

JUDITH HAUPTMAN

Rereading the Mishnah

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

109

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Edited by
Martin Hengel and Peter Schäfer

109



Judith Hauptman

Rereading the Mishnah

A New Approach to Ancient Jewish Texts

Mohr Siebeck

JUDITH HAUPTMAN: born 1943; BA in Economics at Barnard College (Columbia University); BHL, MA, PhD in Talmud and Rabbinics at Jewish Theological Seminary; is currently E. Billy Ivry Professor of Talmud and Rabbinic Culture, Jewish Theological Seminary, NY.

978-3-16-158757-3 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 3-16-148713-3

ISSN 0721-8753 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© 2005 by Judith Hauptman / Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany.

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

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

איך נפלו גבורים

In memory of my brother, Philip Jonathan Hauptman,
a heroic physician, who died on Rosh Hodesh Nisan 5765

Contents

Preface	IX
Notes to the Reader	XII
Abbreviations.....	XIII
Chapter 1: Rethinking the Relationship between the Mishnah and the Tosefta	1
A. Two Illustrative Sets of Texts.....	3
B. Theories of the Tosefta's Origins	14
C. New Model.....	17
D. Challenges and Responses	25
E. This Book.....	29
Chapter 2: The Tosefta as a Commentary on an Early Mishnah.....	31
A. The Theory.....	31
B. Four Illustrative Sets of Texts.....	34
C. Conclusions.....	49
Chapter 3: Rewriting Tosefta's Halakic Paragraphs for Inclusion in the Mishnah	50
A. How Old is the Haggadah?	50
B. Giving Teeth to Tooth: How the Redactor of Mishnah Reduced Liability for Damages by Tooth	64
C. Compensating Women for Physical Assaults	74
D. <i>Eruvei Tavshilin</i>	86
E. Differing Recollections of Harvesting the <i>Omer</i>	97
Chapter 4: Condensing Aggadah.....	109
A. The Blessings and Curses at the Mountains	109
B. Boundless Gratitude: Mentioning the Exodus at Night.....	125
C. <i>Eglah Arufah</i> as a Case of Aggadic Expansion	142
D. A Grand Preparation for a Nighttime Celebration.....	145

E. Niqanor's Copper Gates.....	148
F. Bilgah's Punishment	150
G. Asking for Forgiveness	152
Chapter 5: Editing for Ease of Memory	157
A. The Financial Arrangements of Marriage.....	157
B. Four Sources of Damage, Two Related Mishnahs.....	164
C. Five or Six or Eleven Wild Animals.....	173
D. The Men Who Return Home from War.....	188
E. Speaking Hebrew, the Holy Tongue.....	196
F. Numeric Mnemonics.....	207
Chapter 6: From Tosefta to Mishnah to Talmud	231
A. Children and Fasting	231
B. Testimony Based on Childhood Memory	242
Chapter 7: A New Model of the Mishnah-Tosefta Relationship.....	255
A. From Tosefta Atiqta to Matnita Hadeta	255
B. Implications for Future Research.....	259
C. Summary of Textual Analyses	262
Bibliography	265
Source Index	269
Index of Modern Authors.....	279
Index of Subjects	281

Preface

— *Change is the only constant* (anonymous aphorism)

I began researching the relationship between the Mishnah and the Tosefta about fifteen years ago, first reporting on it at the Tenth World Conference of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in 1989. My main point was that paragraphs of Tosefta Gittin served as the basis of paragraphs of Mishnah Gittin. The presentation was later published in the Proceedings of the Conference (August 1990). From that time on, when reading Mishnah and Tosefta, I would look first at the Tosefta and only afterwards at the Mishnah. As a result, I was often able to produce better interpretations of the Mishnah, closer to the simple meaning of its words. This reading strategy also solved serious problems regarding the Tosefta. For instance, the fact that Tosefta paragraphs often did not follow the order of the Mishnah made sense if one assumed that the Tosefta was earlier than the Mishnah. Growing ever more convinced of the value of this new approach, I presented my theory at the Annenberg Conference in May 1990 (Philadelphia), published several more articles on it, and spoke about it again in 1993 at the Eleventh World Congress.

Let me backtrack a bit. My interest in tannaitic materials grew out of my doctoral research. In investigating the phrase *tanya nami hakhi* (thus is also taught in a “*baraita*”), I discovered a solution to the redundancy associated with this expression. The problem noted by many was that a *baraita* introduced by this phrase often repeated the preceding *memra* (amoraic dictum) verbatim. Textual comparisons revealed that before the text of the *baraita* was modified, the *memra* did not merely repeat the following *baraita* but instead made a comment of significance. In the course of time, however, similar texts have a tendency to become identical. The innovative point of the *memra*, I claimed, was inadvertently copied “down” into the following *baraita*. This created the impression of redundant sources.

As I studied case after case of a *baraita* introduced by this phrase, I began to notice that in the ancient period a mishnah was typically studied together with its associated *baraitot*, many of which are found in the Tosefta. I suggested in the last chapter of my dissertation, published in 1988 as a book, that a standard pericope in the Talmud – Bavli and Yerushalmi alike – contains a tannaitic substratum composed of mishnah and related *baraitot*. If so, I had considerably expanded the then regnant two-source theory, which

saw only the amoraic and *stama degemara* layers as defining elements of the pericope. My three-source theory posited three major components of the Talmudic sugya: a tannaitic layer of mishnah and *baraitot*, an amoraic layer of *memrot*, and an interpolated, late layer of *stama degemara*.

It was this study of *baraitot* that led me to begin comparing M and T Gittin systematically. I was hoping to discover that the Tosefta's pattern of divorce legislation was different from the Mishnah's. As I worked my way through M and T Gittin, comparing the two corpora paragraph by paragraph, not only did I find that there was a difference in their approach to divorce but also, and even more important, that many paragraphs of the Tosefta made no sense if assumed to be a commentary on and supplement to the Mishnah. It then occurred to me that many problems would be solved if the Tosefta were seen as the basis of the Mishnah.

After I entered these ideas into the public domain, others adopted them. The three-source theory has been extensively utilized by S. Friedman in his *Talmud Arukh*. As for the theory of Tosefta's priority in regard to specific paragraphs, it has become a standard feature of recent, critical scholarship.

The difference between my work and that of other investigators of Mishnah-Tosefta issues is that I have turned my findings of 1989 into a global theory. I suggest in this volume, and in papers already published, that there existed a collection called Tosefta even before the Mishnah came into being. It served both as the basis of some paragraphs of the Mishnah and as a commentary on many others.

Those who peruse this volume are invited to ponder anew the relationship of the Tosefta and the Mishnah. Many theories have been proposed in the past. I now add mine to that long list.

Let the readers judge for themselves if the arguments presented in this book are persuasive.

Many people over the last ten years have assisted me in thinking through the issues I deal with in this book. I will mention a few by name, but I owe a debt of gratitude to many others.

I wish to thank Shaye J. D. Cohen, Joseph Davis, Steven D. Fraade, Shamma Friedman, Alyssa Gray, David Halivni, Christine Hayes, Martin Jaffee, Elie Kaunfer, David Kraemer, Jacob Neusner, Tzvi Novick, Jay Rovner, Seth Schwartz and Zvi Steinfeld. Each in his or her way helped me in my research. Some read chapters and critiqued them, some offered encouragement, and some discussed ideas with me. Special thanks to Richard Kalmin who did all three.

Special thanks also to Robert Brody for reading and critiquing the entire ms. and to Shmuel Sandberg for reviewing the entire ms. and improving its clarity and articulation. Responsibility for the finished product lies with me alone.

I wish to express my gratitude to Peter Schäfer for his continuing interest in and support of this project.

I thank my students over the years for lively and insightful discussions of the subject matter of this volume.

Thanks to the Jewish Theological Seminary for an Abbell research grant.

This manuscript was prepared in camera-ready copy by Steven Siebert, using *Nota Bene*. I wish to thank him for being unfailingly gracious regarding all matters, large and small.

My thanks to Yael Weinstock for preparing the source index and assisting me in a variety of ways.

Heartfelt thanks to my husband Milton Adesnik and my three sons Ariel David, Moshe Jed, and Hillel Azriel Adesnik, for ongoing, sometimes heated discussion of the topics of this book. As the Bible instructs, we spoke words of Torah “when staying home, traveling about, lying down, and getting up.” My family also offered me invaluable assistance in reading and critiquing various chapters of the ms. Their forbearance and patience are beyond acknowledgment.

I have dedicated this book to my brother, Philip Jonathan Hauptman who, most regrettably, did not live to see it in print. A kind, compassionate, and talented psychiatrist, he devoted himself to his geriatric patients far beyond the call of duty. He was a constant source of encouragement to me.

Notes to the Reader

In general, the translations of rabbinic texts are my own. Exceptions are noted. The Tosefta translations are taken, with occasional modifications, from J. Neusner's *The Tosefta*. The bracketed words are explanatory insertions.

Rabbinic texts have been downloaded from the Bar Ilan database. They have been checked against Albeck's edition of the Mishnah and Lieberman's edition of the Tosefta. Those tractates not included in Lieberman's edition have been checked against Zuckerman's edition.

The references to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud) are presented in two ways. The first is by chapter and paragraph (halakhah or mishnah) and the second by page and folio. The second reference is keyed to the standard one-volume Leiden/Venice edition of this Talmud.

Ms. variants appear in the notes. The Mishnah manuscripts consulted were Kaufman, Parma, and Paris. The Tosefta variants are taken from Lieberman's critical apparatus.

When a reference is to the Mishnah as an entire work, the "M" is uppercase. When a reference is to one paragraph (mishnah) within the larger work, the "m" is lowercase. The same is true of ur-Mishnah and ur-mishnah.

God is referred to in the masculine for ease of reference only.

The generations of individual tannaim, indicated as T1-T6, are taken from Albeck's list in *Mavo Lamishnah*.

Although this text makes reference to "readers" of Mishnah and Tosefta in the ancient world and calls the collections "documents," the model throughout is one of oral texts that are memorized and transmitted from one learned person to the next. The verb "rewrite" is not to be taken literally. It means to reformulate.

Abbreviations

AJS	Association for Jewish Studies
BB	Baba Batra
BM	Baba Mezia
BQ	Baba Qamma
BT	Talmud Bavli
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JSIJ	Jewish Studies Internet Journal
M	Mishnah
PT	Talmud Yerushalmi
RH	Rosh Hashanah
R	Rabbi
Rabbi	Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi
T	Tosefta

Chapter 1

Rethinking the Relationship between the Mishnah and the Tosefta

Even the most cursory glance at the Tosefta (T) reveals how similar it is to the Mishnah (M). The Tosefta's statements are authored by the same spokesmen, in the same language,¹ on the same topics, and are presented in roughly the same order.

Because of these similarities, many scholars have long thought that the Tosefta emerged later than the Mishnah and that it was the Mishnah's first commentary.² A few have regarded it as a collection of material that remained after the redactor of Mishnah made his "cut."³ But there is another possibility: the Tosefta existed as an ordered collection prior to the time of the

¹ E. Y. Kutscher and M. Moreshet both hold that the Hebrew of the Mishnah and of the Tosefta is mhl, *leshon hakhamim aleph*. See E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1982), 116, and M. Moreshet, "Habaraitot Ha'ivriyot Babavli Einan Leshon Hakhamim Aleph," *Sefer Hazikkaron Lehanokh Yalon* (Ramat Gan, 1975), 275–314. Moreshet further claims that when the Talmud cites a *baraita* from the Tosefta, later additions sometimes find their way into the *baraita* because editors felt they had a free hand to alter the language. These additions are written in mh2.

² Y. N. Epstein, *Mevo'ot Lesifrut Hatannaim* (Tel Aviv, 1957), 242; H. Albeck, *Mehqarim Bevrata Uvetosefta* (Jerusalem, 1944), 184; S. Lieberman, *Tashlum Tosefta* (Jerusalem, 1970), 21; A. Goldberg, *The Literature of the Sages*, part 1 (Philadelphia, 1987), 283; J. Neusner, *The Tosefta, Its Structure and Its Sources* (Atlanta, 1986), ix. See below. An issue for many who say that the Tosefta emerged later than the Mishnah is how to explain the presence in the Tosefta of so much material that clearly predates the publication (in whatever form) of the Mishnah. They respond that the early Tosefta material was composed before the Mishnah came into being, did not get selected for inclusion in the Mishnah, and continued to circulate in bits and pieces until the editor of the Tosefta incorporated them into his collection. These theorists thus hold that the Tosefta is a later collection containing much material of early vintage. If the pieces are very small, I find it hard to understand what it means that they circulated orally on their own. How could so many bits and pieces float about freely and not get lost? If the bits and pieces are large, then that is not so different from what I am saying. If the same theorists who hold the "bits and pieces" opinion also hold that different tannaim produced their own Mishnah collections, then why not also say that these many bits and pieces circulated in a collection? Epstein makes such an assumption when he says, basing himself in part on BT Sanhedrin 86a, that the Tosefta of R. Nehemiah followed the order of the Mishnah of R. Akiba. This suggests an early Mishnah and an early Tosefta.

³ The remaining material is called שיור המשנה. See A. Houtman, *Mishnah and Tosefta* (Tübingen, 1996), 9–10, who describes how Samuel ha-Nagid first introduced this idea.

Mishnah; many of its paragraphs served as building blocks of the Mishnah. That is, the redactor of Mishnah rewrites,⁴ reconceptualizes, and reorders the Tosefta collection, and other old materials, to produce his own work.⁵

If the Tosefta preceded the Mishnah, then the Mishnah can be read against the background of its sources. This is a little like reading the United States constitution together with the record of the constitutional convention. We can gain a deeper and more precise understanding of the Mishnah if we see how the redactor refashioned earlier material, for what reason, and to what end.⁶

Others followed in his footsteps.

⁴ I assume throughout this book that transmission of rabbinic texts was oral. See n. 24.

⁵ I am not suggesting that the Mishnah was fashioned from the Tosefta alone. But unlike most other sources that flowed into the Mishnah, the Tosefta is extant today, as are the halakic midrashim, which contain tannaitic material but may have been redacted in the amoraic period. As for other sources of the Mishnah, many scholars speak of early Mishnah collections of specific tannaim. The problem, to my mind, is that these are hypothetical constructs. If R. Akiba or R. Meir produced a Mishnah, there is no evidence that they did so. All one can point to are those places in the Mishnah where the view of R. Akiba predominates for several paragraphs and even chapters. It is also possible to point to statements in the Talmud that say that R. Akiba played a special role in editing rabbinic materials. See Epstein, *Mevo 'ot*, 71, who identifies old chapters of the Mishnah. He says that R. Akiba began a new period in Mishnah production. The tanna produced new halakot by the hundreds and examined old halakot and corrected and edited them, . . . תיקן . . . הגיה. But Epstein cannot produce R. Akiba's Mishnah collection because, Epstein claims, R. Meir incorporated R. Akiba's collection into his own. And R. Meir's Mishnah was incorporated into "our" Mishnah. These old collections cannot, therefore, be identified. In his chapters on each of the prominent tannaim, Epstein demonstrates that anonymous mishnahs can be attributed to individual tannaim. However, the fact that their views appear in the Mishnah, and that even whole chapters can be attributed to them, only suggests that the editor of the Mishnah accepted the views of different people for different topics. It does not prove that each of these tannaim had a complete Mishnah collection, from Berakhot through Oqzim. Epstein, *Mavo Lenusah Hamishnah* (Jerusalem, 1948; 1964), 18, further says that Rabbi taught the Mishnah to his son R. Simon, and to most of his students, according to the opinion of one tanna, and to his student Levi according to the opinion of another tanna. The text of the Mishnah is according to what he taught Levi and the text of the Tosefta is according to the what he taught his son and his other students. In this way Epstein accounts for those places where the wording of the rule in the Mishnah differs from the wording of the same rule in the Tosefta. The problem of different versions of the same rule is real. His theory does not seem to be substantiated.

⁶ C. Milikowsky, "Vayiqra Rabbah, Parashah 28, Hapetihta Harishonah . . .," *Tarbiz* 71 (2002), writes in praise of the comparative method. He says that investigating parallels is a principal way of gaining a deeper understanding of rabbinic literature. It can teach how primary and secondary editors created their works from the material available to them. Examining small units reveals differences of versions of text. Examining larger units, which is harder, reveals differences of order and organization. Milikowsky speaks of midrashic collections. The same holds true, to my mind, for Mishnah and Tosefta comparisons.

A. Two Illustrative Sets of Texts

The best way to grasp the significance of this approach is to consider a number of examples. Below is a short and clear one.

1. *How to Pray on the Road*

משנה ברכות פרק ד משנה ה
היה רוכב⁷ על החמור ירד ואם אינו יכול לירד יחזיר את פניו
ואם אינו יכול להחזיר את פניו יכון את לבו כנגד בית קדש הקדשים.

תוספתא ברכות פרק ג הלכה יח
היה רוכב על החמור אם יש לו מי שיאחז החמור ירד למטה ויתפלל ואם לאו מתפלל
במקומו
ר' או' בין כך ובין כך מתפלל במקומו ובלבד שיהא לבו מכוין.

M Berakhot 4:5

One who was riding on an ass, he should dismount [and pray]. But if he cannot dismount, he should turn his face.
But if he cannot turn his face, he should direct his heart to the chamber of the holy of holies.

T Berakhot 3:18

One who was riding on an ass: if there is someone who can hold the ass, he should dismount and pray; but if not, he should pray in his place [on the ass].
Rabbi says: In either case [whether he does or does not have someone to hold the ass], he should pray in his place as long as his heart directs.⁸

M Berakhot 4:5 speaks about praying on the road. It says that if a traveler is unable to dismount from his ass, then turning his face or body when praying, or even just directing his heart to the holy of holies, is sufficient. The parallel passage in the Tosefta deals with the same subject, in similar words, but presents a dispute. The first tanna says that one should dismount if possible; if not, one should pray in place. Rabbi (Judah haNasi), a late tanna, dissents and says that there is no need to dismount. A person may pray in place as long as he directs his heart.

Which of these two, closely related texts is older?⁹ It would be hard to argue in this case that the Tosefta responds to the Mishnah. It is improbable that Rabbi and another tanna would take the Mishnah's rule about prayer and

⁷ Kaufman MS (of the Mishnah) reads רכוב. Erfurt MS (of the Tosefta) also reads רכוב.

⁸ The expression "to direct the heart" derives from Psalm 10:17. The rabbis understood the verse to be saying that if a person directs his heart, God inclines his ear. See T Berakhot 3:4.

⁹ Orality theory denies the validity of such a question. See below for a discussion of this matter.

create two opinions, neither of which matches the Mishnah.¹⁰ The Mishnah says that one has to get down off the ass to pray, if possible, but Rabbi says that one may stay “in the saddle” and pray, even if it were possible to dismount. The Mishnah says that if a person cannot turn his body to Jerusalem, then in addition to praying, he has to direct his heart to the holy of holies. But the first tanna in the Tosefta says that if one cannot dismount, he should pray in his place on the ass.

It appears likely that the Mishnah was produced in response to the Tosefta and is the more recent of the two texts. The redactor of Mishnah seems to have known the Tosefta paragraph and have resolved the dispute, creating a hybrid view that reflects his own thinking and maybe even his own theology. He takes the idea of dismounting for prayer, when possible, from the first tanna, and the notion of directing one’s heart from Rabbi.¹¹ But the redactor of Mishnah adds that the heart must also be directed toward the holy of holies. He lifts this extra phrase from the immediately preceding Tosefta paragraphs (T 3:15, 16) which say that all Jews, depending on where they are, must face either Israel or Jerusalem or the temple or the holy of holies for prayer. The phrase “direct his heart to the holy of holies,” as it appears in the Mishnah, does not apply only to Jews who find themselves in the temple, as it does in the Tosefta, but to Jews who cannot turn their bodies in the desired direction. The Mishnah uses this phrase to indicate that even Jews far away from the temple, who are not able to face Jerusalem, should direct their hearts, not their bodies, to the holy of holies. This is a new idea.¹²

¹⁰ I am not raising, at this point, the issue of tannaitic statements in the Tosefta that, perforce, are older than the Mishnah. If attributions are reliable, there is much “old” material in the Tosefta. I am defining “old” as earlier than the redaction of the Mishnah.

¹¹ Note that the redactor of Mishnah knows the views of Rabbi, a tanna of the fifth generation (T5). This difference between the view of the redactor and that of Rabbi casts doubt on Rabbi as the redactor of Mishnah, unless we also assume that when editing he modifies his own opinion. The difference also suggests that the redactor of Mishnah accepts (in part) views of T5 tannaim but sometimes deletes their names.

¹² It is repeated in the next mishnah (M Berakhot 4:6) which says that those traveling by boat or wagon should direct their heart to the chamber of the holy of holies. The phrase “direct the heart” in the Tosefta varies in meaning depending on where the traveler is. U. Ehrlich, “Meqom Hashehinah Betoda’at Hamitpallel,” *Tarbiz* 65 (5756), 315–329, writes that the notion of prayer towards the Shekinah in the temple was widespread in the period of the temple. The expression “towards the chamber of the holy of holies” is found only in very old mishnahs. The rule of turning one’s face to the temple is attributed to early tannaim. As time passed, other approaches came to the fore, such as praying toward the Shekinah that is present in the synagogue. Ehrlich’s views support the one presented here, that the Tosefta’s notion of facing the holy of holies is older than the view of the corresponding mishnah which suggests directing only the heart to the holy of holies, when turning the body is not possible.

Note also that the Mishnah introduces the phrase, *lehahazir panim*, to turn the face,¹³ to denote physical turning, and then employs the phrase, *lekhaven et halev*, to direct the heart, to denote spiritual turning only. The Tosefta uses the expression *lekhaven et halev* to denote both.¹⁴ This differentiation of terms also points to the newness of the Mishnah's formulation relative to the Tosefta's.¹⁵

2. How Many New Years?

The following textual analysis is long and complex. It is worth following because the results are suggestive.¹⁶ Comparative analysis will demonstrate that the redactor of Mishnah knows the Tosefta material on the various new years and rewrites it to make several points of his own.

משנה ראש השנה פרק א

משנה א

ארבעה ראשי שנים הם:

באחד בניסן ראש השנה למלכים ולרגלים

באחד באלול ראש השנה למעשר בהמה רבי אלעזר ורבי שמעון אומרים באחד בתשרי

באחד בתשרי ראש השנה לשנים ולשמיטין וליובלות לנטיעה ולירקות

באחד בשבט ראש השנה לאילן כדברי בית שמאי בית הלל אומרים בחמשה עשר בו.

משנה ב

ארבעה פרקים העולם נידון:

בפסח על התבואה

ו¹⁷ בעצרת על פירות האילן

¹³ Also found in M Pesahim 7:13 and T Pisha 6:11.

¹⁴ The Tosefta (T Berakhot 3:15, 16) says that those outside the land must face Israel when praying, those inside the land must face Jerusalem, those inside Jerusalem must face the temple, and those in the temple must face the holy of holies. In this way, the Tosefta continues, all of Israel will pray to one and the same place. The expression used throughout is *מכונין את לבם*. It denotes turning the body in a specific direction. In T 3:18, Rabbi uses this same expression to denote turning of the heart but not the body. He does not require turning the body to the holy of holies, just turning the heart.

¹⁵ M Berakhot 5:1 says that the early pious men used to spend time before prayer so that they could direct their hearts to the Maqom, the Place, למקום, כדי שיכונין את לבם למקום. I think God is called Place in this mishnah because the phrase "to direct one's heart" locates God in a place and it is to that place that one prays. Or maybe Maqom in this mishnah means holy of holies, as it does in M 4:5, 6 and not God per se. See Bereshit Rabbah 68:9, "Why is God called Maqom? Because He is the world's Place. But the world is not his place," meaning he is more extensive.

¹⁶ Several years ago I heard a lecturer say that if there ever were a clear case of the Tosefta commenting on the Mishnah, it is M and T Rosh Hashanah 1. One can easily see, he continued, that the Tosefta quotes the Mishnah and then explains it, section after section. Q.E.D. Upon examining the materials carefully, I arrived at the opposite conclusion.

¹⁷ Parentheses indicate that the "vav" appears in some MSS but not others.

(ו) בראש השנה כל באי העולם עוברין לפניו כבני מרון שנאמר (תהילים לג:טו) היוצר יחד לבם . . .
ובחג נידונין על המים.

תוספתא ראש השנה פרק א

הלכה א

ניסן ראש השנה למלכים ולרגלים לחדשים ולתרומת שקלים ויש או' אף לשכר בתים
כיצד "למלכים" . . .

הלכה ב

כיצד "לרגלים" . . .

הלכה ג

כיצד "לחדשים" . . .

הלכה ד

כיצד "לתרומת שקלים" . . .

הלכה ה

כיצד "לשכר בתים" . . .

הלכה ו

באחד באלול ראש השנה למעשר בהמה ר' לעזר ור' שמעון אומ' באחד בתשרי
אמ' ר' שמעון בן עזיי. . .

הלכה ז

תשרי ראש השנה לשנים ולשמטין וליובלות לנטיעה ולירקות ולמעשרות ולנדריים
כיצד "לשנים ולשמטין וליובלות" . . .

הלכה ח

כיצד "לנטיעה"?

אחד הנוטע ואחד המכריך ואחד המרכיב. . .

ופירות נטיעה זו אסורין עד חמשה עשר בשבט אם ערלה ערלה ואם רבעי רבעי.

הלכה ט

כיצד "לירקות"?

ליקט ירק בערב ראש השנה עד שלא בא השמש וחזר וליקט משבא השמש

אין תורמין ומעשרין מזה על זה מפני שזה חדש וזה ישן. . .

ליקט אתרוג בערב חמשה עשר בשבט עד שלא בא השמש וחזר וליקט משבא השמש

אין תורמין ואין מעשרין מזה על זה מפני שזה חדש וזה ישן. . .

הלכה י

כיצד "לנדרי" . . .

הלכה יא

בראש השנה כל באי עולם עוברין לפניו נומרון שנ' היוצר יחד לבם וגו' ואו' תקעו בחדש
שופר וגו' ואו' כי חק לישראל הוא וגו'. . .

הלכה יב

. . . אמ' ר' עקיבא אמרה תורה הבא עומר שעורין בפסח שהו פרק שעורין כדי שתתברך
לכם תבואה

הבא חטים בכורים¹⁸ בעצרת שהוא פרק אילן כדי שיתברכו עליך פירות אילן

¹⁸ The phrase "wheat first fruits" (*hittim bikkurim*) may seem awkward but it is based on Exodus 34:22, *bikkurei qezir hittim*.

הבא ניסוך המים בחג כדי שיתברכו עליך מי גשמים
אמרו לפניו מלכיות זכרונות ושופרות. . . .

הלכה יג

הכל נידונין בראש השנה וגזר דינו נחתם ביום הכפורים דברי ר' מאיר
ר' יהודה אומ' ¹⁹ הכל נידונין בראש השנה וגזר דינו של כל אחד ואחד נחתם בזמנו
בפסח על התבואה בעצרת על פירות האילן בחג על המים וגזר דינו של אדם נחתם ביום
הכפורים
ר' יוסה אומ' אדם נידון בכל יום שנאמ' ותפקדנו לבקרים.

M Rosh Hashanah (RH) 1:1

There are four new years:

On 1 Nisan the new year for kings and festival,

On 1 Elul the new year for tithing cattle; R. Eleazar and R. Simeon say on 1 Tishri,

On 1 Tishri the new year for [reckoning] years and sabbaticals and jubilees, for
planting [trees] and for vegetables.

On 1 Shebat the new year for trees, according to Bet Shammai; Bet Hillel says, on 15
[Shebat].

M 1:2

At four seasons the world is judged:

At Pesah for grain,

At Azeret for fruit of the tree,

At Rosh Hashanah all who have entered the world pass before him like troops,²⁰ as it
says. . .

And at Hag for rain.

T Rosh Hashanah 1:1

Nisan is the new year for kings and festival, for months, and for the offering of
shekels, and some say, even for the rent of houses.

How so "for kings"? . . .

T 1:2

How so "for festival"? . . .

T 1:3

How so "for months"? . . .

T 1:4

How so "for the offering of shekels"? . . . [=T Sheqalim 2:7]

T 1:5

How so "for the rent of houses"? . . .

T 1:6

On 1 Elul, the new year for tithing cattle; R. Eleazar and R. Simeon say on 1 Tishri.

Said R. Simeon b. Azzai . . . [=T Bekhorot 7:9]

T 1:7

Tishri is the new year for [reckoning] years, and sabbaticals, and jubilees, for planting

¹⁹ Some MSS (Erfurt, London) say that R. Judah said this in the name of R. Akiba. See below.

²⁰ Kaufman MS reads כבנומרין, meaning troops. See Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-fshutah*, Moed (New York, 1955–1988), 1022; Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah* (Jerusalem, 1955–1958), Moed, 486.

(trees), and for vegetables, and for tithes, and for vows.

How so “for years, . . .”?

T 1:8

How so “for planting [trees]”?²¹

All the same are the ones who plant a tree, plant a shoot, and graft a branch. . . .

And the fruit of such a sapling are forbidden until 15 Shebat; if *orlah*, *orlah*;²² if fourth year planting, fourth year planting. [=T Shevi’it 2:3]

T 1:9

How so “for vegetables”?

If one picked a vegetable on the eve of Rosh Hashanah before sunset . . . and went and picked another one after sunset,

They do not take heave-offering or give tithes from this [gathered before sunset] for that [gathered afterward]. . . .

If one picked a citron on the eve of 15 Shebat before sunset and went and picked another after sunset,

They do not take heave-offering or give tithes from this [gathered before sunset] for that [gathered afterward]. . . . [=T Terumot 2:6]

T 1:10

How so “for vows”? . . .

T 1:11

On Rosh Hashanah all who have entered the world pass before him like troops, as it says. . . .

T 1:12

. . . Said R. Akiba: the Torah says, bring a measure of barley on Pesah, the barley season, so that you are blessed with grain,

Bring wheat [and] first fruits on Azeret, the fruit season, so that you are blessed with fruit,

Bring a water libation on Hag so that you are blessed with rainwater,²³

Say before him *malkhiyot* [verses], *zikhronot* [verses], and *shofarot* [verses]. . . .

T 1:13

All are judged on Rosh Hashanah and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the opinion of R. Meir.

R. Judah says, all are judged on Rosh Hashanah but each decree is sealed in its own time;

On Pesah for grain, on Azeret for fruit of the tree, and on Hag for water. And the decree of humans is sealed on Yom Kippur.

R. Yosef says: humans are judged every single day, as it says. . . .

²¹ The word *neti’ah* suggests a young tree, as opposed to *zeqenah*, an old tree. See M Shevi’it 1:8 and T Shevi’it 1:3 for definitions of *neti’ah*.

²² If the fruit came out after Rosh Hashanah but before 15 Shebat, it is forbidden; if after 15 Shebat, it is permitted.

²³ R. Akiba holds that the water libation on Day Eight of Hag is mandated by Torah. See the discussion in Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-fshutah*, Sukkah, 885. The parallel passage in Sifre Bemidbar, 150 (ed. Horovitz, 196) suggests that just as the Torah mandates bringing an *omer* of barley on Pesah for a good crop of grain, and *bikkurim* on Azeret for a good yield of fruit, so too the Torah mandates water libation on Hag for sufficient rain. The origin of the water libation was a matter of dispute between Sages and Boethusians. See M Sukkah 4:9; T Sukkah 3:16. See chapter 5F.

The Mishnah notes that there are four new years — 1 Nisan, 1 Elul, 1 Tishri, and 1/15 Shebat — and lists the features of each. Some are easy to grasp, such as that Nisan is the new year for festival, meaning that when listing the three pilgrimage festivals, one begins with Pesah. Others are not so easy to grasp, such as that 1 Tishri is a new year for vegetables. Since this mishnah is short and pithy, a reader²⁴ might expect that the Tosefta will walk through it, item by item. The reader will not be disappointed. Minimally he or she needs to understand why there are two new years for trees, 1 Tishri and 1/15 Shebat. The following analysis will show that the fourth new year, 1/15 Shebat, is a later addition of the redactor of Mishnah.

Like the Mishnah, the Tosefta opens with Nisan being a new year for kings and for festival. It then adds three more features of 1 Nisan: a new year for months, for the offering of shekels and, according to some, for renting homes (1:1).²⁵ The Tosefta then asks, for each of these features, “How so X?” and provides answers (1:1–5). The next paragraph (T 1:6) goes on to say, like the Mishnah, that the first of Elul is a new year for tithing of animals and that several tannaim debate the date. The paragraph continues with commentary by R. Simeon b. Azzai. The paragraph after that (T 1:7) says, again like the Mishnah, that 1 Tishri is a new year for years, sabbaticals, and jubilees, for planting [trees], and for vegetables. It adds for tithing,²⁶ and for vows (1:7). As it did for 1 Tishri, the Tosefta asks what each of these features means and provides answers (1:7–10). The Tosefta does not provide a separate paragraph for tithes, however, but includes them in its discussion of vegetables.²⁷ The next paragraph talks about Rosh Hashanah as a day on which human beings pass before God like troops (1:11). Two more paragraphs elaborate this idea (1:12, 13). The Tosefta then focuses on a new subject altogether, sending out messengers to announce the new month, which is parallel to M Rosh Hashanah 1:3.

A comparison of the Mishnah and the Tosefta yields striking results. For the Mishnah’s first three new years the Tosefta serves as teacher and guide. It defines, or comments on, every one of the Mishnah’s phrases. But it then remains silent with regard to 1/15 Shebat! Unlike the Mishnah, which knows

²⁴ Whenever I use the term “reader,” I am referring to one who hears as well. I will use the terms document, rewrite, and reader, throughout the book for ease of reference. I am talking about a collection (not necessarily a written document), reformulating or reshaping as activities of the redactor (not necessarily rewriting), and an audience of listeners (not necessarily readers).

²⁵ In Mekhilta of R. Ishmael, Bo 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, 7), R. Natan and R. Yizhaq, late tannaim, add “for rental of homes” to the list of features of 1 Nisan. The material in the Mekhilta seems to know some parts of M RH 1:1 but not others.

²⁶ Tithing refers to both fruits and vegetables.

²⁷ See previous note. See Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-fshutah*, Rosh Hashanah, 1020, who says that the Tosefta combines tithing vegetables and fruits in one paragraph, using the simple examples of a vegetable and a citron.

of four new years, the Tosefta seems to know of only three. The Mishnah's fourth new year, 1/15 Shebat, does not merit mention in the Tosefta. The Tosefta does not call it a new year (*rosh hashanah*), as it does the other three, nor does it comment on the Houses' debate about its date. This omission is extremely hard to understand. Since the Tosefta was meticulous in reviewing every other new year along with its features, as presented in the Mishnah, and even added a few features of its own, why does it fail to mention 1/15 Shebat, a new year dating back to the Houses (at least)? What deepens the mystery is that 15 Shebat *does* appear in this Tosefta material but is not called a new year: it is merely a subcategory of the new year of 1 Tishri. The fifteenth of Shebat, according to the Tosefta, marks the beginning of the fiscal year for tithing fruit (1:8, 9).²⁸ The Tosefta is thus not ignorant of the significance of 15 Shebat²⁹ but thinks of it in different terms from the Mishnah. It seems unlikely that the Tosefta is a commentary on or a response to the Mishnah. The question thus remains, what is the nature of their relationship, close as it is?

A review of the Tosefta's paragraphs might yield some answers. It is easy to see that T Rosh Hashanah 1:1–10 is self-contained, in the sense that it is not dependent on any outside source. It presents three new years, lists the special features of each, and then proceeds to explain them, item by item.³⁰ As for 15 Shebat, the Tosefta recognizes that it begins a new fiscal year for tithing fruit but does not regard this date as an independent new year, only as one aspect of 1 Tishri. Nor does the Tosefta acknowledge, in these paragraphs, that this date is disputed by the Houses. However, the Tosefta does refer elsewhere to their dispute (T Shevi'it 4:21).³¹ But all that can be deduced from that latter text is that the Houses disagreed on the date for tithing fruit. The paragraph does *not* suggest that they called 1/15 Shebat a new year for fruit of the tree.

The redactor of Mishnah seems to have known these ten Tosefta paragraphs and gleaned ideas from them for inclusion in his much shorter collection.³² He presents only the statements of the new years (T 1:1a, 1:6a, 1:7a) but not the elaborations, the "How so's." He also makes a number of changes.

²⁸ See Y. Gilat's discussion of tithing fruit in *Peraqim Behishtalshelut Hahalakah* (Ramat Gan, 1992), 243–248.

²⁹ The likely reason that the Tosefta makes no mention of 1 Shebat in this context is that it rules like Bet Hillel.

³⁰ For an alternative explanation, see n. 32.

³¹ "It once happened that R. Akiba picked a citron on 1 Shebat and handled it according to the opinion of Bet Shammai and according to the opinion of Bet Hillel." This means that he separated both second tithe, as if the citron were a fruit of the second or fifth year, and also poor man's tithe, as if the fruit were of the third or sixth year.

³² One might also say that the Tosefta explains a statement from an early Mishnah collection, phrase by phrase. I will later suggest that the Tosefta was commenting on an early or ur-Mishnah, which probably discussed, at this juncture, only the three new years that the Tosefta discusses in detail.

Source Index

Bible

Genesis

12:6	110, 122
12:7	122
17:5	135
17:15	135
20:7	152-153, 155
20:14	154
20:17	152-155
20:18	155
28:19	135
30	122
32:29	135
35:10	128
37	122
38:25	143
38:26	144
47:6	165
47:11	165

Exodus

12:8	59
12:26	55
13:2	135
13:3	135-136
13:8	55-57, 61
13:14	55
20:2	125
21	165, 172
21:26-27	45
21:28	165, 171
21:29	165, 170-171, 173
21:30-32	165, 171
21:33	165, 170-171
21:34	165, 171
21:35-36	165, 171, 173
22	165, 171-172
22:1-3	165, 171
22:4	165, 171, 173
22:5	165, 171-173
23-24	165

24: 1-8	117
25-27	111
26:5	61
34:21	104
34:22	6

Leviticus

16:31	235
23:10	97
23:15-16	101
23:42	224
23:43	125

Numbers

6	198
6:24-26	203
13:27-28	143-144
13:30	143-144
15:41	125
20	173
20:4	165
20:8	165
20:11	165
29:35	207, 224

Deuteronomy

6:20	55
11:29	117, 122
11:30	110, 118, 122-124
13:18	154
16:3	125-127, 133, 135-136
16:14-15	223
16:16	225
19:15	244
20	198, 203-204
20:1-2	188
20:3-4	188, 196
20:5-6	188-190, 196,
20:7	188, 190, 196
20:8-9	188, 196

21	198, 203-204	8:34	118
21:1-6	142	24:32	122
21:7	142-143, 200		
21:8	142-144	<i>I Kings</i>	
21:9	142	8:66	225
24:5	190-191, 194	12	122
25	198, 203		
26	198, 203, 206	<i>Isaiah</i>	
26:5-8	51	43:18	129, 139
26:5-9	61		
26:12-15	197	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
27	109, 112, 115-117, 119, 121-122, 198, 203-204	16:14-15	128, 134-136, 139
27:1	117-118	23:7	128
27:2	112, 115, 117-118	23:8	128, 135-136, 139
27:3	112, 117-118		
27:4	112, 117-118, 122	<i>Amos</i>	
27:5-7	117-118, 122	5:19	129
27:8	111-112, 117-118, 121- 122	<i>Psalms</i>	
27:9	111, 117, 122	10:17	3
27:10-11	117	12	225
27:14	111, 198	113	51
27:15	111, 114, 117, 121	114	51-52
27:16-18	114, 117	115-118	51
27:19	114, 117-118		
27:20-26	114, 117	<i>Job</i>	
28	111	42:8	153-154
29:9	134	42:10	153, 155
31	198, 204		
31:10	197	<i>Daniel</i>	
		7, 8	129
<i>Joshua</i>		<i>Nehemiah</i>	
4	115, 117, 119, 121	8:10	222
4:8-9	115		
4:19	112, 116, 118	<i>I Chronicles</i>	
4:20	112, 116	15:16	216
8	117-119	25:6	216
8:30	118-119		
8:31-32	118	<i>II Chronicles</i>	
8:33	110, 118, 122	5:12	216

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Luke</i>	
26:17-30	59	22:7-20	59
<i>Mark</i>		<i>John</i>	
14:16-26	59	4:9	123

Mishnah

<i>M Berakhot</i>	17	5:8	229
1-8	198	7:2	61
1:1-3	127, 130, 207	7:13	5
1:4	127, 130	9	50
1:5	52, 125-133, 137, 142	10	50-53, 59-60
2	127	10:1-2	53-54, 60
2:1	130	10:3	53-54, 58, 60
2:2	127	10:4	53-55, 57-58, 60
2:3-5	130	10:5	53-54, 56, 61
2:8	131	10:6	53-54, 61, 131
4:3	195	10:7	53-54, 61
4:5	3, 5	10:8	53, 57, 61
4:6	4-5		
5:1	5	<i>M Sheqalim</i>	
5:2	131	3:1	11
6:1	15		
7:1	123	<i>M Yoma</i>	149
8:1	62	1	105
8:8	123	2:1-2	149
		3	149
<i>M Peah</i>		3:9	149
6:6	104	3:10-11	148
		4	149
<i>M Demai</i>		7:1	203-204
2:3	73	8	13
		8:1	231, 236, 241
<i>M Shevi'it</i>	17	8:2, 3	235
1:8	8	8:4	232-233, 235-236
		8:5	235
<i>M Ma'aser Sheni</i>			
5	198	<i>M Sukkah</i>	132
5:6-15	197	2:8	232, 234
		2:9	45
<i>M Hallah</i>		3:9-11	222
1:1	101, 107	3:12	224, 230
3:11	26	4	198, 205, 207, 208-210, 212, 218, 227-228
		4:1	164, 205, 208-215, 218, 220-221, 223-224, 226-227
<i>M Shabbat</i>		4:2-4	219, 221, 226
4:4	214	4:5-6	219, 221, 226, 228
4:6	214	4:7	221, 226
16:1	34	4:8	207, 208, 212, 221-224, 227
		4:9	8, 98, 210-211, 215, 219-221, 227-228
<i>M Eruvin</i>		4:10	210, 219, 221, 227
10:1	104		
<i>M Pesahim</i>			
4:8	107		
5:7	51		

5	198, 205, 207-210, 212, 218, 220-221, 227-228	<i>M Yevamot</i> 10:1	158
5:1	57, 98, 208-209, 212- 213, 217, 219-221, 223, 226-227	12:6 15:7	203 26
5:2	146, 148, 209-210, 219, 221	<i>M Ketubot</i> 2	252
5:3	210, 221	2:1	247-248, 252
5:4	210-212, 215-216, 221, 228	2:3, 4 2:6	248, 252 252
5:5	210-211, 213, 216-217, 220, 225, 228	2:10 3	243, 249-250, 252-253 76
5:6	223-224	3:7	79, 244
5:8	150-151	4	76, 79
<i>M Bezah</i>		4:1	79-80
1:6	253	4:2	81, 159
2	86-87	4:4	75-76, 79, 82, 157, 159- 164, 173, 204
2:1	57, 87-88, 96-97	4:6	163
2:8	70	5:9	81
4:2	26	6	79
		6:1	74-77, 79-86, 158, 161
<i>M Rosh Hashanah</i>		6:4-5	77
1	5, 196	6:7	77
1:1	7, 9, 11-12	7:7	38
1:2	7, 11-13	7:8	76
1:3	9	7:9	38-39
2:1	11	7:10	36-38, 47
2:2	123	8:1	76
4:1	229	8:3	77, 81
4:3	224	8:5	81
4:9	152	8:7	81
<i>M Ta'anit</i>		<i>M Nedarim</i>	
1:1	131	10:2	159
2:4	131		
2:5	210	<i>M Sotah</i>	
<i>M Megillah</i>		1-6	198
2:5	47	3:8	46, 161-162
4:4	207	5:5	126
4:6	207	7	197, 208, 226
		7:1	197-198, 205-206
<i>M Hagigah</i>		7:2	109, 115, 197-202, 204- 206
1:1	232	7:3	111, 200, 204, 221
1:3	223	7:4	111, 200, 203, 204
2:3	223	7:5	109-112, 119, 124, 142, 203
		7:6	199
		7:7	203

8	195, 208, 226	8:7	152, 154-155, 258
8:1	200, 204	10:2	250-251, 253
8:2	188-191, 194-195		
8:3	188-190, 193	<i>M Baba Mezia</i>	
8:4	188, 190-191, 194	2:1	104
9	200, 208, 226	3:1	40, 42-44
9:1	200	3	262
9:6	142-144	3:10	41
		7:8	40, 42-44, 258
<i>M Gittin</i>		8	262
6	162		
6:2	162-163	<i>M Sanhedrin</i>	
		1:2	47
<i>M Kiddushin</i>			
1	46, 48-49	<i>M Shevuot</i>	48
1:1	161	4-5	198
1:2	31, 158	5:2	41
1:3	45	6:3	48
1:5	19, 45-46, 48, 204	8:1	258
1:6	44		
1:7	44-46	<i>M Eduyot</i>	48
1:8	44, 46-47	4:7	47-48
1:9	44		
1:10	44-45, 47-48	<i>M Menahot</i>	
4	48	6:2	159
		8:1	99
<i>M Baba Qamma</i>		10	22, 99, 105, 107-108, 211, 229, 230
1	54, 64, 164, 172, 176, 183, 198, 208	10:1	99, 101-102
1:1	64, 165, 166-168, 170- 173	10:2	100, 102, 108
1:2	32, 166-170, 173	10:3	100, 102-103, 106
1:3	32, 167	10:4	101, 104
1:4	64, 71, 162, 164, 167, 174-185, 200, 205, 221, 226	10:5	101, 104-105
2	54, 176, 182-183, 185, 198, 205, 208	10:6	101, 108
2:1	175, 200, 226	10:7	101, 107-108
2:2	64, 66, 70-71, 175, 178, 180, 184, 200, 221, 226	10:8	101, 107
2:3-4	226	10:9	101, 103
2:5	176-177, 179-180, 184	11:2, 3	102
3:7	79		
3:10	45	<i>M Bekhorot</i>	
6:2	65-67, 71-72, 74	9:5	11
6:4-5	173		
7:7	35, 73	<i>M Arakhin</i>	
8	153, 155	2:3	57, 212-213, 217, 220
8:1	78, 80	2:4	213
		<i>M Middot</i>	147, 149
		2:3	148
		2:5	146
		2:6	210, 216

M Kelim 16*M Parah*

3 28

M Tohorot 16, 22*M Niddah*

4:1 122-123

5:7 161

M Yadayim 238

Tosefta

T Berakhot

1 132

1:1 19

1:5 33

1:9 131

1:10 127-128, 132-133, 138

1:11 129, 132-133

1:12-13 132-133, 139

1:14 132-133, 140-141

2:1 131-132

3:3 195

3:4 3

3:15-16 4-5

3:18 3, 5

3:25 56

4:4 15

4:8 54, 238

5:4 131

5:25 62

10:1-9 62

T Shevi'it

1:3 8

2:3 8

4:21 10-12

T Terumot

2:6 8

T Bikkurim

2:16 73

T Shabbat

3:5 239

T Pisha

2:3 123

2:22 53

2:25 144

4:24 144

5:3 223

6:11 5

8 50

8:10 26

8:22 225

10 50, 52-53, 59-60

10:1-2 54, 59, 62

10:3 54, 62

10:4 62

10:5-8 54, 62

10:9 54, 59, 62-63

10:10 63

10:11 54-55, 63

10:12 51, 54, 56, 63

10:13 63

10:14 59, 63

T Sheqalim

2:7 7

T Yoma

1 105

2 149

2:3-8 149

3:18 203

4:1 233, 235-236

4:2 63, 233-236, 238, 240

4:3-4 235

4:5 237-239, 241

T Sukkah

132

2:5 73

2:8-11 218

3 208, 214-215, 218, 224

3:1 214, 218, 226, 229

3:2 214, 224, 226

3:3-3:13 215, 226-227

3:14 215, 227

3:15 215, 226-227

3:16 8, 98, 211, 215, 220, 227

3:17 215, 227
 3:18 98, 215, 227
 4 208, 214-215, 218, 224
 4:1 105, 145, 147-148, 228
 4:2-3 216
 4:5 215
 4:6 208
 4:7 210, 216
 4:8-9 216
 4:10 215-217, 228
 4:11-12 216-217
 4:13 217
 4:14 217, 226
 4:15-16 223
 4:17 225
 4:28 151

T Rosh Hashanah

1 5
 1:1-7 7, 9-10, 12
 1:8-9 8-12
 1:10 8-10, 12
 1:11-12 8-9, 12-14
 1:13 8-9, 12-13
 2:18 152

T Ta'anit

1:5-6 33
 1:12 131

T Yom Tov

2:1 57, 89, 95, 97
 2:2 57, 90, 97
 2:3-4 57, 93, 97
 2:5 57, 94-97
 2:6 63, 241
 2:16 70
 3:10 26

T Mo'ed

2:13 222

T Hagigah

1:2 206
 1:4 223
 1:6 223
 2:9 63

T Yevamot

14:2 26

T Ketubot

2:1 159, 252
 3:3 245, 251-252
 3:4 246
 4:1-2 159, 162-163
 4:8 163
 5:9 81
 6 77
 6:6-6:7 77
 6:9 77
 7:9 158
 7:10 39
 7:11 36

T Sotah

2:1 201
 2:7 158, 160-163
 2:8 46, 160
 2:9 160
 6:2-3 62
 7 201
 7:1 201, 205
 7:2-6 201
 7:7 201, 204-205
 7:9 135
 7:18-19 192-193, 195
 7:20 192, 194
 7:23-24 193-195
 8:1 114-116, 201
 8:2 115
 8:3 115, 119
 8:4 115
 8:5 115, 119
 8:6 109, 115, 119, 124
 8:7 109, 115, 124
 8:8 109, 112, 115, 124
 8:9 109, 116, 124
 8:10-11 109
 9:2-3 143

T Gittin

1:4 123

T Kiddushin

1 46, 48
 1:1-4 44
 1:5 19, 31, 44-45
 1:7 44
 1:8 44-46
 1:10 45

1:11	45-46	<i>T Sanhedrin</i>	
1:13-17	45	2:1	47
<i>T Baba Qamma</i>		<i>T Kodashim</i>	22
1	176		
1:1	32, 166-167, 170, 187	<i>T Menahot</i>	
1:2-3	167	6:12	203
1:4	180, 182, 187	10	22, 105, 107-108, 211, 230
1:5-6	181	10:19	102, 229
1:7	65, 74, 181	10:20	102
1:8	70, 181, 184	10:21-22	102, 108
1:9	64, 183	10:23	102-103, 106, 229
2	176	10:24-27	104
2:2	176	10:28-31	104, 108
3:1-2	181	1032	104-105
4:3	123, 159	10:33	104
6:20	67		
6:21	67, 73	<i>T Bekhorot</i>	
6:29-31	168	7:9	7
8	73		
8:9-16	73	<i>T Arakhin</i>	
8:17	35, 73	1:13	217, 220
8:18-18	73		
9	77, 155, 167	<i>T Kelim</i>	16
9:1	43, 64, 165, 167, 172		
9:8-9	81	<i>T Parah</i>	
9:12	78	3	28
9:14	76-77, 79, 84-85		
9:23-27	45	<i>T Niddah</i>	
9:29	153-154	5:21	123
9:30	154		
10	251	<i>T Tohorot</i>	22
<i>T Baba Mezia</i>		6:17	57
8:13	41- 44		
8:14-15	41	<i>T Zavim</i>	
<i>T Baba Batra</i>		1:5	27
2:13	48		
5:11	48	<i>T Yadayim</i>	
		2:14	144

Palestinian Talmud

<i>PT Berakhot</i>		<i>PT Pesahim</i>	
1:5; 4a	140	10:4; 37d	56
<i>PT Eruvin</i>		<i>PT Yoma</i>	
3:10; 21c	131	6:4; 43d	240
		8:1; 44d	240

<i>PT Sheqalim</i>		<i>PT Sotah</i>	
5:1; 48c	166	7:3; 21c	109, 121, 123
		7:4-5; 21c	109
<i>PT Sukkah</i>		8:8; 23a	194
4:5; 54c	223-224	9:1; 23b	200
<i>PT Bezah</i>		<i>PT Ketubot</i>	
2:1; 61a	90	2:10; 26d	245
2:1; 61b	88, 92, 94	2:10; 27a	250, 253
<i>PT Rosh Hashanah</i>		<i>PT Gittin</i>	
1:1; 57a	13	6:2; 48a	162
<i>PT Ta'anit</i>		<i>PT Baba Qamma</i>	
4:1; 67c	131	1:1; 2a	168, 173
		1:4; 2c	180
		2:2; 3a	70

Babylonian Talmud

<i>BT Berakhot</i>		17a	89, 96
13b	140	17b	88-90, 93, 95-96
14a	140		
<i>BT Shabbat</i>		<i>BT Rosh Hashanah</i>	
119a	222	16a	13
<i>BT Pesahim</i>		<i>BT Moed Qatan</i>	
71a	223	13b	222
94a	237	<i>BT Hagigah</i>	
109a	240	3a-b	135
116a	55, 63	<i>BT Ketubot</i>	
<i>BT Yoma</i>		24a	244
77b	234, 236	25b	253
82a	233, 235, 241-242	28a	252
<i>BT Sukkah</i>		28b	245, 252-253
42a	206	46b	158, 161
43a	208	65b	75-76
47b	227	66a	85
48a	223	<i>BT Sotah</i>	
51b	148	33a	199
56b	151	33b	123
<i>BT Bezah</i>		35b	115
15b	91	36a	116, 119
16a	88, 92	38a	199
16b	88	44a	194
		44b	200

<i>BT Gittin</i>		16b	175
64b	162	19b	70
		20a	178
<i>BT Kiddushin</i>		82b	73
3b	160	92a	155
5b	161	114b	251
9a	48		
30a	166	<i>BT Sanhedrin</i>	
		86a	1, 34
<i>BT Baba Qamma</i>		90b	124
3b	173		
4b	167	<i>BT Menahot</i>	
5a	80	72b	102
6a	166, 169		
6b	166	<i>BT Hullin</i>	
15b	178	107b	238
16a	177, 179-180		

Midrash Halakah

<i>Mekhilta of R. Ishmael</i>		<i>Sifre Bemidbar</i>	
Bo 1	9	39	199, 204
Bo 16	134	148	126
Bo 17	56	150	8
Bo 18	56, 61		
Beshalah 4	90	<i>Sifre Devarim</i>	
Yitro 9	198	55	204
Mishpatim 14	172	56	123
Mishpatim 20	168	130	133
		142	223
<i>Mekhilta deRashbi</i>		210	144, 204
113	90	291	203
195	70	301	203
199	171	333	207
<i>Sifra</i>			
Emor 12:4	222		

Midrash Aggadah

<i>Bereshit Rabbah</i>	
68:9	5

Mishneh Torah

<i>Hilkhot Hovel Umaziq</i>		<i>Hilkhot Yom Tov</i>	
4:15-16	83	6:1	88
<i>Hilkhot Ishut</i>		<i>Hilkhot Lulav</i>	
21:10	84	8:12	210

Index of Modern Authors

- Albeck, H. 1n2, 7n20, 15, 17n59, 24, 26n90,
27, 29, 44n31, 60n34, 80, 81n95, 84n106,
101n155, 126n52, 149n98, 155n107,
169nn45–46, 186n81, 199n106, 204n116,
221n160, 222n165, 223n167, 230,
251n54
- Amit, A. 257
- Berkowitz, B. 257
- Blank, D. R. 56n19
- Bokser, B. 50n4, 54n11, 58n29, 61n37
- Braverman, N. 20n71, 21n73, 28n97,
106n166
- Brody, R. 101n155, 111n7, 125n51
- Cassuto, M. D. 51n6
- Cohen, Naomi G. 58n30
- Davis, J. 18n62
- Dunner, Y. Z. 15n49, 217n151
- Ehrlich, U. 4n12
- Elman, Y. 16n52, 20n71, 218n154
- Epstein, Y. N. 1n2, 2n5, 11n34, 13n40, 15,
17n59, 23, 24n84, 25n88, 27, 29,
33, Jaffee, M., 22nn77, 80, 28–29, 33n9,
34n15, 34n14, 43n30, 49, 51, 70, 75n74,
99n153, 134, 165n26, 171, 179, 184n77,
188n87, 194n92, 200n111, 208,
210nn133, 136, 215n147, 216n147,
226n178, 228, 230n186
- Feliks, Y. 52n8
- Fox, H. 210n135
- Fraade, S. 12n36, 17n60, 111n9, 112n10,
117, 132n67, 199n105, 207n124, 257n5
- Frankel, Z. 15
- Friedman, S. 15n50, 16nn53, 58, 19nn64, 66,
25n88, 34n14, 50n1, 53n9, 54n12, 57n22,
58n28, 60n34, 106n166, 231nn1–2,
260n16
- Gamoran, H. 20n70
- Gilat, Y. 10n28, 166n29, 232n6
- Ginzberg, L. 131n63, 139n77, 140, 141n80
- Goldberg, A. 1n2, 11n36, 16, 17n59, 19n67,
25, 32–33, 35n18, 36n18, 149n98,
167n39, 182n73, 186nn79, 81, 188n87
- Goldschmidt, D. 51n6, 58n27, 61nn36–37
- Gray, A. 22n76
- Greenstein, E. 154n106
- Halivni, D. 27, 29, 32, 49, 61nn36, 40,
86n113, 88n120, 94n132, 119n34,
160n13, 161n13, 165nn26, 28, 166, 170,
172, 180n67, 208n129
- Hayes, C. 27n94, 124n47, 256n3
- Heller, Y. T. 199n106
- Hengel, M. 14n47, 28n98
- Hoffman, D. Z. 58n28
- Holtz, A. 15n49
- Henshke, D. 33n12, 43n30, 44n30, 86n114,
87n115, 88n118, 166n34 Hoffman, D. Z.,
58n28
- Holtz, A. 15n49
- Houtman, A. 1n3, 15nn49–50, 16n58, 17n58
- Jaffee, M. 22nn77, 80, 28–29, 33n9, 34n15
- Jastrow, M. 103n158, 243n37
- Kahana, M. 56n16, 133n69, 171n52
- Kalmin, R. 99n152, 105n164, 152n104
- Kaunfer, E. 229n184
- Kugel, J. 18, 27n96
- Kutscher, E. Y. 1n1
- Lapin, H. 73n72
- Levine, L. 26n91
- Lieberman, S. 1n2, 7n20, 8n23, 9n27,
12nn37–38, 15n49, 16, 24, 33n10, 52n7,
57n22, 58n27, 62nn43–44, 63n51,
67n58, 69, 78n86, 92n127, 112, 114n15,
119n34, 121n39, 123n45, 127nn54–55,
128nn56–57, 131n63, 139n76, 140,
141n80, 156, 159n7, 166n35, 179n66,
180n68, 182n72, 185–86n82, 188,
194nn92–93, 210n136, 217, 218n154,
221n158, 225nn173–74, 228n182,
234nn12–13, 238nn22, 24, 245nn42, 44–
46, 246n46, 247n49, 249n52
- Marcus, D. 122n41
- Mielziner, M. 168n42, 173
- Milikowsky, C. 2n6, 18n63, 23n81, 242n35
- Moreshet, M. 1n1

- Neusner, J. 1n2, 16, 21n75, 22nn77, 79, 24,
29n102, 30n102, 33n10, 157n1, 166n34,
256n3
- Novick, T. 137n72, 260n16
- Regev, E. 99n152, 105n164, 123n43
- Rovner, J. 125n51
- Schäfer, P. 18, 23n81, 242n35
- Schiffman, L. 98n148, 230n189
- Schwartz, S. 59n31, 98n150
- Schwarz, A. 15n49
- Shremer, A. 126n53
- Spanier, A. 15n49
- Stein, S. 54n11
- Steinfeld, Z. 20n70, 35n17, 47n38
- Tabory, Y. 51n6, 54n11, 57nn23–24, 60n34,
61n41, 63n49
- Tchernowitz, C. 15n49
- Tigay, J. 111nn6, 8, 117, 118n28, 119n31,
122n41
- Urbach, E. E. 51n6
- Vanderkam, J. 98nn147, 149
- Walfish, A. 43n28
- Weiss, A. 15n49, 47n38, 48n42, 49,
165nn24, 26, 166, 172
- Yadin, Y. 98n148
- Yuval, Y. 51n7, 52n7, 56, 59n31
- Zuckerman, M. S. 15n49

Index of Subjects

- Abahu 166, 172, 200n109
 Abaye 237–38, 242n36
 Abimelekh 152–54, 155n107
 Abraham 110, 122n42, 123, 129, 134, 136,
 139–40n80, 152–54n106, 155n107,
 156n110
 Abram 129, 135, 140n80
 Academy 135, 234, 240–41
Afiqoman 53–54, 61, 63
 Aggadiah 18n62, 20, 21, 29, 44, 46, 48, 49,
 109, 122, 125, 130, 132, 137, 140n80,
 141n80, 142, 148–50n101, 152, 156,
 157, 163n18, 215, 224n171, 226,
 227n180, 255n1, 258, 262, 263
 Ai 118
 Alexander 210n136
 Alexandria 208n128
 Alfasi 86n111
 Amaleq 56n16, 133n69
 Amora(im) 15, 16n52, 25n89, 26n89, 29,
 88n121, 89n123, 92n128, 94n135,
 131n61, 155n107, 166, 173n56, 178–
 79, 180n67, 200, 207n125, 231,
 236n192–39, 242n36, 259n11, 261n17
 Amos 129n58
 Aramaic 17n60, 207, 257
Aravah 122, 208, 214, 218–19, 221,
 222n164, 224n170, 225–28, 229n184,
 230n188
 Ashi 86n111
 Assault(s), assaulted 74, 76n81, 77–
 80n93, 82–86, 156, 263
 Azeret 7–8n23, 12, 207n126, 213–14,
 225n172

 Bailee(s) 40–43n30, 44n30, 258, 262
 Balcony, balconies 146–148n95
 Banquet(s) 53– 55, 58, 60, 238n23
 Baroqah, R. Yohanan b. 246, 247n49, 248–
 51n54, 253, 254n64
 Benei Braq 52n7

 Betroth, betrothal, betrothed 38n22, 47,
 48nn41–42, 49n46, 157, 160, 161n13,
 162, 189–90, 192–93
 Bible 18n61, 27n96, 45n32, 50, 55, 59,
 110, 111n9, 112n11, 122, 123n43,
 124–25, 129n58, 136, 145, 154n106,
 155n107, 165n27, 166n29, 173, 197,
 204n115
 Bilgah 132, 150–52n104, 263
 Blemish(es) 37–39, 40n25, 260n16
 Blessing(s) 15n51, 52n7, 53, 56n19, 58,
 59n33, 60– 63, 109–112, 114, 115n15,
 117, 116–23, 124n48, 126n52, 127n54,
 130–32, 136, 138, 142, 197– 207n124,
 225, 227n181, 261n18, 263
 Boethus b. Zunin 63
 Boethusian(s) 8n23, 97n144, 98, 100–101,
 103–7, 210n136, 211n137, 226,
 229nn184–185

 Caleb 143, 144n85
 Calendar(s) 98n150, 105, 229n185, 230
 Canaanite 44–45n32
 Celebration(s) 51–52, 97–98n146,
 105n164, 145, 146n91, 147–48n95,
 152n104, 209n131, 210n135, 211–13,
 215–21, 222n164, 223, 225–27, 229,
 230n188, 263
 Ceremony, ceremonies 50, 97, 100, 102–7,
 111n8, 116–17n25, 118n28, 121–22,
 144–45, 197, 199, 201n112, 202,
 210n137, 211n137, 215, 221,
 224n170, 226nn178–79, 229n184,
 245n43, 263
 Child(ren) 44–45, 47, 51–58, 60, 61n39,
 62–63, 77, 126n53, 134–35, 199n106,
 206n123, 207n123, 231–44, 245n44,
 246–53, 262, 264
 Christian 57, 59, 61n37, 123n43, 257n4
 Coppersmith 36–38
 Covenant 111n8, 117, 124

- Damage(s) 43n28, 64–68n61, 70–74n73,
 79–80n91, 81n95, 84, 123n43, 153,
 156, 164–78, 180–185, 187, 194n93,
 250, 261n18, 262
 Demon 237–38n22
 Dinah 122n42
 Divorce 36–39, 40n25, 48nn41–42,
 123n43, 159, 162, 190, 262
 Dog(s) 35, 36n18, 182n71, 184, 262
 Dowry 82, 158n3

 Ebal 110–12, 115, 117–19n31, 121–22
Eglah arufah 142, 198n98, 200, 202–
 203n115, 204n115, 263
 Egypt 50, 52n7, 55, 61, 125–26, 127n54,
 128–29, 131, 134–36, 141
 Egyptians 55
 Eliezer, (Lieber) 35, 52n7, 56n16, 90n124,
 103, 123n45, 175, 187n83, 190, 192,
 193n90
 Elifaz 154
 Elijah 131n63
 Elonei Moreh 109n2, 110–11, 115, 122–
 24n47
Eruvei tavshilin 86–90, 91n126, 94–
 95n138, 97, 263

 Farm 173
 Farmer 67
 Feminist 256

 Galilee 73n72, 112n10
 Gallery, Women's 146–47n95, 210
 Gemara 76n80, 85n108, 86n111, 177, 240,
 259n12, 261, 264
 Gentile(s) 151, 256n3
 Geonic, Geonim 51n7, 83, 84n103,
 230n186
 Gerizim 110–11, 115, 117–19n31, 121–22
 Gilgal 112n11, 116, 118–19n33, 121–22,
 123n45
 God 3n8, 5n15, 9, 12–13n43, 18n61, 52,
 55–56, 60–61, 97n144, 115, 117–18,
 122n42, 125, 127n54, 128–32, 135–36,
 139n78, 152–56n110, 188, 198n103,
 206n122, 223n167, 263
 Gospels 28, 258
 Greek 53–55, 151, 207

 Hag 7–8n23, 12, 99n151, 146, 207, 209–
 10, 213–15n145, 218–19, 221–27n181,
 264
 Haggadah 19n66, 50– 53n10, 56–61nn36–
 37, 125, 262
 Halakah 23n83, 27nn93, 95, 43n30,
 55n14, 59n33, 76n83, 83, 84n103, 91–
 92, 94–97, 99n152, 109, 126, 130, 137–
 38, 140–41, 157, 160n12, 161n13,
 162n17, 164, 182n73, 184, 227nn180–
 81, 231, 236, 252–53, 255, 258
 Halil 57n26, 208nn127, 129, 208, 209,
 210n137, 211–13n142, 215n146, 216–
 21n159, 225–27
Halizah 190, 197–98n98, 200, 203n115,
 205, 206n122
 Hallel 51–56, 57n22, 58–59n33, 61–63,
 201, 204n117, 205n120, 207–8,
 212n140, 214, 218, 221n160, 222,
 223n167, 224–27, 229, 262
 Hanukkah 214
 Haroset 53–54, 58–60, 63
 Harp(s) 210n137, 211, 215, 216n147
Hashoevah, Bet 57n26, 97–98n146,
 105n164, 146n91, 147–48n95,
 208nn128–29, 209–13, 215–21,
 222n164, 223, 225–29, 230n188, 263
Havurah 56n16
 Hillel 7, 10nn29, 31, 48, 53, 60, 62, 87–
 89, 93–94
Hinuma 243, 252n56
 Hisda 242n34
 Hiyya 15, 24n84, 25n89, 26n89, 92n128,
 223n167, 240n30, 259
 Horeb 49n46
 Horseradish 52n8
 Huna 227n181
 Husband(s) 36, 38–39, 40n25, 74–85n108,
 86n111, 158–64, 191, 243, 248, 263
 Hyena 180, 182, 185–87n85

 Inheritance 19n66, 75, 77n83, 81–82
 Isaac 135–36, 155n107
 Isaiah 80n91, 129n58, 139
 Israelites 50–51, 55, 97n144, 109, 111–12,
 113n12, 114–17, 118n29, 119–21,
 123n45, 213n141, 215

- Jacob 122n42, 128–29, 135–36, 139, 140n80, 141
- Jeremiah 128, 134–37, 139
- Jeroaboam 122n42
- Jerusalem 1nn1–2, 2n5, 4, 5n14, 7n20, 11n36, 15n48, 19nn64, 66, 20nn70–71, 27n92, 32n6, 35n17, 51n6, 52n8, 56, 61n36, 73n71, 75n74, 86n113, 89n122, 100–102, 204n116, 210, 217n151, 221n159, 232n6
- Jesus 14n47, 258
- Job 153–55n107, 156n110
- Jordan 109n2, 110–12, 113n12, 114–19n32, 121–22, 123n45, 124n48
- Joseph 122n42
- Josephus 121n39, 210n136
- Ketubah 36–39, 242, 244, 247, 252
- Kuthite(s) 122–24n47
- Leopard 175, 186
- Lettuce 52–54, 58–60, 63
- Levir(s), levirate 189, 192–196
- Levite(s) 51, 53, 110–12, 198, 199n104, 210–213n141, 215, 216n147
- Libation, water 8, 12, 98n146, 209–10n137, 211n137, 212n139, 215, 218–19, 220n156, 221, 222n164, 223, 225, 227–28, 230n188
- Lion 129, 135–36, 139, 141n80, 175, 179, 185–86
- List(s) 9–11, 13, 28, 37, 42, 43n28, 47n36, 64, 80, 107n168, 109, 114n15, 115n15, 158–70n50, 172–74, 176–79, 180n67, 182–87, 190, 194–98n101, 200n107, 201n112, 202–6n122, 204–207n124, 209, 211–12n140, 213n142, 215n147, 216n147, 218, 220–21n159, 222n164, 224–226n178, 232, 258, 260n16, 262–64
- Liturgy 56, 128, 132, 206n122, 222
- Luke 14n47
- Lulav 208–10n137, 214, 218–19, 221, 222n164, 224–27, 230
- Lunisolar 98, 230
- Lydda 63
- Lyre(s) 210n137, 211, 213, 215, 216n147
- Maimonides 18n62, 29, 76n83, 78n86, 80n92, 82n100, 83–84n106, 86n111, 88, 210n135, 223n167
- Mamzer*, *mamzeret* 190
- Maror 53, 56n18, 59n30, 60–61n37
- Marriage 36–37, 40, 47n38, 48, 49n47, 75n74, 76n83, 80–82n98, 157–58, 161–64, 190–93, 194n92, 195n94, 245n43
- Mazah 52–55, 56n18, 57n22, 58–61n37, 63, 123n43
- Meir 2n5, 8, 12–13, 27n95, 33n12, 34n14, 36, 38n22, 179n66, 180, 182, 183n76, 184n77, 185–87
- Meiri 89n122, 97, 199n106, 212n139
- Messianic 125–26, 128–30n59, 132, 136–38
- Midrash(im) 2n5, 17, 21, 52–54, 56, 59n30, 63, 69n64, 89n23, 112n10, 125, 128, 133n69, 136, 139–141n80, 171n51, 172, 194n92, 196, 204n115, 206, 223n167, 240, 257, 260n16, 261
- Miriam 132, 151
- Mnemonic(s) 11, 13, 21, 29, 43, 64n54, 157, 164, 166n34, 173, 182n73, 183–85, 188, 196, 205–08, 258, 262
- Mnemotechnic 43n28
- Moab 115n16
- Moses, Moshe 32n6, 115n16, 117nn24–25, 118nn29–30, 129, 135–36, 140, 198n103
- Mother(s) 160n12, 161–62n15, 232, 236
- Muad(in)*, *muedet* 64, 66–67n57, 71–73, 173n57–80n67, 182–88n87, 221n159, 262–63
- Multilingualism 112n10
- Music 209n131, 210, 216, 220
- Nahman 227n181, 242n34
- Nat(h)an 9n25, 25n89, 26n90, 135–139n76
- Nehemiah 1n2, 15, 23, 24n84, 34n14, 222n165
- Niqanor 148–49n98, 263
- Oath(s) 40–43, 48, 136, 197, 198n100, 201, 204n117, 205n120, 206n122
- Omer* 8n23, 12, 97–107n168, 152n104, 229, 263

- Orality theory 3n9, 28–29, 34n15, 78–79n87, 251n54
- Oshaia 24n84, 26n89, 259
- Ox(en) 64, 164–65n24, 167–68n43, 169nn44, 46, 170–71, 173–79, 182n74, 183, 186
- Passover 50–52n7, 54–56n16, 58, 59nn30–31, 60, 61n39, 62–63, 100, 103, 125, 225n173
- Pegam* 75n75, 76–82n101, 84–85n108, 86n111
- Philo 58, 59n30
- Pig(s) 35, 73n71, 184
- Pit 64, 164–65, 167–71, 173
- Puberty 233–35n14, 241
- Qezazah* 245, 247, 252n56, 253
- Qumran 98nn147–48, 150, 111n9, 117, 119n31, 199n105
- Rape 76, 78–80n91
- Rashba 81n94, 82n100, 88n120, 91n126
- Rashi 86n111, 89n122, 93n129, 95n137, 96, 158n5, 169n45, 179n65, 180n67, 188n87, 223n167, 237, 238nn22, 24
- Rav 24n84, 92n128, 161n13, 165n26, 261n17
- Rava 86n111, 91n126, 155n107
- Ravina 86n111, 179, 180n67
- Redactor of Mishnah 12, 45, 9–14, 18, 19n65, 21–22, 23n81, 26–29, 35, 38–40n25, 43, 45n32, 46–50n2, 55–60, 61n41, 64, 70, 72–74, 83, 85–86n112, 92–93, 95–97, 103n159, 105–7n169, 109, 112n10, 113n13, 115n15, 116, 120n37, 121–25, 130, 132, 138, 141–42n82, 147, 149–52, 157, 162nn16–17, 163–64, 166, 170, 172–74, 182–85, 187, 194n92, 195–96, 201, 203–6, 220, 223, 225–27n180, 228n183, 229–31, 234–35, 236n17, 242, 249–52n56, 256–64
- Redemption 52n7, 53, 56–57, 128–31, 136, 138, 139n78
- Rehoboam 122n42
- Ritva 212n139, 238n22, 245n42, 247n49
- Sabbath 60, 62, 63n52, 86–92n128, 94n133, 95–107, 131n61, 134, 207, 208n129, 209, 211, 213–14n144, 217–21, 224, 226–30n189, 239n25, 243–44, 264
- Sadducean(s) 98n150, 99n152, 211n137
- Salvation(s) 52, 56, 61, 129–30, 132, 136, 138–41
- Samaria 110–11, 115, 122, 123n45
- Samaritan(s) 122, 123n43
- Sarah 129, 136, 139, 153, 154n106, 155n107
- Sarai 129, 135
- Sayings 16n57, 258
- Scribes 28, 166, 173, 185n79
- Scripture 125–26, 128, 135, 192
- Sect(s) 98, 111n9, 117, 122
- Sectarians 98n150, 230n189
- Seder(s) 11n36, 32n6, 33n7, 50–62, 125–26, 182n73, 186n81, 241, 262
- Shammai 7, 10n31, 48, 53, 60, 62, 87–90n124, 93–94, 234–41, 242n36
- Sharon 190, 192–93
- Shavuot 98n148, 106, 213–14, 225n173
- Shechem 110–11, 115, 118n28, 122–24n47
- Shema 19, 52n7, 126, 127n54, 130–32, 136–38, 142, 197, 198n100, 201–2, 204nn115–17, 205n120, 207n123, 263
- Shemini Azeret* 207n126, 225n172, 227n181
- Sherira 14–15n48, 23
- Sheshet 227n181
- Shewbread 149–52, 225n175
- Shibetha 237–38n24
- Shiloah 210, 211n137, 216n148, 219, 222n164, 228n182
- Shittah Mequbezet 76n83, 80n89, 94n135, 96
- Slave(s) 31, 44–45n32, 47, 49n45, 61n41, 77, 79, 80n90, 158n4, 246, 248–49, 251n54, 253, 262
- Solomon 135–36
- Stama degemara* 102n157, 199n104, 253n63, 257n4, 260n16, 264
- Steles 109n2, 112, 113n12, 115–21
- Symmachus 25n89
- Symposium 53–54n11
- Synagogue 4n12, 57n22, 63, 208n128

- Tamar 143–44
- Tarfon 61, 176, 178–79, 180n67, 183–84
- Temple 4, 5n14, 23n83, 51, 53, 56, 57n23, 58, 59n31, 60, 61n41, 62n41, 63, 97–99n153, 101–2, 104–5n164, 122n43, 145, 147–48, 149n99, 152n104, 199, 207, 208n127, 210–13n141, 214n144, 215–16n150, 217n152, 218n155, 220, 224–25, 226n179, 227, 228n182, 229–32, 267–68
- Tooth 64, 65n55, 66–68, 70–73, 171–72, 173n56, 175–76, 178–79, 180n67, 182n71, 186, 261n18, 262
- Tooth/Foot 164–65, 168, 169nn44, 46, 171–73n56
- Trumpet(s) 51, 208n128, 210–211n137, 213, 215–17, 220, 225, 228n182
- Ur-Mishnah 10n32, 17nn58, 60, 20–23n82, 24nn84, 87, 25–26, 29, 32, 33n11, 34–36, 38–40, 42–44, 46–47n38, 49–50, 59n33, 61n41, 96n139, 104n162, 112n10, 113n12, 114n15, 115, 145n88, 149n99, 150, 168n39, 182, 185–88, 201n112, 204n117, 208, 215n147, 225n176, 226n179, 228–29, 236n17, 255, 257, 258n8, 259–62, 264
- Virgin 80n90, 189, 242, 243n37, 244, 247n49, 252
- Virginity 80, 248
- Widow 189–90, 194n92, 195n94, 196
- Wife, wives 37–39, 44, 62, 63n48, 75–79n88, 80n92, 82n100, 83–85n108, 86nn111–12, 135, 152–55n107, 158–61, 163, 189–95, 243n38, 262–63
- Witness(es) 244, 248–49, 252
- Yannai 210n136
- Yavneh 51n7, 52n7, 63n49, 134
- Zoma, Ben 52n7, 125–26n53, 128–30n59, 132–33, 135–41n81

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Alphabetical Index

- Albani, M., J. Frey, A. Lange* (Ed.): *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*. 1997. *Volume 65*.
- Ameling, Walter*: *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis*. Vol. 2: Kleinasien. 2004. *Volume 99*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich*: *Tora und Leben*. 1996. *Volume 55*.
- Becker, A. H., A. Y. Reed* (Ed.): *The Ways that Never Parted*. 2003. *Volume 95*.
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen*: *Die großen rabbinischen Sammelwerke Palästinas*. 1999. *Volume 70*.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Bloedhorn, Hanswulf*: see *Noy, David*
- Cansdale, Lena*: *Qumran and the Essenes*. 1997. *Volume 60*.
- Chester, Andrew*: *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim*. 1986. *Volume 14*.
- Cohen, Martin Samuel*: *The Shi ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*. 1985. *Volume 9*.
- Crown, Alan D.*: *Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts*. 2001. *Volume 80*.
- Dochhorn, Jan*: *Die Apokalypse des Mose*. 2005. *Volume 106*.
- Doering, Lutz*: *Schabbat*. 1999. *Volume 78*.
- Ego, Beate*: *Targum Scheni zu Ester*. 1996. *Volume 54*.
- Ehrlich, Uri*: *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer*. 2004. *Volume 105*.
- Engel, Anja*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Frey, J.*: see *Albani, M.*
- Frick, Peter*: *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria*. 1999. *Volume 77*.
- Gibson, E. Leigh*: *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosphorus Kingdom*. 1999. *Volume 75*.
- Gleßner, Uwe*: *Einleitung in die Targume zum Pentateuch*. 1995. *Volume 48*.
- Goldberg, Arnold*: *Mystik und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums. Gesammelte Studien I*. Ed. by *M. Schlüter* and *P. Schäfer*. 1997. *Volume 61*.
- *Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung. Gesammelte Studien II*. Ed. by *M. Schlüter* and *P. Schäfer*. 1999. *Volume 73*.
- Goodblatt, David*: *The Monarchic Principle*. 1994. *Volume 38*.
- Grözinger, Karl*: *Musik und Gesang in der Theologie der frühen jüdischen Literatur*. 1982. *Volume 3*.
- Gruenwald, I., Sh. Shaked* and *G. G. Stroumsa* (Ed.): *Messiah and Christos. Presented to David Flusser*. 1992. *Volume 32*.
- Halperin, David J.*: *The Faces of the Chariot*. 1988. *Volume 16*.
- Hauptman, Judith*: *Rereading the Mishnah*. 2005. *Volume 109*.
- Hayman, A. Peter*: *Sefer Yesira*. 2004. *Volume 104*.
- Herrmann, Klaus* (Ed.): *Massekhet Hekhalot*. 1994. *Volume 39*.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Herzer, Jens*: *Die Paralipomena Jeremiae*. 1994. *Volume 43*.
- Hezser, Catherine*: *Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin*. 1993. *Volume 37*.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. 1997. *Volume 66*.
- Hezser, Catherine* (Ed.): *Rabbinic Law in its Roman and Near Eastern Context*. 2003. *Volume 97*.
- Hirschfelder, Ulrike*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Horbury, W.*: see *Krauss, Samuel*
- Houtman, Alberdina*: *Mishnah und Tosefta*. 1996. *Volume 59*.
- Ilan, Tal*: *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine*. 1995. *Volume 44*.
- *Integrating Jewish Woman into Second Temple History*. 1999. *Volume 76*.
- *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*. 2002. *Volume 91*.
- Instone Brewer, David*: *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE*. 1992. *Volume 30*.
- Ipta, Kerstin*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Jacobs, Martin*: *Die Institution des jüdischen Patriarchen*. 1995. *Volume 52*.
- Kasher, Aryeh*: *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. 1985. *Volume 7*.

- Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs. 1988. *Volume 18.*
- Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel. 1990. *Volume 21.*
- Knittel, Thomas:* Das griechische ‚Leben Adams und Evas‘. 2002. *Volume 88.*
- Krauss, Samuel:* The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the earliest times to 1789. Vol.I. Ed. by *W. Horbury*. 1996. *Volume 56.*
- Kuhn, Peter:* Offenbarungsstimmen im Antiken Judentum. 1989. *Volume 20.*
- Kuyt, Annelies:* The ‚Descent‘ to the Chariot. 1995. *Volume 45.*
- Lange, A.:* see *Albani, M.*
- Lange, Nicholas de:* Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah. 1996. *Volume 51.*
- Lehnardt, Andreas:* Qaddish. 2002. *Volume 87.*
- Leonhardt, Jutta:* Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria. 2001. *Volume 84.*
- Lohmann, Uta:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Loopik, M. van* (Transl. a. comm.): The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World. 1991. *Volume 26.*
- Luttkhuizen, Gerard P.:* The Revelation of Elchasai. 1985. *Volume 8.*
- Mach, Michael:* Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit. 1992. *Volume 34.*
- Mendels, Doron:* The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature. 1987. *Volume 15.*
- Moscovitz, Leib:* Talmudic Reasoning. 2002. *Volume 89.*
- Mutius, Georg von:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Necker, Gerold:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Noy, David / Panayotov, Alexander / Bloedhorn, Hanswulf:* Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. Volume 1: Eastern Europe. 2004. *Volume 101.*
- Noy, David / Bloedhorn, Hanswulf:* Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. Volume 3: Syria and Cyprus. 2004. *Volume 102.*
- Olyan, Saul M.:* A Thousand Thousands Served Him. 1993. *Volume 36.*
- Oppenheimer, Aharon:* Between Rome and Babylon. 2005. *Volume 108.*
- Orlov, Andrei A.:* The Enoch-Metatron Tradition. 2005. *Volume 107.*
- Otterbach, Rina:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Panayotov, Alexander:* see *Noy, David*
- Prigent, Pierre:* Le Judaïsme et l’image. 1990. *Volume 24.*
- Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam:* Jewish Rights in the Roman World. 1998. *Volume 74.*
- Pummer, Reinhard:* Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism. 2002. *Volume 92.*
- Reed, A. Y.:* see *Becker, A. H.*
- Reeg, Gottfried* (Ed.): Die Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyrern. 1985. *Volume 10.*
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Renner, Lucie:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Reichman, Ronen:* Sifra und Mishna. 1998. *Volume 68.*
- Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Salvesen, A. (Ed.):* Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments. 1998. *Volume 58.*
- Samely, Alexander:* The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums. 1992. *Volume 27.*
- Schäfer, Peter:* Der Bar-Kokhba-Aufstand. 1981. *Volume 1.*
- Hekhalot-Studien. 1988. *Volume 19.*
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur. 1984. *Volume 6.*
- The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered. 2003. *Volume 100.*
- see *Goldberg, Arnold*
- in cooperation with *Klaus Herrmann, Rina Otterbach, Gottfried Reeg, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Guido Weyer:* Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur. Band 1: 1986. *Volume 12.*
- Band 2: 1988. *Volume 13.*
- Schäfer, Peter, Margarete Schlüter, Hans Georg von Mutius* (Ed.): Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur. 1981. *Volume 2.*
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.) in cooperation with *Hans-Jürgen Becker, Klaus Herrmann, Ulrike Hirschfelder, Gerold Necker, Lucie Renner, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Stefan Siebers:* Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur. Band 1: §§ 1–80. 1995. *Volume 46.*
- Band 2: §§ 81–334. 1987. *Volume 17.*
- Band 3: §§ 335–597. 1989. *Volume 22.*
- Band 4: §§ 598–985. 1991. *Volume 29.*

- Schäfer, Peter, and Hans-Jürgen Becker (Ed.) in cooperation with Anja Engel, Kerstin Ipta, Gerold Necker, Uta Lohmann, Martina Urban, Gert Wildensee: Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi. Band I/1–2: 1991. *Volume 31*.
- Band I/3–5: 1992. *Volume 33*.
 - Band I/6–11: 1992. *Volume 35*.
 - Band III: 1998. *Volume 67*.
 - Band IV: 1995. *Volume 47*.
- Schäfer, Peter, and Shaul Shaked (Ed.): Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza. Band 1: 1994. *Volume 42*
- Band 2: 1997. *Volume 64*.
 - Band 3: 1999. *Volume 72*.
- Schäfer, Peter (Ed.): The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture I. 1998. *Volume 71*.
- Schäfer, Peter and Hezser, Catherine (Ed.): The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture II. 2000. *Volume 79*.
- Schäfer, Peter (Ed.): The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture III. 2003. *Volume 93*.
- Schlüter, Margarete: see Goldberg, Arnold
- see Schäfer, Peter
- Schmidt, Francis: Le Testament Grec d'Abraham. 1986. *Volume 11*.
- Schröder, Bernd: Die ‚väterlichen Gesetze‘. 1996. *Volume 53*.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.: Agrippa I. 1990. *Volume 23*.
- Schwemer, Anna Maria: Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden. Vitae Prophetarum Band I: 1995. *Volume 49*.
- Band II (mit Beiheft: Synopse zu den Vitae Prophetarum): 1996. *Volume 50*.
- Shahar, Yuval: Josephus Geographicus. 2004. *Volume 98*.
- Shaked, Shaul: see Gruenwald, I.
- see Schäfer, Peter
- Shatzman, Israel: The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod. 1991. *Volume 25*.
- Siebers, Stefan: see Schäfer, Peter
- Sivertsev, Alexei: Private Households and Public Politics in 3rd – 5th Century Jewish Palestine. 2002. *Volume 90*.
- Spilsbury, Paul: The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible. 1998. *Volume 69*.
- Stroumsa, G.G.: see Gruenwald, I.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T.: The Book of Giants from Qumran. 1997. *Volume 63*.
- Swartz, Michael D.: Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism. 1992. *Volume 28*.
- Sysling, Harry: Tehiyyat Ha-Metim. 1996. *Volume 57*.
- Urban, Martina: see Schäfer, Peter
- Veltri, Giuseppe: Eine Tora für den König Talmai. 1994. *Volume 41*.
- Magie und Halakha. 1997. *Volume 62*.
- Visotzky, Burton L.: Golden Bells and Pomegranates. 2003. *Volume 94*.
- The Ways that Never Parted. 2003. *Volume 96*.
- Wandrey, Irina: „Das Buch des Gewandes“ und „Das Buch des Aufrechten“. 2004. *Volume 96*.
- Weyer, Guido: see Schäfer, Peter
- Wewers, Gerd A.: Probleme der Bavot-Traktate. 1984. *Volume 5*.
- Wildensee, Gert: see Schäfer, Peter
- Wilson, Walter T.: The Mysteries of Rigtheousness. 1994. *Volume 40*.

