts where "the word of God" is virtually used as a technical term for the Christian gospel (e.g., Acts 4:31, 6:2, 7, 12:24, 13:5, 7).

A special development of the phrase "word of God" occurs in the New Testament and early Christian literature when it is applied to Jesus in a variety of ways. In Revelation 19:13, the rider on the white horse depicted as the warrior Messiah (see Pss. Sol. 17:24 and Wisd. of Sol. 18:15–16), is implicitly identified as the returning Christ, and called "the Word of God." In John 1:1–5, in what appears to be a midrashic interpretation of Genesis 1:1–5, the preincarnate Jesus is called "the Word" and identified with God. The claim that this Word is the means whereby the universe was created (John 1:3) appears to be a development of the notion that the heavens were created "by the word of God" (Heb. 11:3; 2 Pet. 3:5), that is, by the command of God. In 1 John 1:1 (probably an interpretation of John 1:1–3), the incarnate Jesus is designated "the Word of life." *See also* LOGOS.

Words of the Heavenly Lights Hebrew composition for which three fragmentary manuscripts were found in Cave 4, Qumran, in 1952, and subsequently published in DJD VII in 1982. Their editor, M. Baillet, assigns a paleographic date of the mid-second century B.C.E. to the earliest of the three manuscripts; thus the date of composition must be prior to that.

The Words of the Heavenly Lights, or Words of the Luminaries, takes its title from the unusual fact that a probable title is actually written on the reverse of one of the fragments (Heb., Dibrei haMeorot). The contents of the text were collective prayers for each of the days of the week; the mention of the fourth day (Wednesday) and the Sabbath are preserved on the fragments. Most of the preserved text seems to be the prayer for Friday.

The prayers are pleas for the forgiveness of sin; the sin is spoken of in general terms ("we were sold because of our iniquities, but despite our offenses thou didst call us"); the plea to God for forgiveness is made on the basis of the chosenness of Israel ("For thou hast named Israel 'my son, my first born'"), and the language of the whole is heavily dependent on biblical imagery ("Thou hast carried us marvelously [on the wings of] eagles"; cf. Exod. 19:4). In form, content, and language these prayers are similar to the ancient "supplication" prayer found in the daily Jewish liturgy.

There is nothing that can be identified as sectarian in the language of the prayers; and the composition of the text, based on the date of the oldest manuscript, must take place before the founding of the settlement at Qumran (c. 150–135 B.C.E.). The mention of Adam and the Garden of Eden (frg. 8) are unusual in a Qumran document and may again point to a non-Qumranic origin. However, its lack of sectarian characteristics does not allow for the claim that this was not considered a sectarian composition by the sectaries themselves; the text was certainly stored by the sectaries at Qumran and may have been used by them in a liturgical context.

works *see* DEEDS, WORKS

world in the Hebrew Bible, the whole sphere of God's creation; the part of creation inhabited by humans.

Intertestamental Jewish literature continues these meanings, supplementing them with the idea of the "world" as the sphere of human activity. A common expression here is "the whole world," denoting all human life. Another important concept, expressed mainly in apocalyptic literature, is that God will one day "judge" and destroy the world.

The letters of Paul in the New Testament are among the earliest Judaism-based sources in which "world" takes on a distinctly negative connotation. Here the term denotes the lower element of an ontological dualism between "the world" and the realm of God. Paul not only recommends being "crucified" to the world (Gal. 6:14), but also speaks of "the god of this world" as a negative force (2 Cor. 4:4). In the New Testament's Gospel of John and Johannine letters, this dualism is carried to an extreme: the "world" is completely evil. Although some Jewish writings of the late first and the second centuries (e.g., 4 Ezra) speak of "this world" as a place of sorrow, corruption, and unrighteousness, none of them evinces the radically negative valuation of the "world" attested in many early Christian writings.

In rabbinic Judaism the concept of world is intertwined with that of Torah. The first of God's creations, the Torah comprised the blueprint subsequently used by God to make the world (Sifre Deut. 37; Gen. Rabbah 1:1, M. Abot 3:14; see Prov. 8:22). Concomitantly, the world was created for the sake of Torah (Gen. Rabbah 12:2). In rabbinic thinking, the law and the world thus are unitary and, as creations of God, perfect. Observance of the laws of Torah accordingly entails acts that are neither random nor discretionary. Through Torah, rather, people conform to the character of the world as God meant it to exist. Only because people have failed consistently to do this and so have destroyed God's originally perfect creation, do the rabbis look forward to a coming world, separate from current life. Unlike Paul and the Gospel of John, however, they do not view the current world as intrinsically evil or corrupt.

world to come *see* AGE TO COME

world year the concept that the world went through a cycle of several thousand years, at which time it came to an end or the cycle began again. The idea is found in Stoicism which taught that an evental *ekpyrosis* (universal conflagration) would destroy everything and begin the cycle again. Zoroastrianism developed a cycle of twelve thousand years. The idea of an end of history and the world was widespread in Jewish writings of the Second Temple period. It was probably in the first century C.E. that the idea of a world week developed, in which humankind was given six thousand years, followed by a seventh thousand of God's rule.

worship *see* CULT

wrath of God God's anger at opposition to divine holiness, righteousness, or intentions. God's wrath

has concrete effects, from sickness and misfortune to military defeat and death. Divine wrath is provoked by human iniquity or ignorance and manifests God's righteousness. Violation of God's rules risks wrath, as when Uzzah touches the ark (2 Sam. 6:7) or Aaron's sons offer unholy fire (Lev. 10:1-3). Nations that oppress Israel and do not acknowledge divine sovereignty experience wrath (Exod. 15:7–8; Jer. 50:25; Jdt. 9:9). God is angered by Israel's transgressions of the covenant, such as idolatry (Exod. 32:10; Deut. 13), social injustice (Exod. 22:21–24; Isa. 1:21–25), and rebellion against God's rule (Deut. 1:26–45). But God is slow to anger (Exod. 34:6; Ps. 86:15; Joel 2:13), and divine anger is tempered by love or mercy (Ps. 51:1; Isa. 60:10). Pseudo-Philo is particularly concerned with the tension between God's anger and mercy.

In apocalyptic eschatology, God's coming wrath will soon punish the wicked (1 Enoch 1–5; Apoc. Abr. 28:4). The Dead Sea Scrolls and Daniel 8:19 and 11:36 refer to the present as the Age of Wrath. Paul and Revelation have an apocalyptic view that God's wrath will be revealed at the eschaton (Rom. 2:5; 1 Thess. 1:10; Rev. 6:16–17, 11:18, 14:10). For Paul, God's wrath is also operative in the present (Rom. 1:18; 1 Thess. 2:16). In the Gospels, both John the Baptist (Matt. 3:7) and Jesus (Matt. 13:37–43) preach God's coming wrath.

wreath a motif in Jewish art borrowed from Graeco-Roman art. The wreath is usually depicted as a closed circle woven of vines or a circle with a gap at the front (top). The wreath as a motif in Jewish art represents one woven of vines or made of gold, but even a gold wreath (or diadem) was modeled after the vine wreath. Wreaths in Roman and Byzantine synagogue art appear many times as the center of interest in a stone relief on a lintel flanked by lions, genii, or other animals. Sometimes in the center of the wreath in synagogue art there appears a menorah or knot of Hercules, or else the bottom of the wreath is itself tied in a knot of Hercules. Wreaths decorate the friezes of the synagogues of Capernaum and Chorazin. A wreath realistically depicted in the Tiberias synagogue mosaic contains a Greek dedicatory inscription: "Proclus the son of Crispus made it." Wreaths also appear on chancel screens in Byzantine synagogues. These wreaths usually enclose a menorah. Coins of Jewish rulers often featured wreaths. For example, on coins of John Hyrcanus I (135 B.C.E.) wreaths appear surrounding a Hebrew inscription: "Yonatan the High Priest and Council of the Jews." The wreath on coins is sometimes understood to be a royal diadem and indicates the authority under which the coin was minted.

writing materials items such as inkwells, papyrus, vellem, and ink used for writing. While an almost countless number of items were used for some sort of written communication from the Persian period until the end of the Byzantine period, the following items were among the most common media used: papyrus, animal skins, bullae, seals, mosaics, ostraca, metal, pottery, ossuaries, and stone.

Perhaps the most familiar mediums of ancient writing to modern individuals are papyri and animal skins, because these were used for the famous Dead Sea Scrolls. Papyrus was used extensively in Palestine due to its close proximity to Egypt where the plants were grown. Papyrus leaves were woven together and then pressed to make writing sheets. Dried animal skins that were later pressed were a similar medium, and ink was used for writing on both surfaces. The majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls were written on animal skins, but some were written on papyrus. Papyrus was also used for legal contracts and letters, which were often sealed with bullae.

Bullae are simply tiny pieces of clay or wax that have been impressed with a seal in order to officially close or seal a letter, contract, deed, or other document. These seals often contained the name of the owner along with the name of his or her father ("Joseph, the son of Saul"). Seals are known to have belonged both to women and to men, and at times iconography was used to identify the owner instead of the name. The seals were commonly made of semiprecious stones and were engraved by artisans.

Pottery was also a common medium for writing. Individual vessels were often inscribed before or after firing with various labels identifying either the owner of the vessel or the contents of the vessel. Stray pottery sherds were also used for writing practice and for composing letters. These sherds were at times inscribed with some sort of sharp instrument, and at other times ink was used. When ink was used on a pottery sherd, the resulting piece of writing is called an ostracon.

Metal was also used as a medium for writing and was commonly inscribed as an amulet. Breastplates often contained short prayers or blessings. These amulets were often used in burials. Burials in general seem to have brought out the need for writing from earliest times. Stone tombs and ossuaries were often inscribed with messages commemorating the deceased, with warnings to potential grave robbers and prayers to God. Finally, mosaics were

often used following the Hellenistic period for various types of inscriptions. This is especially important in Palestine, because many synagogues and churches contain mosaics with various types of inscriptions.

The study of the letters found on these different types of writing is called paleography. This study is often used to date unknown objects and archaeological levels by comparing the shape and style of a particular set of letters with a set of letters from the preceding and following time periods. Though some general conclusions can be reached through paleographic dating, the resulting dates are necessarily not specific and sometimes are unreliable, because, like today, there is often much variation in the style of letters from the same time period as a result of scribal habits. *See also* INSCRIPTIONS; OSTRACON; SEALS AND BULLAE.

Writings the English translation of the Hebrew term *ketubim;* a Jewish division of the Hebrew Bible containing the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes (Kohelet), Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 and 2 Chronicles. The Ketubim's books were among the last written, and some of them did not receive canonical status until a century or so into the common era.

Written Torah *see* TORAH, WRITTEN

X-Y

Xanthikos the name of a Macedonian month; appears in a number of Jewish sources, such as the writings of Josephus. Unfortunately, there was not a uniform usage; sometimes it corresponded to the Hebrew month of Adar (February/March) and sometimes to the month Nisan (March/April).

Yabneh town near the Mediterranean on the southern coast of the Land of Israel, where, after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., sages assembled and conducted schools and courts, also referred to as Jamnia

Yabneh, archaeology of the ancient site of Yabneh, also known as Jamniah or Jabneh. Yabneh was a minor biblical city (2 Chron. 26:6) on the Huldah River near the coast of the Mediterranean and south of Jaffa. Josephus knew that it had been the seat of the governor of Idumea during the Hellenistic period (*Ant.* 12.7.4, p. 308). Greek troops under Seleucid command had used Yabneh as a base for the resistance to the Hasmoneans (1 Macc. 5:58). Simon Maccabaeus, however, conquered Yabneh and it remained in Jewish hands until the Romans came in 63 B.C.E. In rabbinic literature it is known as the seat of Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and Raban Gamaliel. A Sanhedrin sat at Yabneh. In the Byzantine period it is known as the seat of a bishopric. The site is replete with foundations of buildings, with tombs, and with fragments of sculpture of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Pottery fragments on the ground include those of the Persian period and earlier. A Greek and Hebrew inscription from Khirbet Hebra near Yabneh, of uncertain date, mentions Abram the son of the blessed Robel of Pharbaithos, which is a city in the eastern Delta in Egypt. The Hebrew says, "Peace upon Jeshrun forever."

Yadayim Mishnah tractate on washing hands to remove ritual uncleanness. The tractate discusses washing hands (chaps. 1–2); the status of uncleanness imputed to hands (chap. 3); and the status of uncleanness imputed to sacred scriptures (Chaps. 3–4).

Yahrzeit anniversary of a person's death. It is a medieval innovation, whereby the annual anniversary of an immediate relative's death is marked. Those observing it recite the *kaddish,* and receive the honor of being called to the Torah (*aliyah*).

Yahu (Aram.: *yhw*) an abbreviated form of the divine name YHWH (Yahweh) found in Jewish papyrus letters written in Aramaic at Elephantine, in Egypt, about 400 B.C.E.

Yahweh *see* YHWH

Yamim Noraim *see* DAYS OF AWE

Yannai Palestinian amora of the early third century C.E.; a student of Judah the Patriarch and Ḥiyya; teacher of Yoḥanan and Simeon b. Lakish; also known as Yannai Rabbah (the Great). He was active at Akbara, in the upper Galilee, where he founded an academy (Y. Erubin 8:4, 25a). The Talmud suggests that he was wealthy (B. Kiddushin 11a), an owner of orchards and vineyards (B. Moed Katan 12b, B. Baba Batra 14a). *See also* ALEXANDER JANNAEUS.

Yannai b. Ishmael an infrequently cited Palestinian amora of the late third century C.E.; found in the Babylonian Talmud in several legal and exegetical passages

Yaoel a high angel who bears God's name (Yahu; YHWH). Unique to the Apocalypse of Abraham 10–17, this angel mediates the vision of God precipitated by the sacrifice in Genesis 15 and teaches Abraham the song of God's heavenly attendants. *See also* ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF.

Yattir a location northwest of Khura. The Cave of Yattir is referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel.

Yazdagird I Sassanid ruler (r. 399–420 C.E.). Although he faced invasions by the Ostrogoths and Franks and revolts by Maximus and the city of Antioch, he did not focus on expanding his territory or fighting wars on his frontiers. He upheld his treaty with Byzantium, and he won the respect of the Roman emperor Arcadius. He ended the long and debilitating persecution of the Christians, and in 409 he permitted Christians to worship openly and rebuild their churches. However, strife between the magi and the Christians soon erupted, leading to a four-year persecution of the Christians, including destruction of churches and arrests of believers. However, Christian writers present a favorable picture of Yazdagird. The Jewish sources are also positive toward Yazdagird, some claiming that his wife was Jewish. But the stories of his Jewish wife are garbled and are unreliable. Perhaps women in Yazdagird's harem were sympathetic to the Jewish community. The rabbinic texts indicate that the exilarch enjoyed a good personal relationship with Yazdagird and his court. Amemar compared Yazdagird to Cyrus, and one source claims that the king knew scripture and the complicated requirements of the priestly garments, neither of which is likely.

Yazdagird II Sassanid ruler (r. 440–457 C.E.). After the death of of his father, Bahram V, he concluded a peace with Rome and ascended the throne. He engaged in successful campaigns against the Ephthalites of Transozania and forcibly converted Armenia to Zoroastrianism. At first he was tolerant toward Christianity, but he began to persecute Armenian Christianity, and in about 445–446 the persecutions spread to Iran. He subjected the Jews to the most severe persecutions they experienced in Persia. For more than fifty years, Judaism was considered an illicit religion, and the Jews were punished for practicing it. Jewish sources claim that he outlawed the Sabbath, and even commanded the Jews to violate the Sabbath. Other sources claim that he prohibited the recitation of the Shema and that he closed the Jewish schools. He also decreed that the Jews should live by Sassanid law and that their courts should be closed. The Jewish sources suggest that he virtually abolished Jewish self-rule in the Sassanid Empire and that he executed important rabbis and other Jewish leaders. It is possible that the king desperately needed the support of the Sassanid clergy and secured this support by persecuting both Christians and Jews.

Yazdagird III last Sassanid ruler (r. 632–651 C.E.). Crowned in the city of Istakhr, he inherited a weakened country, which was divided among generals and governors and exhausted after a long struggle with Rome. Bands of Arabs moved against the Sassanid territories after they defeated Syria. In 637, the Sassanid armies were defeated at al-Qadisiya and Jalula. Ctesiphon fell, and all of ancient Babylonia now was lost. In 641, the Moslems defeated the Sassanids at Nihavend, and in 643 Hamadan fell. Finally, in 651, Yazdagird III was murdered by his own forces.

Yazden Persian imperial finance minister (early 7th c.). Yazden's family possessed large estates in Karkha de Bet Slokh. He was a Nestorian Christian, whom Khusro II placed in office. He often accompanied the imperial armies to collect and protect the moneys seized in pillage or gained in ransom. He used his wealth to endow monasteries and support churches. After the Persian armies took Jerusalem, he sent a remnant of the "true cross" back to Ctesiphon and punished the Jewish population for their anti-Christian actions during the conquest. He also rebuilt Jerusalem's churches. Yazden fell from power during Khusro II's persecutions of the Christians.

Yebamot Mishnah tractate on levirate marriages. The first five chapters discuss establishing the levirate marital bond and severing the levirate bond through the rite of removing the shoe. Subsequent chapters discuss the special marital bond of marriage into the priesthood, covering when a woman may eat heave-offering (chap. 6); who may eat heave-offering (chaps. 7–8); severing the marital bond (chaps. 10–16), with these subdivisions: marital bonds subject to doubt (chaps. 10–11); severing the levirate bond through the rite of removing the shoe (chap. 12); severing the marital bond of a minor and the right of refusal (chap. 13); the infirm marital bond of a deaf-mute (chap. 14); and severing the marital bond through the death of the husband (chaps. 15–16).

Yehoshua *see* JOSHUA

Yehuda *see* JUDAH

Yehudiyeh, Tell el- the modern name of ancient Leontopolis, a Ptolemaic and Roman city about 56 kilometers north of modern Cairo. The modern Arabic name comes from the many Jewish tombstones

found here, for there was apparently a considerable Jewish population under the Ptolemies and the Romans. King Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.) gave Onias permission to build a Jewish temple at Leontopolis. This temple was an active worship center for Jews of Egypt until the emperor Vespasian closed it in 74 C.E., presumably in response to the slaying of the last Jewish defenders of Judea at Masada at about the same time. So far, the exact location of the temple has not been determined. On the other hand, many Jewish tombs have been examined. They are of the loculus type, well known in ancient Palestine and in ancient Alexandria in the Jewish necropolis of Alexandria. The Jewish epitaphs and other inscriptions from Leontopolis are a gold mine of information about the people and the city. All are in Greek Over half of the names in the epitaphs are recognizably Jewish, with names such as Iesous (Joshua), Rachelis (Rachel), Abramos (Abram), Mikkos (Micah), and the like, but also Theodosius (Nathaniel), Sabbatios (one born on the Sabbath), Aristoboulos (common in Judea), and the like. The people mentioned in the epitaphs are from all walks of life, for they are soldiers, city magistrates, and women who died in childbirth. At least one inscription of the mid-second century B.C.E. mentions the place of prayer or *proseuche*, so there must have been a prayer hall.

Yemar Babylonian amora; successor of Ashi as head of the academy at Sura, 417–432 C.E.; also cited as Meremar. Seder Tannaim veAmoraim reports that upon his death, a pillar of fire appeared in the sky for thirty days.

Yermeyahu *see* JEREMIAH

Yerushalmi Talmud produced in the Land of Israel, c. 400 C.E., as a commentary to the Mishnah's first, second, third, and fourth divisions, primarily composed of amplification and extension of passages of the Mishnah. Approximately 90 percent of the document comprises Mishnah-commentary, which falls into four categories: (1) text criticism; (2) exegesis of the meaning of the Mishnah, including glosses and amplifications; (3) addition of scriptural proof-texts of the Mishnah's central propositions; and (4) harmonization of one Mishnah passage with another Mishnah passage or with a statement of Tosefta. The text criticism and exegesis remain wholly within the narrow frame of the Mishnah passage subject to discussion. The scriptural documentation and the reconciliations take an essentially independent stance vis-à-vis the Mishnah pericope at hand.

The Mishnah is read by the Yerushalmi as a composite of discrete and essentially autonomous rules, a set of atoms rather than an integrated molecule; the most striking formal traits of the Mishnah are obliterated. The Mishnah as a whole and complete statement of a viewpoint no longer exists. Its propositions are reduced to details. Then, on occasion, the details may be restated in generalizations encompassing a wide variety of other details across the gaps between one tractate and another. The Yerushalmi provides some indication of efforts to establish the correct text of various passages of the Mishnah. This nearly always is in the context of deciding the law. It is not a random search for a "perfect" text. It rather represents a deliberate and principled inquiry into the law as revealed by the phrasing of a passage. That is why, in the bulk of these passages, the legal consequences of one reading as opposed to another are carefully articulated, and sometimes even tied to a range of other points subject to dispute. The Mishnah rarely finds it necessary to cite a scriptural proof-text for a proposition. The Yerushalmi, by contrast, cites scriptural proof-texts for the propositions of the Mishnah whenever possible.

When the Yerushalmi proceeds beyond Mishnah-exegesis, it sets forth four types of discussions: (1) *Theoretical questions of law not associated with a particular passage of the Mishnah*. There is some tendency to move beyond the legal boundaries set by the Mishnah's rules. More general inquiries are taken up. These, of course, remain within the framework of the topic of one tractate or another, although there are some broader modes of thought, characteristic of more than a single tractate. (2) *Exegesis of scripture, separate from the Mishnah*. It is under this rubric that we find the most important instances in which the two Talmuds present materials essentially independent of the Mishnah. The repertoire produced is substantial and striking. While many items may be linked to a theme of the Mishnah, if not to a specific rule, virtually all of the items stand totally separate from the Mishnah. They pursue problems or themes through what is said about a biblical figure, expressing ideas and values simply unknown to the Mishnah. (3) *Historical statements*. The Yerushalmi contains a fair number of statements that something happened, or narratives about how something happened. While many of these are replete with biblical quotations, in general, they do not provide exegesis of scripture, which serves merely as illustration or reference point. (4) *Stories about, and rules for, sages and disciples, separate from discussion of a passage of the Mishnah*. The Mishnah contains a tiny number of tales about rabbis. These serve principally as precedents for, or

illustrations of, rules. The Talmuds, by contrast, contain a sizable number of stories about sages and their relationships to other people. These, too, may be adduced as evidence of the values of the people who stand behind the two Talmuds—the things they thought important. These tales rarely serve to illustrate a rule or concept of the Mishnah. The main, though not the only, characteristic theme is the power of the rabbi, the honor due to the rabbi, and the tension between the rabbi and others, such as the patriarch, the heretic, or the Gentile.

To sum up, the Talmud of the Land of Israel forms a composite of three kinds of materials: exegeses of the Mishnah, exegeses of Scripture, and accounts of the men who provide both. The Yerushalmi might be viewed as a reworking of its two antecedent documents: the Mishnah, lacking much reference to scripture, and scripture itself. The Yerushalmi synthesizes the two, both by reading scripture into the Mishnah and by reading scripture alongside of, and separate from, the Mishnah.

Yerushalmi, Targum *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Yeshahu *see* ISAIAH

yeshiḇa (Heb.) session; talmudic academy

yetzer haRa, yetzer Toḇ *see* INCLINATION, EVIL AND GOOD

YHWH the Tetragrammaton, the four-lettered name of God; Yahweh; *see also* GOD; GOD, NAMES OF; I AM; TETRAGRAMMATON

Yiḥud isolation of a woman and a man, for purposes of sexual relations, as part of the marriage rite

Yizkor (Heb., may God remember . . .) the standard formula for the memorial prayer said in memory of immediate relatives and martyrs. It is of medieval provenance, but frequently it is assumed, incorrectly, to date from rabbinic times because of the general anachronistic dating of the practice of memorializing the dead. *See also* HAZKHARAT NESHAMOT.

Yoḇal *see* JUBILEE YEAR

Yodfat (or Jotapata) the city that took the brunt of Vespasian's siege in his first attack on Galilee in the Jewish Revolt. Yodfat stood about five miles north of Sepphoris, the capital of the area, in a range of high hills. In the Mishnah, Yodfat is listed as one of the cities that harken back to the time of Joshua (Arach. 9.6). The same document distinguishes Yodfat and Old Yodfat, which suggests that the devastation of the city by Vespasian resulted in a new construction, perhaps to the north. Josephus relates the story of the siege of Yodfat in which he, Josephus, was the defending general against Vespasian. This is also the site of Josephus's personal surrender to Vespasian and the place where Josephus prophesied that Vespasian would become emperor. After the destruction of the Second Temple the priestly course of Miyamin settled at Yodfat. Excavations at the site have revealed a city wall, houses with associated ritual baths, or *mikvaot,* and industrial installations. There are also signs of later occupation north of the hill of Yodfat perhaps as late as the Mameluke period (1250–1517).

Yofiel According to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Deut. 34:6), Yofiel was the angel who laid Moses on his deathbed. He was considered a wise sage among the angels. In medieval times, the Zohar, a Kabbalist text, considered him a great angel chief and a prince of Torah.

Yoḥanan b. Berokah Tannaitic authority at the beginning of the second century C.E., cited ten times in the Mishnah and ten times in the Tosefta. Tosefta Sotah 7:9 associates him with Eleazar Ḥisma and suggests that these two individuals may have been students of Joshua b. Ḥananiah. Tosefta Terumot 7:14, by contrast, describes a visit by Yoḥanan b. Berokah to Yoḥanan b. Nuri, who scholars accordingly suggest may also have been his teacher. Yoḥanan b. Berokah was father to the Tannaitic authority Ishmael b. Yoḥanan b. Berokah.

Yoḥanan b. Nappaḥa an eminent Palestinian authority of the end of the second century C.E.; active in his native Sepphoris and later in Tiberias, where he started an academy; referred to either as Yoḥanan, without the patronymic, or simply as Bar Nappaḥa. He was an orphan, raised by his grandfather. His first teachers were of the final generation of Tannaitic authorities.

Yoḥanan b. Nuri Tannaitic authority active in Beth Shearim in the first half of the second century C.E. He transmits sayings of and was active in deliberations in the presence of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, who may, therefore, have been his teacher. He frequently appears in the Mishnah in disputes with Aqiba and was also an associate of Eleazar b. Ḥisma. Sifre Deuteronomy 16 reports that after Gamaliel promoted Yoḥanan b. Nuri and Eleazar b. Ḥisma to membership in the Sanhedrin, they continued to sit among the students. As a result both individuals lost their positions of authority. Yoḥanan b. Nuri lived through the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and following the war, Judah the Patriarch reportedly visited him in Beth Shearim (T. Sukkot 2:2).

Yoḥanan b. Torta Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Akiḇa in the second century C.E., known for his response to Akiḇa's acceptance of Bar Kokhba as the messiah: "Akiḇa, grass will grow out of your jaws, and the son of David will not yet have come!"

(Y. Taanit 8:8, 68d). Born a Gentile, Yoḥanan reportedly converted to Judaism upon seeing a cow that refused to work on the Sabbath (Pesikta Rabbati 14). In that story, he is referred to by his cognomen alone, Ben Torta, that is, "son of a cow."

Yoḥanan b. Zakkai principal rabbinic authority of the first century C.E.; head of the sages at Yaḇneh after the destruction of the Temple. He taught the leading sages of the late first and early second centuries; established the foundations of the Mishnah; and is noted for his teaching, "If you have learned much Torah, do not puff yourself up on that account, for it was for that purpose that you were created."

Yoḥanan the Sandal Maker Tannaitic authority in the first half of the second century C.E., a native of Alexandria (Y. Ḥagigah 3:1). He is listed as one of the rabbis who gathered in the valley of Bet Rimmon at the end of the persecutions that followed the Bar Kokhba Revolt in order to renew the study of Torah (Y. Ḥagigah 3:1). His name appears several times in the Mishnah, generally in association with students of Akiḇa.

yoke of the Torah a metaphor for submission to God's sovereignty through obedience to, and study of the Torah. The notion appears first in the Ecclesiasticus, with reference to the yoke of wisdom, which Ben Sira identifies with Torah (Ecclus. 6:23–31, 51:23–26). Both passages emphasize study, and Pirkei Aḇot 3:6 appears also to refer to such study, which releases one from other obligations (cf. Ecclus. 39:1 in contrast to chap. 38). The yoke imagery recurs in Matthew 11:28–30, where Jesus speaks as the voice of wisdom. Comparison with Ben Sira does not indicate that Jesus' invitation implies a contrast between his commands and the Torah construed as a burden.

Yokneam (or Jokneam) biblical city, important since the time of Joshua (Josh. 12:22) and one of the largest tells in ancient Palestine. Yokneam stood at a major pass through the Carmel range from the coast inland to the Jezreel Valley, today's Wadi Milh. In the Persian and Hellenistic periods there seems only to have been a large village here that exploited the rich agricultural area around the tell. The village prospered. In the fourth century Eusebius knew the town as Kammona or in Latin, Cimona (*Onomast.* 116.21). After the Jewish Revolt, Kammona belonged to the city territory of Legio, established first as the base for the Roman VI legion, but afterwards a major regional city.

Yoma Mishnah tractate dealing with Temple rites on the Day of Atonement, in line with Leviticus 16. The first seven chapters discuss conduct of the rites on the Day of Atonement. Chapter 8 discusses the laws of the Day of Atonement, for example, not eating or drinking; what the day atones for; and what repentance and reconciliation must accomplish.

Yom haBikkurim *see* SHAḆUOT

Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) holy day falling on the tenth of Tishrei and observed by fasting, prayer, repentance, and confession. The Temple rites are described in Leviticus 16. After the destruction of the Temple, day-long synagogue prayer became the principal observance of the penitential day.

Yonah *see* JONAH

Yonatan *see* JONATHAN

Yose b. Aḇin Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; one of the latest rabbis referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud. According to tradition, he had a significant role in the editing of the Jerusalem Talmud. For a time he was in Babylonia, so he also transmits Babylonian sayings and practices.

Yose b. Akaḇiah Tannaitic authority of the second century C.E., said to be equivalent to Joseph of Husal, Joseph the Babylonian, Issi b. Gur Arye, Issi b. Judah, Issi b. Gamaliel, Issi b. Mehallel, and Yose Kittunto (B. Pesaḥim 113b; Y. Baḇa Kamma 3:7, 3d). These identifications are not certain; in particular, the identification with Issi b. Judah appears to be incorrect.

Yose b. Assi *see* YOSE B. YASYAN

Yose b. Dormaskit Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E.; born in Damascus; cited only once in the Mishnah, at M. Yadyim 4:3. Several of his statements are preserved in midrashic documents. He seems to prefer the plain meaning of scripture (see, e.g., Sifrei Deut. 1).

Yose b. Ḥalafta Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; referred to in the Talmud simply as Yose. Born in Sepphoris, he was a late student of Akiḇa, ordained by Judah b. Baḇa (B. Sanhedrin 14a), and active following the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Yose b. Ḥanina Palestinian amora of the second half of the third century C.E.; active at the academy at Tiberias. He was a student and colleague of Yoḥanan, was a teacher of Abbahu, and is known as a judge (B. Baḇa Kamma 39a). He seems to have been wealthy (B. Baḇa Batra 90b) and to have outlived his children (B. Taanit 13b).

Yose b. Judah Tannaitic authority of the mid-second century C.E.; a colleague of Judah the Patriarch, with whom he is frequently in dispute. The Talmud holds that in the Mishnah, statements of his are at times cited without attribution (see, e.g., B. Eruḇin 38b).

Yose b. Kipper Tannaitic authority of the late second century C.E. His name is absent from the Mishnah but appears in the Tosefta and both Talmuds. He reportedly was sent to Babylonia to collect funds to support rabbinic authorities in the Land of Israel (B. Gittin 14b; Y. Gittin 1:6, 43b).

Yose b. Kisma Tannaitic authority at the beginning of the second century C.E.; active in Tiberias. Several of his exegetical statements are extant.

Yose b. Meshullam Tannaitic authority at the end of the second century C.E.; a close colleague of Judah the Patriarch, though infrequently cited in the Mishnah. According to Y. Maaser Sheni 2:10, 53d, Yose b. Meshullam and Simeon b. Menasyah led "the holy congregation in Jerusalem" and ate ordinary food in a state of ritual purity.

Yose b. Saul student of Judah the Patriarch at the beginning of the Amoraic period in the third century C.E., known chiefly for transmitting his teacher's sayings

Yose b. Yasyan Tannaitic authority; a contemporary of Simeon b. Gamaliel II; sometimes called simply Ben Yasyan; probably also identical with Yose b. Assi

Yose b. Yoezer an early sage; along with Yose b. Yoḥanan, listed at M. Abot 1:4 as the first of the pairs; active at the beginning of the second century B.C.E. He is known for the statement: "Let your house be a gathering place for sages; and wallow in the dust of their feet; and drink in their words with gusto."

Yose b. Yoḥanan an early sage; along with Yose b. Yoezer, listed at M. Abot 1:4 as the first of the pairs; active at the beginning of the second century B.C.E. He is known for the statement: "Let your house be wide open; and seat the poor at your table; and don't talk too much with women."

Yose b. Zebida Palestinian amora active at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; a student of Hela; referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud without the patronymic. In the Jerusalem Talmud, he frequently appears in debate and, in general, in close association with Jonah, who was also his business partner. He was a contemporary of Yose b. Abin, with whom his name sometimes is interchanged.

Yose b. Zimra Palestinian rabbi of the late second century C.E., at the nexus of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods; known primarily for his interpretations of scripture, which appear in the Talmuds and Amoraic midrashic compilations

Yose Kittunto *see* YOSE B. AKABIAH

Yose the Galilean Tannaitic authority active in the late first and early second centuries C.E. He was a colleague of Eleazar b. Azariah, Tarfon, and Akiba, and he frequently abandoned his own views in favor of those of Yose (B. Ḥagigah 14a; B. Pesaḥim 36b). Yose is remembered for his mastery of law as well as his piety, on account of which later authorities recalled that his prayers for rain invariably were answered. Little is known of his youth. Genesis Rabbah 17 reports of his unhappy married life and eventual divorce.

Yose the Priest Tannaitic authority at the end of the second century C.E.; a student of Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, commended by his teacher for his piety (M. Abot 2:8). Little of his teaching is preserved. According to Y. Ḥagigah 2:1, 77a, he studied chariot mysticism.

Yosi *see under* YOSE

Yosippon *see* JOSIPPON

Yotapata *see* YODFAT

Yubka location referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

Yudan Palestinian amora of the fourth century C.E.; cited exclusively in the Jerusalem Talmud and midrashic compilations. He is known for exegetical statements aimed at comforting his Jewish contemporaries, who were subject to persecution by Christian Rome. This authority is distinguished from a later Palestinian amora, Judah b. Shalom, who, in the Jerusalem Talmud, also is referred to as Yudan.

Yudan b. Ishmael Palestinian amora of the third century C.E.; possibly a brother of Yannai B. Ishmael

yuḥasin (Heb., relations) refers to genealogical classes, relationships, or records. In the rabbinic literature, the term appears in the title Sefer Yuḥasin, "Book of Genealogy," a commentary to Chronicles that purportedly disappeared in Roman times (B. Pesaḥim 62b). M. Kiddushin 4:1 uses the term *yuḥasin* in speaking of ten castes who left the Babylonian captivity and returned to the land of Israel: (1) priests, (2) Levites, (3) Israelites, (4) impaired priests, (5) converts, (6) freed slaves, (7) mamzers, (8) Netins, (9) silenced ones (people whose fathers' identities are unknown), and (10) foundlings (people whose parents' identities are unknown). Within these castes, priests, Levites, and Israelites are permitted to marry one another; Levites, Israelites, impaired priests, converts, and freed slaves are permitted to marry one another; and converts, freed slaves, mamzers, netins, silenced ones, and foundlings are permitted to marry among one another.

zaḇ *see* FLUX

Zabdai b. Levi Palestinian amora active in the circle of Hoshayah in the mid-third century C.E. He is known in particular for his exegetical comments, in which he often appears in dispute with Raḇ and Joshua b. Levi.

Zaḇim Mishnah tractate on the flux-uncleanness described in Leviticus 15. The tractate discusses becoming a *zaḇ* (chaps. 1–2) and transferring the uncleanness affecting the *zaḇ* to other objects (chaps. 2–5), especially through pressure (chaps. 2–4).

Zadok a priest of David in Jerusalem. In 2 Samuel 15:24–37 he first appears with the Ark of the Covenant, in association with Abiathar, the other priest appointed by David. Zadok supported Solomon in the succession struggle at the time of David's death (1 Kings 1:22–39), and thus became the chief priest in the Jerusalem sanctuary during the reign of Solomon (1 Kings 2:35). The descendants of Zadok, the Zadokites, remained the dominant priestly family in Jerusalem until the exile (587 B.C.E.). In Ezekiel's program for Temple's the restoration, the Zadokites are the only legitimate priests (Ezek. 44:6–31). In reality, after the return from exile, the Zadokites regained control of the high priesthood and retained that office until the deposition and murder of Onias III in the early second century B.C.E. (2 Macc. 4:33–34).

In the postexilic literature, the name Zadok appears most prominently in the sectarian texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Damascus Document 4:1–4, the members of the sect, usually identified with the Essenes, are called the "sons of Zadok," indicating the priestly leanings of the sect. In the Community Rule, authority in the Community is given to "the priests, the Sons of Zadok" (e.g., 5:2b–3a). This emphasis on priestly authority and particularly the importance of the Zadokite priests led some scholars to posit that the reason for the foundation of the settlement at Qumran and for the sect's split from the rest of Judaism was the assumption of the high priesthood by the non-Zadokites Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees. In recent years, however, this theory has been discredited, and more emphasis has been placed on the sect's halakhic disagreements with the rest of Judaism as the reason for the schism.

Zadokite a presumed descendent of Zadok, the high priest under David. The high priest does not seem to have had an important function in the Hebrew Bible. This changed in the Second Temple period, when according to Ezekiel, the high priesthood was to be confined to the line of Zadok. Under the Hasmoneans, there was a dispute over the office of high priest, and in some cases the rivals would accuse each other of not being a true Zadokite. For example, the Qumran texts make an issue of the fact that their priests were Zadokites, accusing those in Jerusalem of being illegitimate or implying it.

Zagnazgael (also Seganzagel, Zagzagel, Zamzagiel) according to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exodus 3:2, the angel who was the flame of fire that appeared to Moses in the burning bush. According to 3 Enoch, Zagnazgael is another name for Metatron.

Zaradusht middle Iranian form of Zarathustra, the founder of Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism, sixth century B.C.E. He believed in a dualistic monotheism, in which the universal lord fathered twin spirits, the good and the evil, an eventual transformation of life and existence, and inward religiosity.

Zarvai a location on the east bank of the Jordan River, referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11 as demarcating a border area of the Land of Israel

zeal, jealousy The same Hebrew root *kn'*, translated by the Greek *zēloun,* includes both the positive meaning "zeal"—an ardent interest in pursuit of something—and the negative "jealousy"—an intolerance of rivalry or unfaithfulness. A human's concern only for his/her own glory is to be avoided: "jealousy and anger shorten life" (Sir. 30:24), and envy is the opposite of love (Test. Simeon 3, 4:7; Test. Gad 7:6–7; 1 Cor. 13:4; 2 Cor. 12:20; James 3:14, 16; 4:2). The author of Acts says the Jews persecuted the early Church out of jealousy (Acts 5:17, 13:45, 17:5). Jealousy is thus usually found in lists of vices (1QS 4:10; Gal. 5:20). Remarkably, the Romans are praised for lack of jealousy in 1 Maccabees 8:16.

This singleminded devotion can be turned to something beyond oneself, and so one can be zealous for someone or something. One should be zealous for goodness (Sir. 51:18; Titus 2:14; 1 Pet. 3:13) and just laws (1QS 4:4). The Master at Qumran is to be a man zealous for the precept (statute, law), whose time is for the Day of Revenge (1QS 9:23). The zeal of Elijah (Sir. 48:2) and Phinehas for God is praised (Sir. 45:23) and imitated (1 Macc. 2:26). But zeal must be focused on the proper goal: the opponents of the Qumran covenanters can have zeal (1QH 2:31), the preconverted Paul zealously persecuted the Church (Phil. 3:6), and Paul recognizes that his opponents acted out of misdirected zeal (Rom. 10:2; Gal. 4:17–18). Paul hopes to stir up the zealousness of the Jews so that they will convert (Rom. 11:11, 14). The two spirits of truth and falsehood are in a zealous quarrel, according to the Rule at Qumran (1QS 4:17).

As in the Hebrew scriptures (Exod. 34:14), God in his zeal (1QS 2:15) is described as destroying backsliders from his covenant. God will wage war against his people's enemies, putting on the armor of his zeal (Wisd. of Sol. 5:17). Paul worries that Corinthians partaking of food offered to idols might provoke the Lord to jealousy (1 Cor. 10:22).

Rabbinic texts understand human jealousy as a result from competition between people of equal stature (B. Abodah Zarah 55a). Such jealousy can be productive, increasing, for instance, the wisdom of scholars (B. Baba Batra 21a, 22a), or negative, leading to conflict between people (B. Berakhot 28a). At least some rabbis do not see human jealousy as a particularly serious problem. They hold that simply by eating breakfast in the morning, one can supplant jealousy with love (B. Baba Metzia 107b).

The biblical cognate of jealousy—religious zeal—occurs infrequently in the rabbinic literature, for instance, in a description of Moses' determination to kill the Egyptian taskmaster (Exod. 2:11–12; Lev. Rabbah 32:4). The Hebrew term generally rendered in English as "zeal" derives from a different root entirely and refers to the speed and exactitude with which an individual carries out a religious obligation. The rabbis hold that a zealous person fulfills religious responsibilities as promptly as possible (Sifrei Tazria Perek 1).

Zealots term used by the historian Josephus to characterize groups of peasant bandits who had been forced off their land by the advance of the Roman army toward Jerusalem in 67 C.E. These Zealots took over the city, rejected the leadership of the chief priests and aristocracy, elected low-born priests to serve as high priests, and allied themselves with John of Gischala who eventually gained control of the group. In a series of conflicts they killed many of the priests and nobility, including the high priest Ananius, and caused many to flee from Jerusalem. Their animosity toward the wealthy governing families probably reflects a history of conflict between the Jerusalem landowning class and the peasants in the villages. As the war progressed the Zealots split into two groups and then reunited. They fought each other and the forces of Simon bar Giora in a civil conflict which weakened Jerusalem and made Roman conquest of the city inevitable.

The term "zealots" is often used in modern historical accounts in a very broad sense to include all opponents of Roman rule from the first century B.C.E. to 70 C.E. Some connect Ezekias, a Galilean bandit, with Judas the Galilean (one of the founders of the so-called "Fourth Philosophy") and with various resisters to Roman rule in the first century C.E. and finally with the Zealots, the Sicarii, and followers of Simon bar Giora at the time of the war against Rome. This imprecise use of the term "zealots" should not imply that there was a long-term, organized resistance movement against Roman rule. Rather, various independent figures and groups rose up during the 130 years of Roman sovereignty preceding the war as a response to a variety of complaints and to national goals.

Zebaḥim Mishnah tractate devoted to rules of everyday animal sacrifice in the Temple. The tractate discusses improper intention on the part of the priest and how it invalidates the act of sacrifice (chaps. 1–4); rules for the sacrifice of animals and fowl (chaps. 5–7); and rules of the altar (chaps. 8–12). The chapters on altar rules address disposing of sacrificial portions or blood that has been confused with portions or blood from another offering (chap. 8); the altar's sanctification of what is appropriate but not of what is not (chap. 9); precedence in the use of the altar (chap. 10); blood of the sin-offering that spurts onto a garment (exposition of Lev. 6:27–28) (chap. 11); dividing hides of animals among eligible priests (chap. 12); and proper location of the altar (Jerusalem alone) and the act of sacrifice (Chaps. 13–14).

Zebid Babylonian amora active in the fourth century C.E.; head of the academy at Pumbedita, 377–385. A number of his talmudic dicta concern economic and social relations with Gentiles, in particular, prohibitions to ensure that Israelite products do not come to be used in the pagan cult (see, e.g., B. Abodah Zarah 83b). He is also called Zebid of Nehardea.

Zeboim, Mount mountain referred to at M. Ḥallah 4:10 and M. Bikkurim 1:3. It may be a mountain next to or in the valley of Zeboim, mentioned at 1 Samuel 13:18. Alternatively, the site may be related to the town of Zeboim of the postexilic period, listed at Nehemiah 11:34.

Zechariah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Zechariah b. Berechiah (LXX: Barachiah) biblical prophet to whom the book of Zechariah is ascribed (1:1). Matthew 23:34–36 (cf. Luke 11:51) confuses the prophet with Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, who is slain in the Temple (2 Chron. 24:20–22). The apocryphal Protevangelium of James 23–24 further confuses the issue by ascribing a similar fate to Zechariah the father of John the Baptist (cf. Luke 1).

Zedekiah b. Chenaanah prophetic opponent of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kings 22). According to the Martyrdom of Isaiah 2:12, he was the uncle of the Samaritan false prophet Belchira, the opponent of Isaiah.

Zeira I Palestinian amora of the third century C.E.; a native of Babylonia, where he was a student of Ḥuna at Sura and of Judah b. Ezekiel at Pumbedita. His love of the Land of Israel is expressed in the stories of his crossing the Jordan in his clothing and of his expressing concern over his own worthiness to enter a place that even Moses could not go. In the Land of Israel, he studied under Yoḥanan in Tiberias and was in close relationship with Ammi, Assi, and Abbahu. Later in life, he apparently again spent time in Babylonia (B. Shabbat 14a–b). He is one of the most frequently cited rabbinic authorities, referred to sometimes as Zera.

A Zeira with the Babylonian honorific Rab is mentioned several times in the Talmud and may be a distinct figure, active at the beginning of the fourth century C.E. Alternatively, he may be the same individual as Zeira I, referred to by the Babylonian title prior to his emigration to the Land of Israel.

Zeira II Palestinian amora of the mid-fourth century C.E.; active in the circle of Mani II; a student of Jeremiah; also called Zera

Zeiri Babylonian amora of the third century C.E.; in the Jerusalem Talmud, called Zeiri b. Ḥinena. Born in Babylonia, he studied in the Land of Israel under Ḥanina b. Ḥama and Yoḥanan. Later, he returned to Babylonia where, at the academy at Nehardea, he was the teacher of Ḥiyya b. Ashi and others.

Zekarya *see* ZECHARIAH

zekhut in Judaic writings, term of art signifying both the protecting influence of good conduct (sometimes translated as "merit") and consequent advantage, privilege, or benefit. Only through using the word *zekhut* do authors of compositions and authorships of composites express the first sense. However, the two senses are not really separable, since the "protecting influence of good conduct" is always understood to yield "advantage, privilege, or benefit." The advantages or privileges conferred by *zekhut* may be inherited and also passed on; the notion stresses entitlement because advantages or privileges invariably result from receiving *zekhut* from ancestors or acquiring it on one's own; the word "virtue" is used to refer to those supererogatory acts that demand a reward because they form matters of choice, the gift of the individual and his or her act of free will, an act that is at the same time uncompelled by the obligations imposed by the Torah but also valued by the Torah. *Zekhut* bears the capacity to unite the generations in a heritage of entitlements; *zekhut* is fundamentally a historical category and concept, in that, like all historical systems of thought, it explains the present in terms of the past, and the future in terms of the present. Because *zekhut* is something one may receive as an inheritance, out of the distant past, *zekhut* imposes upon the definition of the social entity Israel, a genealogical meaning. It furthermore imparts a distinctive character to the definitions of way of life. Thus the task

of the political component of a theory of the social order, which is to define the social entity by appeal to empowerment, and of the economic component, which is to identify scarce resources by specification of the rationality of right management, is accomplished in a single word, which stands for a conception, a symbol, and a myth. All three components of this religious theory of the social order turn out to present specific applications, in context, for the general conception of *zekhut*. The first source of *zekhut* derives from the definition of Israel as family, the entitlements of supernatural power deriving from virtue, and then care, inherited from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The second source is personal: the power one can gain for one's own heirs by virtuous deeds. *Zekhut* deriving from either source is to be defined in context: what can one do if one possesses *zekhut* that one cannot do if one does not have *zekhut,* and to whom can one do it? The answer to that question addresses empowerment by *zekhut*.

The word *zekhut* has been given the confusing translation of "merit." But one may receive *zekhut* from one's ancestors, and that is not by reason of one's own merit—by definition. "Unearned grace" is more appropriate in that context. Scripture, for example, knows that God loves Israel because he loved the patriarchs (Deut. 4:37); the memory or deeds of the righteous patriarchs and matriarchs appear in a broad range of contexts, for example, "Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (Exod. 32:13), for Moses, and "Remember the good deeds of David, your servant" (2 Chron. 6:42), for David. At stake throughout is giving people what they do not merit, to be sure. But in these contexts, "remembering" what X did as an argument on behalf of favor for Y does not invoke the word *zekhut,* and the context does not require use of the word either. Accordingly, our problem of definition requires limitation to precise usages of a given word. Were we to propose to work our way back from situations that seem to exhibit conceptual affinities to the concept represented by the word under consideration, cases, for instance, in which someone appeals to what is owing the fathers on behalf of the children, we shall not accomplish the goal at hand, which is one of definition of a word that bears a very particular meaning, and, more to the point, carries out a highly critical systemic role.

Zekhut stands for the empowerment, of a supernatural character, that derives from the virtue of one's ancestry or from one's own virtuous deeds of a very particular order. No single word in English bears the same meaning, nor can one identify a synonym for *zekhut* in the canonical writings in the original. The difficulty of translating a word of systemic consequence with a single word in some other language (or in the language of the system's documents themselves) tells us that we deal with what is unique, beyond comparison and therefore beyond contrast and comprehension. An indication that we have found our way to the systemic center is that we cannot easily translate with a single English equivalent the word that identifies what we conceive to define the system's critical tension and generative concept. What is most particular to—distinctive of—the systemic structure and its functioning requires definition through circumlocution, such as, "the heritage of virtue and its consequent entitlements." A further mark of the systemic importance accorded to the notion of *zekhut* is that even though a man was degraded, one action sufficed to win for him that heavenly glory to which rabbis in lives of Torah-study aspired. The mark of the system's integration around *zekhut* lies in its insistence that all Israelites, not only sages, could gain *zekhut* for themselves (and their descendants). A single remarkable deed, exemplary for its deep humanity, sufficed to win for an ordinary person the *zekhut* that elicits the supernatural favor enjoyed by some rabbis on account of their Torah study. The centrality of *zekhut* in the systemic structure—the critical importance of the heritage of virtue together with its supernatural entitlements—therefore emerges in a striking claim. Even though a man or a woman was degraded, not a sage or rabbi at all, one action sufficed to win for him or her that heavenly glory to which rabbis in general aspired.

zekhut abot (Heb., merit of the fathers) the theological doctrine of inherited merit. According to this concept, later generations, undeserving of God's grace, may expect it anyway on account of the abundant meritorious acts of the patriarchs.

Zeno emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (r. 474–491 C.E.). In 488, he ended the danger of a German invasion of Constantinople. The moderate party among the Monophysites made peace with him and the government in 482, and he expelled the Nestorians from Constantinople. In 484, he suppressed the Samaritan revolt and built a Christian church over the place where the Samaritan altar had stood. He was known for his anti-Jewish attitudes and was pleased when he heard the news that Jews had been burned in the riots at Antioch.

Zenobia queen of Palmyra (r. 254–273 C.E.). Upon the death of her husband, Odenathus, in 266, she became the actual ruler of Palmyra because the

new king, her son Vaballustus, was a minor. She had built a large empire by exploiting the weaknesses of both Rome and the Sassanid Empire, maintaining Palmyrene rule in Palestine and even extending it over Asia Minor and Egypt, assuming the title of Augusta in 271. Because Rome's suppression of Palmyra was her first step in reestablishing her position in Mesopotamia, it was in the Sassanids' interest to support Zenobia against the Romans. However, in 273 she was captured by Aurelian, who put an end to the Palmyran domination of Asia Minor and Egypt. Some Christian sources claim that she was Jewish. Even though she did rebuild a synagogue in Egypt, there is no sound evidence that she had converted to Judaism.

Zephaniah, Apocalypse of a pseudepigraphical Jewish writing of the first century B.C.E. or first century C.E. that describes the visionary experiences of Zephaniah as he leaves his earthly city, journeys to various parts of heaven and the underworld, and then ascends in glory through the heavens. The Apocalypse's text survives only in three fragments, which comprise some fourteen short chapters; these probably represent about one-quarter of the original text. The Apocalypse was composed in Greek, possibly in Egypt. It is written in an apocalypse's typical form, with the seer being guided by angelic figures who lead his ascent and describe the significance of what he sees.

The earliest source for the Apocalypse's text is a Greek quotation in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*. The longest witness is an Akhmimic (Coptic) manuscript, containing eighteen pages, from the end of the fourth century. There is also a Sahidic (Coptic) manuscript of two pages from the early fifth century.

The longer, Akhmimic, text opens with Zephaniah, accompanied by an angel, looking down from a distance over his own city, apparently after dying. After seeing human souls being punished, Zephaniah learns from the angel that there are two groups of angels that record the good and evil deeds of humans; these records are then given to the "great angel" and the "accuser," respectively, who present them to God. Zephaniah visits Hades, where he has a vision of both the great angel and the accuser. Since his own good deeds have outweighed his bad, he ascends from Hades and "crosses over" into heaven, assuming an angelic garment. An angel trumpets three times, signaling progressive stages of Zephaniah's salvation. The prophet sees sinners being punished and saints praying for them, and then receives a forecast of the eschaton.

The Apocalypse's chief concern is the fates of good and evil humans in the afterlife. This concern is manifested in the literary form of the apocalypse, in which the human seer is shown all the facets of the afterlife and human judgment by an angelic interpreter. Although the Apocalypse's audience and occasion of writing are unknown, it must be assumed that its author's main purpose was parenetic—to exhort readers to eschew sin and to embrace righteousness. The author's other main concerns are the importance of repentance and of intercessory prayer.

Zephaniah, Targum to *see* TARGUM TO THE PROPHETS

Zera *see* ZEIRA I; ZEIRA II

Zeraim first division of the Mishnah, devoted to the rules governing agriculture in the Holy Land, with special reference to God's share in the crops, the Sabbatical year, and tithing and gifts to the priesthood

Zered, Brook of brook mentioned at Numbers 21:12 as an Israelite camping place and referred to at T. Shebiit 4:11, Sifrei Deuteronomy 51, and elsewhere, as marking a border of the Land of Israel. Scholars associate it with Wadi al-Ḥasa, which flows for 28 miles up to the Dead Sea.

Zerika Palestinian amora; a student of Eleazar b. Pedat and Ammi

Zeus the great sky-god of the Greeks who sends rain and whose weapon is the thunderbolt. Ruler of the gods at Olympus, Zeus was protector of the king and his rights, and protector of civic rights, law, and morals. During the Hellenistic period, his name was often given to the chief deity of any group or nation, as to the god Ammon of Thebes in Egypt. During the Maccabean revolt, the Temple in Jerusalem was renamed the temple of Zeus Olympios while that at Gerizim became the temple of Zeus Xenios (2 Macc. 6:2).

Zeuxis, letter to In *Antiquities of the Jews,* Josephus quotes a letter of Antiochus III to a governor of Phrygia named Zeuxis. Antiochus proposes to send two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia, in Asia Minor. They are to be settled in fortresses in the area to help stop the revolts of the local people, because of their alleged piety toward God, which will presumably make them loyal to the king. They had been loyal to Antiochus's forefathers. Although many scholars accept the letter as genuine, some disagree and argue that it is only Jewish propaganda.

zikhronot *see* REMEMBRANCE-VERSES

Zimun (Heb., invitation) specifically, the invitation to join in the grace after meals; *see also* BIRKAT HAMAZON

Zion in the Hebrew Bible, a designation variously for the Temple, the Temple Mount, the city of Jerusalem, the Land of Israel, and the people of Israel. This variation of usage is continued in the traditions of early Judaism and early Christianity. Here, in addition, the term Zion receives more spiritualized and apocalyptic applications: it can represent a place where eschatological visions are seen or a "spiritual" reality such as the heavenly Jerusalem.

One remarkable feature of the term Zion in early Jewish literature is the breadth of its semantic range and fluidity of its application. Indeed, the term is often used in poetic or metaphorical contexts in which a general, nonspecific meaning is intended. Thus Sirach 51:12 (Hebrew), "Give thanks to him who has chosen Zion, for his mercy endures forever," or 2 Baruch 6:2, "I was grieving over Zion and sighed because of the captivity which had come upon the people."

Elsewhere, the intended application of the term is more specific. In 2 Baruch 61:2, and 68:5, "Zion" clearly refers to the Temple itself. The more specific "Mount Zion" designates the Temple Mount; see Jubilees 1:29; 1 Maccabees 4:37, 5:54, 7:33. In 4 Ezra 14:31, "Zion" represents the land of Israel, whereas in Sirach 48:24, 2 Baruch 4:9, and 2 Baruch 61:7, it clearly stands for the city of Jerusalem.

An especially noteworthy aspect of the term "Zion" is its application in spiritualized or apocalyptic contexts. Jubilees 4:26 states that Mount Zion "will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth." In 2 Baruch 13:1 and the prologue to the Slavonic version of 3 Baruch, Zion is the site of eschatological revelations to Baruch. In 4 Ezra 10:44, the heavenly Jerusalem seen by Ezra is called "Zion," and in chapter 13, Mount Zion is the site of an eschatological battle (see also 2 Bar. 40:1, 44:7, 59:4).

The sparse use of the term "Zion" in early Christian literature reveals several interesting peculiarities. Most of the few references here appear in quotations of Jewish scriptures. Hebrews 12:18–22 contrasts the earthly Mount Sinai with "Mount Zion and . . . the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem" (cf. Gal. 4:24–26; 5 Ezra 2:33–48). In apocalyptic contexts, John of Patmos in Revelation 14:1 and Ezra in 5 Ezra 2:42–47 see visions, respectively, of the "Lamb" and the "Son of God" standing on Mount Zion (cf. 4 Ezra 13).

zoḇ *see* FLUX

zodiac and the four seasons a motif in ancient synagogue art, especially in mosaic pavements. The depiction of the zodiac is in the form of a circle with the twelve signs arranged radially around a circle containing Helios in the chariot of the sun. The four seasons are personified as busts of women in the four corners of a square frame around the zodiac. These are seen in synagogue floors of the fourth to sixth centuries C.E. None appear in Christian buildings.

At least seven zodiac pavements are preserved in Palestinian synagogues at Hammath Tiberias, Khirbet Susiya, Naaran, Husifa, Yafia, Beth Alpha, and Sepphoris. All repeat the same basic composition of the circle of the zodiac around Helios. The zodiac is inscribed in a square with the four seasons in the spandrels (corners). The zodiac panel is most often combined with a representation of a Torah shrine flanked by menorahs and other objects used in the Jewish liturgy.

Illustrated astronomical treatises may have played a role in the dissemination of zodiac compositions in ancient Jewish society. A miniature painting in the Vatican museum depicts Helios in the central circle driving the chariot of the sun drawn by four white horses through the blue sky. In the outer circle are the representations of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The representations of the signs of the zodiac exhibit an increasing tendency toward stylization, but the iconography remains faithful to the classical prototypes: a ram for Aries; a bull for Taurus; the twins of Gemini; the crab for Cancer; a lion for Leo; a draped female for Virgo; scales for Libra; a scorpion for Scorpio; an archer for Sagittarius; a goat for Capricorn; a water bearer for Aquarius; and a fish for Pisces.

The representations of the four seasons constitute one of the strongest survivals of classical imagery. Such images were most widespread in the late antique period, with the same types repeated again and again with little variation. The seasons' representations that appear in the zodiac pavements are among the last monuments to preserve the Graeco-Roman type of the isolated female bust with an attribute.

Like the signs of the zodiac and the personifications of the seasons, the figure of Helios in the center of the zodiacal circle is based on earlier prototypes. Helios stands in the chariot of the sun in the center of the composition, a visual translation of Aratus's description: "In them, twelve in all, has the sun his course as he leads the whole year, and as he fares around this belt all the fruitful seasons have their growth."

The zodiac in itself is not new to synagogue decoration. The signs of the zodiac decorated some of

the ceiling tiles of the synagogue of Dura Europos, and were carved in relief on the lintel of the synagogue at Er-Rafid. A long and unusual inscription in the pavement of the synagogue at En-Gedi lists the signs of the zodiac followed by the names of the Hebrew months. The figure of Helios is frequently found on Jewish magical amulets, often with inscriptions naming the deity and the names of the angels.

There seems to be abundant evidence for the practice of astrology among the Jews in late antiquity. In tractate Shabbat (156b) of the Babylonian Talmud there is a debate about the validity of astrology for Jews. Rabbi Hanina, a Babylonian who came to Palestine to study with Rabbi Judah Ha Nasi (d. before 230 A.D.), says: "The planetary influence gives wisdom, the planetary influence gives wealth and Israel stands under planetary influence." In contrast to this, Rabbi Yoḥanan, who lived in Tiberias c. 250, declares: "There are no constellations for Israel." The rest of this section of the Talmud is devoted to the arguments put forth in support of Rabbi Yoḥanan's position against planetary influence.

The Sefer haRazim (Book of Secrets), a text of the late third or early fourth century discovered among the texts in the Cairo Geniza, is particularly important because it was widely influential even among rabbinic Jews. Among the prayers is one to Helios. In Greek, but written in Hebrew letters, it reads "Holy Helios who rises in the east, good mariner, trustworthy leader of the sun's rays . . . who of old didst establish the mighty wheel of the heavens." The text names the angels who are in charge of the twelve months of the year. The apocryphal Book of Jubilees refers to the four seasons and names them the "angels of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer."

The liturgical poems read during the service in the synagogue, the *piyyutim* of the late antique and early Byzantine period provide numerous references to the zodiac. Thus, in an acrostic poem to Exodus 12:2 found in the Cairo Geniza, we read, "There arose a dispute among the months, when the August One sent to the land of Egypt. Come let us cast lots on the zodiac, that we might know in which of us Israel is to be redeemed." In a lamentation of the Ninth of Ab—still recited on the eve of that day in the Ashkenazic ritual—the first eight signs of the zodiac bewail the fate of Jerusalem, while the last four are practically accused of betrayal. A parallel poem found in some Geniza manuscripts, which are thought to preserve remnants of ancient eastern prayerbooks, describes the joyous reaction of the constellations on the successful return of the high priest from the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. To these we may add the better known poems of Eliezer ben Kallir, who was the outstanding representative of the classical *piyyut* and lived in Palestine in the late sixth century. In two of his most famous compositions, On Rain, read in the synagogue on Sukkoth, and On Dew, read at Passover, every other stanza contains a prayer for rain or dew in one of the Hebrew months and the following stanza mentions one of the signs of the zodiac.

The texts and the images indicate that there was an underlying theological basis that accounts for the frequency of the zodiac theme in synagogue decoration, and, at the same time, explains why this decoration was never used by Christians. The iconography of the synagogue pavement (the zodiac, the Torah shrine, and the liturgical objects) presents a coherent decorative scheme that expresses Jewish political and eschatological hopes.

zonah *see* PROSTITUTION

Zoroastrianism, influence on Judaism The Iranian religion founded by Zoroaster became the official religion of the Persian, Parthian, and Sassanian empires. Since many Jews lived in the areas controlled by these empires, Judaism was exposed to Persian religious influences from the sixth century B.C.E. on. That there was some influence is widely accepted, though the exact amount is disputed. The modified dualism of Qumran, with its constant war between "the sons of light" and "the sons of darkness," has certain points in common with Zoroastrianism, though it differs in not being an absolute dualism. Jewish eschatological views, which included the concepts of resurrection of the body, the judgment of the soul after death, and a final resurrection and judgment of all the dead looks very much like the Iranian model; however, this form of eschatology was not universal in Judaism, and there is debate as to how early it arose in Zoroastrianism. The development of an elaborate angelology and demonology in Judaism coincides to some extent with Persian rule, but the roots for this can also be found in Israelite tradition. Thus, it is easy to postulate influence, but the extent is more difficult to determine.

Zoroastrians followers of the religion taught by the Iranian prophet Zoroaster (properly Zarathustra), who reformed the indigeneous religion of his people sometime prior to the fifth century B.C.E., and reduced its complex polytheism to an ordered hierarchy of divine beings, ruled by a supreme creator god, Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord). Zoroaster

taught an absolute moral and metaphysical dualism of good and evil, personified as a conflict pitting the god Ahura Mazda and his assisting spiritual powers against the antigod Angra Mainyu (Aggressive Spirit) and his pan-demonium. The history of the universe involves the ongoing battle between these two opposing forces.

The Zoroastrian social ethic promotes generosity, hospitality, moderation, prosperity, and the value of family. Every good deed that a human performs assists Ahura Mazda, while every evil act weakens the good and assists the cause of Angra Mainyu in the world. Everyone will be rewarded by admission to paradise or punished by exile in hell according to their conduct in life. In addition to judgment of the individual at death, the world will experience a general judgment at the end of time, at which the souls that have been punished in hell will be released into paradise.

All Zoroastrians wear a special white undershirt (*sudreh*), bound by a sacred thread (*kusti*); the ritual act of retying the *kusti,* accompanied by formulaic recitations, performed several times each day, constitutes a constant reminder of the Zoroastrian's dedication to Ahura Mazda. Zoroastrian religious life includes prayer at least five times a day, and an annual cycle of seven seasonal festivals. Sacred fires, symbolizing purity, are kept perpetually burning and guarded from pollution in Zoroastrian temples. The individual Zoroastrian combats the pollution of Angra Mainyu by performing lustrations (*padyab*) of the commonly exposed parts of the body (while recalling Ahura Mazda) upon rising in the morning, after calls of nature, before meals, and before prayers. More elaborate baths and purifying acts, assisted by priests and accompanied by lengthy prayers, are performed for extraordinary contamination, such as that incurred by contact with a dead body. Dead bodies are exposed to the sun in designated places, where they will be devoured by vultures and not pollute earth, water, or fire.

The Zoroastrians collected their sacred writings into the twenty-one books of the Abestag (Avesta) in the time of the Sassanid Empire (3d–early 7th c. C.E.). However, much of the Abestag has been lost through the traumas of the religion's history. *See also* ZOROASTRIANISM, INFLUENCE ON JUDAISM.

Zugot (Heb., pairs) the designation given pairs of sages understood to have transmitted Torah between the biblical prophets and the earliest Tannaitic authorities (M. Peah 2:6). M. Abot 1:4–12 lists five pairs: Yose b. Yoezer of Seredah and Yose b. Yoḥanan of Jerusalem, Joshua b. Peraḥiah and Nittai the Arbelite, Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ, Shemayah and Abtalyon, and Hillel and Shammai. The earliest of these, in the period of the Maccabean revolt, received Torah from Simeon the Righteous. The latest, in the time of Herod the Great, were followed by Gamaliel. According to M. Ḥagigah 2:2, the first listed individual in each pair was patriarch (*nasi*), while the second served as head of the court (*ab beit din*).

Zurvan the principle of time in the Pahlavi texts. Zurvanism was a new Iranian dualism, which developed during the Sassanid period. It reflects a tendency to reconcile the original Zoroastrian dualism with Babylonian astral religion and Mesopotamian demonology. Time, Zurvan, is at the center of Zurvanist speculation and a protagonist in the cult's mythology. Zurvanism modified the dialectic of Zarathusda, which held that Good and Evil were absolutely separate entities. According to Zurvanism, evil could be explained by attributing all power to Zurvan, the supreme god who sired both Ormazd and Ahriman.

Zutra *see* MAR ZUTRA

zuz a small coin; a penny