

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

30

David Instone Brewer

Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

30

Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE

by
David Instone Brewer



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Instone Brewer, David:

Techniques and assumptions in Jewish exegesis before 70 CE /

by David Instone Brewer. – Tübingen : Mohr, 1992

(Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum ; 30)

ISBN 3-16-145803-6

NE: GT

978-3-16-158694-1 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

© 1992 J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, D-7400 Tübingen.

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 typeset by Typobauer, Scharnhausen using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Gebr. Buhl in Ettlingen and bound by Heinrich Koch in Tübingen.

ISSN 0721-8753

Preface

This book was originally submitted as a PhD thesis at Cambridge, England. I would like to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement of Dr William Horbury of whose breadth of knowledge I have yet to discover the limits. He is truly “a plastered cistern which loses not a drop” (mAv.2.8). His suggestions have been acknowledged occasionally, but every page has been influenced by his careful and balanced scholarship.

I would also like to thank Barnabus Lindars and Raphael Loewe for their careful reading of the complete text. I have followed Raphael Loewe’s advice about translation of Mishnaic Hebrew at many points, but the literal and ‘un-English’ translation style is my own. This style is intended to facilitate the recognition of rabbinic formulae and to help those who are not very familiar with Hebrew to follow the original text. Martin Hengel and Nicholas De Lange also kindly read large portions of this work and their comments have resulted in much rethinking and enrichment.

I would like to thank the Trustees of the Baptist Union Scholarship Fund and the Tyndale Fellowship for financial assistance.

My wife, Enid, has proof-read the whole work and Sharon Rice corrected the final manuscript. Their help was invaluable and I doubt that I could have finished the task without them.

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	V
<i>Foreword</i>	1
<i>General Introduction</i>	2
The term “Scribes”	2
The term “Midrash”	3
Previous Studies	4
Origins of the Middoth	5

Part I: Exegeses in Scribal Traditions

I.1.0	<i>Introduction to Scribal Traditions</i>	11
I.1.1	Sources of the scribal traditions	11
I.1.2	Text, Translation and Notes	12
I.1.3	Analysis of the Traditions	13
I.1.4	Modes of Exegesis	14
I.1.4a	– Peshat	14
I.1.4b	– Nomological	15
I.1.4c	– Ultra-literal	15
I.1.4d	– Derash	16
I.1.5	Techniques of Exegesis	17
I.1.5a	– Qal vaHomer	17
I.1.5b	– Gezerah Shavah I	17
I.1.5c	– Gezerah Shavah II	18
I.1.5d	– Heqesh	18
I.1.5e	– Binyan Ab	19
I.1.5f	– Contradiction	19
I.1.5g	– Extension and Limitation	19
I.1.5h	– Unusual Form	20
I.1.5i	– Mashal	20
I.1.5j	– Order	20

I.1.5k	– Wordplay	20
I.1.5l	– No Redundancy	21
I.1.5m	– Precedent	21
I.1.5n	– Reductio ad Absurdum	21
I.1.5o	– Logical Inconsistency	21
I.1.5p	– Pragmatism	21
I.1.5q	– Prophetic Fulfilment	22
I.1.5r	– Symbolism	22
I.1.5s	– Atomisation	22
I.1.5t	– Allegory	22
I.1.5u	– Amalgamation	22
I.2	<i>Exegeses by Named Authorities</i>	23
I.2.1	Simeon the Just: The Nazarites	23
I.2.2	Simeon b.Shetah: Honi the Circler	25
I.2.3	Simeon b.Shetah & Judah b.Tabai: False witnesses	25
I.2.4	Simeon b.Shetah & Judah b.Tabai: A single witness	26
I.2.5	Simeon b.Shetah: King Yannai's feast	26
I.2.6	Simeon b.Shetah: King Yannai's trial	29
I.2.7	Shemaiah & Abtalion: "For whose sake?"	31
I.2.8	Judah b.Durtai: Hagigah on Sabbath	31
I.2.9	Shammai: The sender is guilty	32
I.2.10	Shammai: Remember/Keep the Sabbath	33
I.2.11	Shammai: Sue for peace for three days	33
I.2.12	Shammai: Besieging on the Sabbath	35
I.2.13	Hillel: "For three things..."	35
I.2.14	Hillel: Itch within baldness	36
I.2.15	Hillel: Prozbul	37
I.2.16	Hillel: Corpse within water	38
I.2.17	Hillel: Time to laugh, weep, scatter, gather	39
I.2.18	Hillel: Passover on Sabbath	41
I.2.19	Hillel: Feet lead to the Temple	50
I.2.20	Hillel: "If we are here, who is here?"	51
I.2.21	Hillel: A cry from afar	52
I.2.22	Hillel: Self-abasement exalts	53
I.2.23	Hillel: Disciple Yohanan b.Zakkai	53
I.2.24	Hillel & Bar Hé Hé: Forgotten offerings	54
I.2.25	Hillel & Bar Hé Hé: The righteous and wicked	56
I.2.26	Ben Bag Bag: Second Tithe purchases	57
I.2.27	Ben Bag Bag: Tamid examined 4 days	58
I.2.28	Ben Bag Bag: Redeem only with a lamb	59
I.2.29	Baba b.Buta: Imprisoned by Herod	59
I.2.30	Gamaliel I: God jealous of inferiors	63
I.2.31	Gamaliel I: Do not destroy altars	64

I.2.32	Gamaliel I: Two Toroth	65
I.2.33	Simeon b.Gamaliel I: A beautiful woman	66
I.2.34	Hananiah the Priest: Peace to the Temple	67
I.2.35	Hananiah the Priest: Peace is great	67
I.2.36	Hananiah the Priest: Rewards of Torah	68
I.2.37	Hananiah the Priest: Rulers cast off the yoke	69
I.2.38	Eliezer b.Hananiah: Diverse Ephahs	70
I.2.39	Eliezer b.Hananiah: Remember the Sabbath	71
I.2.40	Judah b.Bathyra: Betrothed eat with priests	71
I.2.41	Judah b.Bathyra: Undesignated gifts	72
I.2.42	Judah b.Bathyra: Meal offering in left hand	73
I.2.43	Judah b.Bathyra: Water libation	74
I.2.44	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Do not destroy altars	75
I.2.45	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Two Toroth	76
I.2.46	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Bitter waters ceased	77
I.2.47	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Temple door opened	77
I.2.48	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Vespasian to be King	79
I.2.49	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Murdering ox stoned	80
I.2.50	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Total number of Levites	82
I.2.51	Yohanan b.Zakkai: Valuing the half-shekels	85
I.3	<i>Exegeses by Pharisees and Sadducees</i>	88
I.3.1	Eternal rewards	88
I.3.2	Uncleanness of Scripture	90
I.3.3	Unbroken stream	93
I.3.4	Damage by slave or ox	94
I.3.5	Name of God and ruler	95
I.3.6	Inheriting granddaughter	96
I.3.7	Saying the Name before bathing	100
I.3.8	Atonement Incense	101
I.3.9	Cleansing the Lamp	104
I.3.10	Death of false witnesses	104
I.3.11	Oral and written Torah	106
I.3.12	Date of Feast of Weeks	109
I.3.13	Eat meal offering with ox	111
I.3.14	Payment for public offerings	114
I.3.15	Skins for Tefillin	115
I.3.16	The Temple Court cries out	118
I.4	<i>Exegeses by Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai</i>	118
I.4.1	Examine Phylacteries	118
I.4.2	Using entrusted goods	120
I.4.3	Between the evenings	124

I.4.4	Work finished by Sabbath	125
I.4.5	81st day abortion	126
I.4.6	4th year grape gleanings	130
I.4.7	Pilgrim offering on Festival (a)	131
I.4.8	Guarded Sabbatical crop	132
I.4.9	Fringes	134
I.4.10	First fleece of a flock	135
I.4.11	Reasons for a divorce	136
I.4.12	Attitude for Shema	138
I.4.13	Incorrect heave offerings	139
I.4.14	Who goes up to Jerusalem	140
I.4.15	Minimum number of children	142
I.4.16	Half-bondservant	143
I.4.17	Eternity for nearly righteous	145
I.4.18	Tassels on linen coat	146
I.4.19	Blessing for lights	147
I.4.20	Honour Sabbath every day	149
I.4.21	Pilgrim offering on Festival (b)	150
I.4.22	The order of creation	152
I.4.23	Complimenting the bride	154
I.4.24	Offering from harlots' wages	155
I.4.25	"Dust" to cover blood	156
I.4.26	"Lamb" as sin	157
I.5	<i>Techniques in Scribal Exegesis</i>	159
I.5.1	Frequencies of Modes and Techniques used	159
I.5.2	Comparison between different groups	160
I.5.3	Conclusion: a homogeneous corpus of exegeses	161
I.6	<i>Assumptions in Scribal Exegesis</i>	163
I.6.1	The Nomological approach to Scripture	163
I.6.2	Five assumptions in scribal exegeses:	165
I.6.2.1	– Scripture is totally self-consistent	165
I.6.2.2	– Every detail in Scripture is significant	166
I.6.2.3	– Scripture is read according to its context	167
I.6.2.4	– Scripture does not have a secondary meaning	169
I.6.2.5	– There is only one valid text form of Scripture	170
I.6.3	Conclusions: Scribal exegesis is Nomological	171
I.7	<i>Comparison of Scribal with Rabbinic Exegesis</i>	172
I.7.1	Texts removed from context	172
I.7.2	Multiple interpretations of single texts	172
I.7.3	Exegesis based on variant or altered readings	173

Part II:
Exegesis in Non-Scribal Traditions

II.1	<i>Introduction to Non-Scribal Exegesis</i>	177
II.2	<i>Exegesis in Ancient Texts and Translations</i>	178
II.2.1	Masoretic Text	178
II.2.2	Targumim	178
II.2.3	Septuagint and Old Greek	180
II.3	<i>Exegesis of the Dorshe Reshumot and Dorshe Hamurot</i> . . .	181
II.4	<i>Exegesis in Josephus</i>	183
II.4.1	Sources of his traditions	183
II.4.2	Influence of his background	184
II.4.3	Attitude towards Scripture	185
II.4.4	Techniques of Exegesis	185
II.4.4a	– Etymology	186
II.4.4b	– Allegory	186
II.4.4c	– Typology	186
II.5	<i>Exegesis at Qumran</i>	187
II.5.1	Dating the documents	187
II.5.2	Techniques of Exegesis	189
II.5.2a	– Brownlee's 13 'principles'	189
II.5.2b	– An example	190
II.5.3	Origin of the exegetical techniques	192
II.5.3a	– Apocalyptic dream interpretations	192
II.5.3b	– Targumim	193
II.5.3c	– Philo	194
II.5.3d	– Scribes	195
II.5.4	Assumptions underlying exegesis	196
II.5.4a	– Scripture requires inspired exegesis	196
II.5.4b	– Scripture has no single valid text form	197
II.5.5	Conclusions: Qumran exegesis is Inspirational	198
II.6	<i>Exegesis in Philo</i>	198
II.6.1	Techniques of exegesis	198
II.6.1a	– Siegfried's 23 'Rules'	199
II.6.1b	– Allegory	200
II.6.1c	– An example	200
II.6.2	Origins of the exegetical techniques	201
II.6.2a	– Jewish influence:	202
II.6.2a.i	– Did Philo know Hebrew?	202
II.6.2a.ii	– Did Philo know Palestinian Halakah?	202

II.6.2a.iii	– Did Philo know Palestinian Haggadah?	203
II.6.2b	– Hellenistic influence	204
II.6.2c	– Sources used by Philo	205
II.6.2c.i	– Therapeutae and Essenes	205
II.6.2c.ii	– Aristobulus and Aristeas	205
II.6.2c.iii	– Allegorists and literalists	205
II.6.2c.iv	– Etymological source	207
II.6.2c.v	– Other sources	208
II.6.3	Assumptions underlying exegesis	208
II.6.3a	– Scripture requires inspired exegesis	208
II.6.3b	– The Septuagint is a valid form of Scripture	209
II.6.4	Conclusions: Philonic exegesis is Inspirational	210
II.7	<i>Techniques and Assumptions in Non-scribal Exegesis</i>	212
II.7.1	The Inspirational approach has five assumptions:	212
II.7.1.1&2	Every detail is consistent and significant	213
II.7.1.3	Scripture may be interpreted contrary to context	213
II.7.1.4	Scripture has secondary meanings	213
II.7.1.5	Variant texts and translations are inspired	214
II.7.2	Dorshe Reshumot /Hamurot and Josephus	214
II.7.3	Apocalyptic literature	215
II.7.4	Samaritan literature	215
II.7.5	Ancient texts and translations	215
II.7.6	Conclusion: Non-scribal exegesis is Inspirational	215
II.8	<i>Comparison of Non-scribal with Scribal Exegesis</i>	215
II.8.1	Reasons for scribal rejection of inspired exegesis	216
II.8.1.1	– Their opponents demanded it?	216
II.8.1.2	– They were ignorant of non-scribal techniques?	216
II.8.1.2a	– No: they knew different texts and translations	217
II.8.1.2b	– They knew about prophetic inspiration	217
II.8.2	Non-scribes also knew about Nomological exegesis	219
II.8.3	Both approaches were coherent and could co-exist	220
II.8.4	Typology at the interface of both approaches	220
II.8.5	Conclusions: Co-existed before 70 CE	221
III	Conclusions	222
III.1	Summary of this study	222
III.2	Points of contact with previous studies	223
III.3	Implications of this study	224
III.4	Final conclusion	225
Appendix 1: Lists of Middoth		226
Ap.1.1	7 Middoth of Hillel	226

Ap.1.2	13 Middoth of Ishmael	227
Ap.1.3	32 Middoth of Eliezer bJose haGelili	228
Appendix 2: Summary of Scribal Exegeses		232
Bibliography & Abbreviations		242
Bib.1	Standard texts transcribed	242
Bib.2	Abbreviations	242
Bib.3	Works referred to in this study	248
	– Texts and Translations	248
	– Other works referred to	252
Indexes		
Index of Subjects		280
Index of Modern Authors		288
Index of References		291

Foreword

G.F. Moore (1927 I:249f.) characterised Jewish exegesis as:
“atomistic exegesis which interprets sentences, clauses, phrases and even single words independently of the context or the historical occasion, . . . combines them with other similarly detached utterances and makes use of analogy of expressions, often by purely verbal association”.

He added that:

“The interpretation of the Scriptures in the New Testament is of precisely the same kind.”.

Sixty years later most scholars still agree with his assessment, and the consequences are profound. R.N. Longenecker (1987:8), having repeated Moore’s conclusions, warns that we cannot therefore emulate the NT exegetical methods:

“Let us admit that we cannot possibly reproduce the revelatory stance of pesher interpretation, nor the atomistic manipulations of midrash, nor the circumstantial or *ad hominem* thrust of a particular polemic of that day – nor should we try.”

The results of the present study show that the predecessors of the rabbis before 70 CE did not interpret Scripture out of context, did not look for any meaning in Scripture other than the plain sense, and did not change the text to fit their interpretation, though the later rabbis did all these things.

If the conclusions of this work are correct it demands a fresh examination of the New Testament, which may yet provide a model for the modern exegete.

General Introduction

The backbone of this study is a survey of exegeses preserved in rabbinic literature which are likely to have originated before 70 CE. These exegeses have been analysed with regard to their exegetical techniques and assumptions. The conclusions from this survey are compared with the exegesis of contemporary Jews, particularly in Alexandria and Qumran.

The exegetical techniques and assumptions used by the Jews of the late Second Temple Period should help us to understand the exegesis of the Old Testament in the New.

The term “Scribes” will be used in this study to refer to authorities before 70 CE who were regarded by the rabbis as their predecessors. This term is used simply as a short-hand way of referring to a group which has no distinct name and which is very difficult to define. It does not imply that all the exegeses in rabbinic traditions from before 70 CE come from Scribes or that the Scribes of this period are linked with the Scribes or Sopherim of the Great Assembly associated with Ezra, although both may be the case.

Although the Tannaim themselves did not use the term ‘Scribe’ [סופר] (G.G. Porton 1986: 60), it is possible that it was used by the Amoraim to refer to early Tannaim. The phrase “words of the Scribes” is used frequently to refer to anonymous pre-mishnaic rulings (references in Schürer 1973 III:324f.) which can be as late as Beth Hillel (yBer.1.3a), and which were regarded as Oral Law (mSanh.11.3; bEr.21b). It is therefore possible, as S. Safrai (1987c:148–153) and J. Jeremias (1964) conclude, that the rabbis used ‘Scribe’ and ‘Sage’ synonymously when referring to the period before 70 CE.

It is also likely that the Scribes were the main exegetes of the Law before 70 CE (E.E. Urbach 1957). The Scribes were a profession rather than a religious party because there were ‘Scribes of the Pharisees’ (Mk.2.16 cf. Lk.5.30; Act.23.9), Scribes who were Zealots (War.2.17.8f.(433,445)) and presumably Sadducean Scribes, although there were probably very few of the latter. M. Black (1962) suggested on the basis of Mk.7.1ff. that the Scribes represented the majority of the Jerusalem Pharisees, and therefore led the party. Neusner (1973c) has also suggested that the predecessors of the rabbis included the Scribes, in order to explain the origin of the common rabbinic

theme that Torah study is equivalent to worship, which is not found in any Pharisaic traditions.

This does not of course suggest that the non-scribal Pharisees were not exegetes, nor that the Scribes always taught halakah based on Scripture. However the Scribes were clearly more important than mere copyists because they are often pictured as leaders of the people (IMacc.7.12; IIMacc.6.18; Ecclus.38.24ff.; War.2.433[17.8]) and they were known as teachers or interpreters of the Law (Lk.5.17; Act.5.24; War.1.648[33.2] = Ant.17.149[6.2]).

The links between the scribes of the late Second Temple and those of the time of the Great Assembly are more difficult to assess. These scribes or 'Sopherim' are generally attributed with the emendations of the Torah, both those listed (GenR.59.7 etc) and those inferred (M. Fishbane 1985) and even with the beginnings of the Masorah (I. Harris 1888, M.J. Mulder 1988b), while some scholars have regarded them as primarily exegetes (e.g. Lauterbach 1914-). However they should probably be regarded separately from the later scribes, if only because the early scribes were primarily priests (E.E. Urbach 1975: 568-71).

However, the use of the term "scribe" in the present study does not imply any conclusions concerning the ancient Sopherim, the NT Scribes or even the rabbinic 'words of the Scribes'. It is used merely as a way of distinguishing between the rabbis after 70 CE and those whom they regarded as their predecessors.

Jewish exegesis is usually termed midrash, but this has a variety of definitions. The traditional Rabbinic Midrashim are late collections of individual exegeses which are attributed to the Scribes, Tannaim, and Amoraim, but most of which are anonymous. In modern times the term has become used in two senses: to describe a method of exegesis, and to describe the genre of literature which employs this method.

R. Bloch (1957, following L. Zunz 1892) characterised the midrashic method as exegesis of Jewish Scripture which is homiletic (i.e. popular, not academic), attentive to the text, and which 'actualises' Scripture so that it addresses the text to the problems of the present. She identified this not only in the traditional Midrashim but in many types of Jewish literature such as the OT itself, the ancient translations such as the LXX and Targumim, the OT Apocrypha including especially the Apocalyptic literature, the NT and all Rabbinic exegetical haggadic and halakic literature.

A.G. Wright (1966) refined the characterisation of the midrash method in order to define the literary genre of Midrash (see also E.E. Ellis 1969, B.S. Childs 1972, G.G. Porton 1981, A. Goldberg 1985). He pointed out that Bloch's characterisation was so broad that almost all Jewish literature could be described as midrashic. He distinguished between citations or allusions which were made for the sake of the text which was referred to and

those which were made for the sake of the text being created. Those which were made for the sake of the text being referred to attempted to elucidate the message of that text and could properly be called midrash, but those which used a text merely to provide Scriptural language or imagery for the sake of the text being created were better called the 'Anthological' style (as characterised by A. Robert 1957).

However, as R. Le Déaut (1969) pointed out, these attempts at defining literary genres has not resulted in much greater understanding of the mentality behind them. Bloch succeeded in highlighting the inter-relations between different types of Jewish exegetical literature (which has spurred much fruitful work – G. Vermes 1961), but the genre, even after being refined by Wright, was still too broad and appeared to contain a variety of different genres. Le Déaut suggested that the underlying assumptions represented the real sub-divisions in the literature. M. Kadushin identified the pursuit of such assumptions as the new trend in rabbinic research set by I. Heinemann's *the Methods of the Haggadah* (M. Kadushin 1951) and his own work (1952) set out to clarify how the Rabbis thought rather than what they did with the text.

The present work attempts to compare and contrast the assumptions concerning Scripture behind the exegeses of the Scribes with those of contemporary Jews, by examining the specific hermeneutic techniques employed by them.

Studies of rabbinic exegetical techniques have rarely taken into account the dating of the source materials. Such studies are mainly concerned with the collection and illustration of the Middoth, or "Rules" of exegesis. The very first of these studies can be said to be that attributed to R. Eliezer b.R. Yose the Galilean (mid. 2nd C.), which consists of a list of 32 middoth, including the 7 rules attributed to Hillel (1st C. BCE) and the additional rules in the list of 13 attributed to R. Ishmael (early-mid. 2nd C. CE) The original list of 32 middoth may possibly be Tannaitic (as H.G. Enelow 1933 argues) but the commentary which explains and illustrates them is certainly much later. The total number of middoth recognised in rabbinic sources continued to grow, so that Malbim (R. Meir Loeb ben Yehiel Michael, 1809–1880), in his commentary on the Sifra, was able to make them number 613 to agree with the number of precepts in the Torah (H.L. Strack 1931:93; W.S. Towner 1982:130).

Modern studies include the important ground-work by H.S. Hirschfeld (1840:123ff., 1847:382ff.), W. Bacher's *Die Agadah der Tannaiten* (1884) and *Die Exegetische Terminologie* (1905 cf. also W. Bacher 1902,1904), A. Schwarz's works on Talmudic exegesis (1897,1901, 1909,1913,1916), sections on the middoth in introductions to the Talmud by M. Mielziner (1968, 1st ed. 1894) and by H.L. Strack (1931, 1st ed. 1887), and useful contribu-

tions by J.Z. Lauterbach (1904b, 1905, 1906a), L. Jacobs (1971a–b, 1973, 1984) and others (e.g. D. Hoffmann 1903, J. Weingreen 1951, W.S. Towner 1982).

Recently the middoth have been neglected while the wealth of Qumran and targumic material has been explored. These studies have highlighted the wider context in which rabbinic exegesis existed, suggesting that at least some of the middoth were used by Jewish exegetes long before Hillel, and that the Jews learnt them from the Hellenistic world (J.Z. Lauterbach 1910–, D. Daube 1949, 1953, 1961, 1980a, S. Lieberman 1950: 47ff., F. Maass 1955, E.E. Halevi 1959, 1961, H.A. Fishel 1973, H. Dorrie 1974) or even from the Ancient Near East (F. Maass 1955, J. Koenig 1982: 379ff., S. Lieberman 1950: 75f., M. Fishbane 1985).

However, by the first century these middoth were thoroughly Judaised and evidence for at least some of them has been found in the Targumim (J.W. Bowker 1969, G.J. Brooke 1985: 25ff.), the Qumran texts (G.J. Brooke 1985, W.H. Brownlee 1951, L.H. Silberman 1961), Philo (Z. Frankel 1854: 33ff., C. Siegfried 1875 p168ff.), the Septuagint (J. Koenig 1982) and the Old Testament (M. Fishbane 1985, I.L. Seeligman 1953, G.R. Driver 1960, J. Weingreen 1976).

These and many other studies which illustrate the close relationships between the Targumim, Qumran literature, Philo, and later Midrashim (e.g. G. Vermes 1969b, 1975, D. Rokeah 1968), demonstrate that the interest in midrash (i.e. exegesis) is at least as old as the interest in Mishnah (i.e. the collection of halakot), and the work in the Hebrew Bible summarised by M. Fishbane (1985) pushes back the origins of both activities to at least the Exile.

This lays to rest the debate concerning the priority of mishnah or midrash, in which S. Zeitlin and J.Z. Lauterbach represented opposing viewpoints. Zeitlin (e.g. 1953) argued that midrash was a later justification from Scripture of halakot which had been established by custom, while Lauterbach (e.g. 1914–) replied that the Pharisees had introduced midrash as a method for deriving new halakot to supplant the Sadducean traditions. J. Neusner has given support to both sides, arguing both that form-critically the Midrashim must be considered later than the Mishnah (e.g. 1984) but also that large portions of Mishnah are founded on Scripture (e.g. 1975b, 1980a), although some are manifestly not (R.S. Sarason 1980). Ultimately this is a ‘chicken and egg’ question: exegesis produces new halakot, and new halakot provoke exegesis, and it is meaningless to discuss which one has the priority or to determine the time when either of them emerged.

The origin of the middoth is still a subject of debate. The traditional view that these middoth were introduced to Israel by Hillel has been energetically defended in different ways and to different degrees by A. Kaminka (1926:

Hillel learned them during time spent in Alexandria), I. Sonne (1945, after A. Geiger 1857: Hillel introduced them in order to establish the Oral Torah on Scripture and deflect Sadducean criticism) Daube (1949: Hillel learned them from his teachers Shemaiah and Abtalion who spent time in Alexandria, or from the Sadducees who were open to Hellenistic influence), L. Jacobs (1961: criticising especially Schwarz's comparisons of the first three middoth with Aristotelian logical methods), S. Zeitlin (1961, 1963: Hillel gave the names to techniques already present in Scripture), and A. Guttman (1970: 74ff.: Hillel introduced Scriptural exegesis during the leadership vacuum created by Herod's massacre of the Sanhedrin).

However there is little reason to regard the attributions of the lists of 7 middoth to Hillel or the 13 middoth to Ishmael as historical.

Hillel is supposed to have introduced his seven middoth after using them to prove to the Bene Bathyra that Passover over-rides the Sabbath prohibitions. However the tradition recording this dispute with the Bene Bathyra (tPis.4.13) and the list of his seven middoth (tSanh.7.11) are clearly separate traditions, because they are recorded separately in pre-Talmudic sources and because they preserve different versions of his opponents' title ("Bathyra" in tPis, "Pathyra" in tSanh). The Passover dispute is also unsuitable for demonstrating the use of the seven middoth because Hillel uses only two of the seven (Qal vaHomer and Gezerah Shavah) to prove his point, as well as one rule which is not in the list (Heqesh). This dispute was probably chosen because it is the only one in which Hillel used any of the rules attributed to him.

Ishmael's list of middoth poses similar problems because, as M. Chernick (1980) and G. Porton (1976- IV:160ff.) demonstrated, in all the numerous exegeses preserved in Ishmael's name, only six of the 13 rules attributed to him are employed while many others which are not in his list *are* used, including some rules which were espoused by his 'opponent' Aqiva.

It therefore seems likely that these lists of middoth did not originate with Hillel and Ishmael. It would appear that these lists represent either a justification of these middoth by attribution to a former authority, or a gross simplification of the methods and principles of these two famous promoters of biblical exegesis. However this does not mean that these rules were later inventions nor that they were unknown to Hillel or Ishmael.

S.K. Mirsky (1967) suggested that Hillel may not have invented the middoth, but that he systematised them. W.S. Towner (1982) and Brooke (1985: 12f.) suggested that these lists represent a growing acceptance and recognition of exegetical techniques by the authorities. Many more techniques were known and used by Jewish exegetes, but only these few were officially sanctioned. These techniques would have been learned from contact with Hellenistic and other influences, and would have been developed by the homiletic preachers of the Synagogue in Palestine and the Diaspora.

This conclusion, that the lists of middoth represent a limited acceptance of

a widespread use of many different exegetical techniques, means that it is almost impossible to pinpoint the origin of these techniques, and that the best way to discover which ones were actually used is not by studying the lists of middoth but the exegeses themselves. The purpose of the following survey of Scribal exegesis is therefore not to discover what exegetical methods were known to the Scribes, but which ones were being *used*. This will provide an insight into their underlying exegetical assumptions.

Part I

Exegeses in Scribal Traditions

Index

Index of Subjects

- Aaron 84, 112, 113
Aaronic blessing 67
Abba b. Zabda 139
Abbreviations 74, 189, 190
Abomination eternally 145
Abraham 31, 41, 201–204, 207, 209
Abtalion 6, 31, 32, 36, 47, 217
Acrostic 190
Adam and Eve 143
Adultery 77, 164, 173
Aenesidemus 204
Age to come 90
Agenitos the Hegemon 64, 66, 80, 81, 83
Aggadah 203, 204
Agrippa 64, 70, 76, 63, 76
Akiva - see Aqiva
Al Tiqre 21, 158, 171, 173, 174, 178, 180, 215, 190, 198, 199
Alexandria 22, 163, 177, 182, 183, 184, 192, 199, 202, 203, 206, 210–214, 217, 222, 223
Allegory 14, 16, 22, 30, 70, 109, 113, 169, 172, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 189, 191, 194, 195, 198–206, 209–215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224
Altar 64, 65, 75, 79
Amalgamation 22, 23, 68, 160
Ambiguities 181
Amoraim 2, 3, 174, 196
Amos-Numbers midrash 191
Amplification 180, 181, 215
Anah 99
Analogy 1, 41, 181
Anaphoric translation 181
Ancient Near East 5, 20, 192, 193, 213
Angelos/Antoninus/Antigonus the Hegemon 64, 66, 80, 81, 83
Anonymous 13, 38, 77, 121, 122, 134, 135, 146, 155
Anthological style 4
Anthropomorphisms 181, 200, 209
Antigonus 86, 88, 89, 90
Antiochene school 221
Antiochus Epiphanes 89
Any matter 136, 138
Apocalyptic 3, 22, 192, 193, 213, 215
Apocrypha 3
Apologetic 200
Aqiva 6, 11, 16, 20, 70, 117, 121, 122, 123, 128, 130, 131, 132, 135–138, 155, 156, 169, 173, 174, 180
Aquila 20, 210
Aramaic 164, 177, 184
Aristotelian 6
Aristeas 203, 205, 219, 224
Aristobulus 200, 205, 205
Artapanus 203
Ashes 157
Ashi 32
Asmakta 190
Ass 94
Assyrian law 109
Astrology 193, 203
Athbash 178, 180
Atomisation 1, 22, 109, 162, 174, 193, 213, 220, 223
Atonement 78, 103, 158
Azariah dei Rossi 206, 212

Baba b. Buta 59, 61, 62
Babylon 35, 37, 47, 72
Baptising sects 221
Bar He He 55, 56
Baraita 11, 29, 74, 108, 113, 117, 118, 155, 164
Baruch 166
Bastard 100, 164, 183
Bath Qol 218
Bathyra 47
Ben Bag Bag 12, 57–59, 72
Ben He He 12, 56, 57, 166, 170, 217
Ben Hezekiah b. Garon 70 71

- Bene P/Bathyra 6, 45–47, 73, 74
 Beqa 85, 87
 Beth Hillel 2, 18, 118–157, 167, 168, 169, 171
 Beth Rn. Gamaliel 148
 Beth Shammai 18, 118–157, 166, 168, 170
 Beth haMidrash 147
 Betrothal 72, 164
 Between the evenings 125
 Bibliographic 204
 Binyan Ab 19, 162
 Biographical 53, 66, 76, 149
 Bitter Waters 77
 Blessing for light 148
 Blue thread 135
 Boethius 12, 89, 90, 97, 101, 105, 107–110, 115–118, 159, 212
 Bondmen 141
 Book of Decrees 106–108
 Book of Hagu 198
 Breastplate 186
 Bride 154
 Building a family 45
 Burnt offering 114, 112, 150, 151

 Caligula 75
 Canon 197, 210
 Canticles 70
 Capital punishment 77, 78, 81, 82, 105, 106
 Case law 33, 34, 143
 Census 85
 Centenarium 85, 86, 87
 Cereal offering 111, 112
 Chain quotations 22
 Children 142, 143, 166
 Chreia 204
 Christian 79, 179, 217, 224
 Chronicles 195
 Church Fathers 196
 Citation errors 173
 Claremont Philo Project 208
 Cloud 101, 102, 103
 Coinage 86
 Commentary form 194, 198, 200
 Community offering 127
 Complementation 180
 Conjunction 178
 Consonantal text 158
 Context 1, 25, 29, 32, 39, 41, 54, 63, 65, 67, 70, 75, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 119, 138, 146, 158, 160, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 178, 181, 183, 191, 192, 199, 200, 212, 213, 216, 220, 221–223, 225
 Contradiction 19, 32, 36, 84, 85, 88, 111, 160, 165, 200, 205, 209
 Copyist 3, 217, 220, 222–225
 Corpse 38, 92, 93
 Correspondence 17
 Court of 23 81
 Creation 152, 153, 168,
 Cryptic 189

 Daily Offering 41, 43, 44, 48, 49, 58, 114, 115, 114, 165, 166, 158, 129
 Daily readings 169
 Damages 31, 94, 106
 Daniel 190, 192, 193, 214
 Dating 4, 11–13, 20, 23, 37, 47, 48, 50, 64, 65, 68, 77, 81, 96, 98, 99, 108, 109, 111, 117, 132, 153, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163, 169, 170, 173, 174, 180–183, 187, 189, 194, 195, 216, 218, 221, 222, 225
 Daughter inherits 96
 David 15, 33, 34, 52, 145, 196
 Death penalty 105
 Dedications 72, 73
 Deeper meaning 182, 199
 Defective copy 171
 Delphic Oracle 208, 217
 Demetrius 108
 Demotic Chronicles 193
 Derash 14–16, 19, 20, 63, 74, 75, 136, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 165, 167–172, 174, 181–183, 189, 195, 212–214, 216, 221–223, 225
 Diairesis 202, 204
 Diaspora 6, 184
 Diggers 192
 Dionysius 185
 Disciples 53
 Dittography 173
 Divisions of words 174
 Divorce contract 95
 Divorcees 138
 Dorshe Reshumot/Hamurot 22, 99, 173, 177, 213, 214, 217, 219, 222
 Doubling 199
 Dragomen 180
 Dream 218
 Dream interpretation 20, 193
 Dreams 187, 215, 218, 219, 220
 Drink offering 74, 75, 112
 Dual form 134
 Dust 18, 77, 156, 157

 Egypt 85, 217
 Egyptian 193, 211

- Elders 101
 Elders of P/Bathyra - see Bene P/Bathyra
 Eleazar 71
 Eleazar b. Azariah 31, 163
 Eleazar b. Hananiah 70, 71
 Eleazar de Modin 182, 194, 173
 Eliezar b. Judah 31
 Eliezer 17, 20, 133, 139, 140, 160
 Eliezer b. Azariah 138
 Eliezer b. Hyrcanos 182, 163, 218
 Eliezer b. Yose the Galilean 4, 75, 103, 132, 147, 168, 171, 228–231
 Elijah 31
 Embellishments 183
 Embezzlement 84
 Emendation 170, 171, 173, 178, 180, 210, 215, 219, 2231. Enoch 177
 Ephah 70
 Equal decree 45
 Errors 217, 219, 223
 Erub 47
 Eschatological 146, 189
 Esdras 183
 Essenes - see Qumran
 Esther 184
 Etymological 186, 187, 199, 202, 207, 208, 211, 213, 221
 Exchange of letters 17
 Exchange rate 87
 Exclusion 19, 199
 Excommunication 25
 Exorcism 81
 Expansionism 180
 Extension 16, 17, 19, 121–125, 128, 130, 131, 156, 162, 168
 Eye 107
 Eyes 63
 Ezekiel 71
 Ezra 2, 179

 Falashas 111
 False witness 25, 104–106
 False word 154
 Father 25
 Fear of Heaven 81, 88, 90
 Feasts 141
 Female gentile 66
 Festival Day 104
 Final letter 74
 Fire 146
 Firstborn 83–85
 Firstfruit 113
 Fleece 135, 136
 Flesh sacrifice 111

 4Q Florilegium 194
 Fornication 77
 Forty years 77, 78
 Four philosophies 184
 Freeman 143
 Freewill-offerings 150
 Fringes 134
 Fulfilment 77, 79, 146, 160

 Galilean Sadducee 95
 Gamaliel 54, 63–67, 84, 75, 76, 149, 163, 171, 174, 179
 Gehenna 145, 146
 Gematria 17, 162, 178, 193, 202
 Gender 199
 General 123, 162
 General and Particular 45, 46
 Genesis Apocryphon 177, 194, 194, 195
 Gerah 86, 88
 Gezerah Shavah 6, 17–19, 26, 39, 43–46, 48–49, 58, 59, 65, 67, 69, 73, 80, 119, 136, 157, 158, 160, 165, 166, 171, 181, 191, 199
 Gleaning 130
 Glosses 178
 Gnostics 177, 182
 Good Day 104, 110, 111, 131, 150
 Grammar 167, 199, 209
 Grammarians 202
 Grammatical 209
 Great Assembly 2, 3, 217
 Greek influence 5, 6, 15, 22, 162, 184, 185, 188, 199, 200, 202–204, 205, 208, 209, 211, 216, 217, 220, 224
 Greek Bible 183, 184
 Greek philosophy 200, 205, 211
 Guilt-offering 23
 Gurion from Asporak 155

 Habakkuk 197, 214
 Haftarah 69, 169, 191, 210
 Haggadah 159, 172, 179, 180, 194
 Haggai 33
 Hagigah 31, 32, 36, 56, 131, 132
 Halakah 15, 55, 159, 162, 168, 179, 180, 188, 202, 203, 216, 218, 221
 Half Shekel 87, 114
 Half-slave 143, 144, 145
 Hamiram 90
 Hananiah/Hanina 67, 68, 70, 78, 169, 173
 Handful of Meal 73, 74
 Haplography 173
 Harlot 155, 156
 Harmonisation 180

- Hasmonean 188
 Heave Offerings 72, 139, 140
 Hebrew 164, 184, 201, 202, 209, 210
 Hegemon 81, 82, 84, 85, 87
 Hell. 146
 Hellenistic - see Greek influence
 Heqesh 6, 18, 26, 39, 43, 46–50, 82, 119, 160
 Herod 6, 47, 59–62, 98
 Hidden meaning 14, 16, 20, 75, 167, 172, 183, 195, 200, 212, 214
 Hierophant 208
 High Priest 77, 101, 103, 118
 Hillel 4–6, 17–19, 32, 35–56, 57, 149, 154, 159, 160, 163, 165, 166, 169, 172, 188, 190, 199, 217–219, 226
 Hillelite 37, 111, 159
 Hilluf 190
 Hint 20, 74, 160, 162, 168, 172
 Hodayoth 195, 196
 Holy Convocation 111, 131, 132
 Holy Spirit 42, 217–219
 Holy books 91
 Holy of Holies 101, 103, 186
 Homer 11, 22, 91, 169, 171, 173, 182, 200, 202, 217
 Homiletic 3, 6, 67, 69, 154, 169
 Homoeoteuton 100
 Honi 25
 Horeb 110
 Hosea 77
 House of David 67
 Houses 12, 161, 162, 166, 168, 171, 216, 222
 Human language 162, 215
 Hyrcanus II 98

 Ibn Ezra 51
 Idiomatic 63, 139, 170
 Illegitimate birth 99, 164
 Illogical - see logical
 Imbecile 82
 Immersing 100, 104
 Incense 101, 102, 103, 186, 143
 Increase and multiply 142
 Individual offering 127
 Inspired exegesis 185, 186, 198, 208–210, 212, 214–222, 224, 225
 Intention 121, 122, 124
 Introductory formulae 188, 194
 Irrationality 209
 Isaac 158
 Isaac bar Shelomoh 89
 Ishmael 4, 11, 17, 19, 20, 85, 109, 123, 138, 139, 160, 162, 163, 172, 174, 193, 215, 227–228
 Ishmael b. Phiabi 118
 Ithpael 87

 Jamnia 75
 Jealous 63, 64
 Jeremiah 74, 187
 Jerusalem 79, 173
 Jesus 57, 155, 188
 Joel Sirkis 100
 John 188
 John Hyrcanus 195
 Jonathan 142
 Jonathan the High Priest 92
 Joseph 31
 Josephus 177, 179, 183–187, 201, 203, 213, 214, 218, 219–222
 Joshua 115, 182, 218
 Joshua HaGarsi 117
 Joshua b. Hananiah 173, 194
 Jubilees 111, 177, 184, 194, 203
 Judah 133
 Judah b. Bathyra 12, 47, 71, 72, 74, 167, 168
 Judah b. Durtai 31, 36
 Judah b. Tabbai 25–26, 105
 Judah haNasi 82
 Judas of Galilee 96
 Just as . . . so also . . . 26, 49
 Juxtaposed 67

 Kaige 184, 210
 Karaites 195, 216
 Ketiv 173
 Kikkar 85–88
 King 79, 148
 King Yannai 27, 29
 Kittim 188

 Lamp 104
 Lampstand 186
 Language of men 174
 Laver 77
 Law 76, 164, 166, 196, 200, 208
 Laying hands 151
 Lebanon 78, 79, 80
 Lectionary cycle 169
 Left hand 74
 Legal document 16, 164, 165, 167
 Legal meaning 17
 Legalistic 164
 Lesser holy things 73
 Levirate responsibilities 109

- Levites 82, 83, 84
- Lex talionis 77, 184
- Libra 86
- Lies 154,
- Life eternally 145
- Light and Heavy 45, 147
- Limitation 16, 17, 19, 37, 123, 132, 162, 168
- Link word 59, 69, 119
- Literal meaning 16, 17, 63, 109, 117, 133, 173, 200, 201, 206, 224
- Literalistic 201, 205, 206, 210, 211, 213, 216, 219, 220, 223
- Litra 85, 86, 87
- Logical Inconsistency 21, 82, 92, 93, 94, 97, 101, 145, 146, 150, 153, 160, 161, 171
- Lot 78
- Lucianic 184
- Luxurious living 90
- LXX - see Septuagint

- Ma'ah 88
- Maccabees 183
- Maimonides 173
- Malbim 4
- Manna 113
- Mantological' interpretations 213
- Manuscripts 170
- Marcus Antoninus Julianus 81
- Marital relations 142
- Marriage 72, 164
- Mashal 11, 20, 22, 41, 57, 63, 64, 103, 113, 116, 117, 153, 155, 160, 162, 170, 183
- Masorah 3
- Masoretic Text 178
- Matter of unchastity 136, 138
- Meal-offerings 112
- Megillat Taanit 108, 111, 113
- Mekhilta 11, 183
- Memorandum 191
- Menorah 104
- Mercy seat 101, 102
- Messiah 80, 221
- Metaphor 20, 31, 63, 64, 79, 109, 181, 182
- Methodology 14
- Meturgeman 180
- Middoth 4–6, 17–19, 45, 47, 54, 160, 179, 199, 207, 211, 213, 215, 217, 226–231
- Midrash 3, 5, 11, 224
- Midrash Tanna'im 11
- Mighty one 80
- Mikvah 39
- Minah 86, 88
- Minor to major 17
- Miqveh 38, 39

- Miriamme 98
- Miscarriage 126–129
- Mishnah 5, 11, 15, 22
- Mishnaic Hebrew 166, 193
- Missionary Document 191
- Mnemonic 119, 149, 172
- Mode of exegesis 14
- Mohammed 179
- Monetary compensation 109
- Moral meaning 17
- Morning Bathers 100
- Moses 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 95, 109–115, 142, 166, 186, 196, 208, 210, 211, 214, 217
- Most holy things 73
- Mother 25
- Mt Seir 110
- Multiple interpretations 77, 172, 181, 193
- Murder 82
- Mystical meaning 172
- Mysticism 218
- Mythological 204, 209, 214

- Nachmanides 51
- Nahum of Gimzo 11, 20
- Named Authorities 23
- Narrative 200
- Nathan 67, 142
- Nations 79
- Nazirite 23, 26, 27
- Nebelah 115–117
- Negative commandment 147
- Nehunia b. Hakana 11, 69
- Nisibis 71, 72
- No Redundancy - see Redundancy
- Nomological 14–19, 33, 34, 36, 38, 49, 55, 63, 66, 71, 74, 76, 88, 108, 115, 135, 143, 147, 152–154, 156, 159–161, 163–172, 174, 181, 212, 213, 215, 219–222, 224, 225
- Non-exegetical arguments 161
- Notariqon 17, 162, 190, 193, 199, 207
- Numbers 199, 201

- Offering 54
- Old Greek text 180
- Omens 78, 79
- Omer 110, 111
- Onomastica 207, 208
- Oral Law 2, 6, 16, 66, 76, 108, 109, 184, 196, 210
- Oral haggadah 203
- Oral tradition 89, 170, 184, 205, 211
- Oral translations 171, 179
- Oral variant 173, 174

- Order 20, 36, 103, 147, 153, 160, 162, 168, 199
 Order of priests 111
 Order of the world 21, 37, 144, 145
 Organismically 172
 Orthographic peculiarities 189
 Ox 29, 30, 31, 80, 82, 94, 95
- Pagan altars 75
 Palestine 6, 181, 182, 184, 202, 204, 206, 207, 211, 212, 217, 221
 Palestinian allegory 22
 Palestinian targumim 179
 Papa 139
 Parable 20, 146, 182
 Parallelism 53, 55, 166
 Paronomasia 20, 75, 190, 193
 Parsing 136
 Particular and General 45, 162
 Passover/Pesach 6, 18, 32, 36, 41–43, 46–50, 58, 65, 110, 111, 119, 125, 165, 166, 201, 218
 Passover Haggadah 22, 178
 Pathyra 45, 47
 Paul 22, 68, 188
 Peace 21, 67, 68, 82
 Peace offering 151, 152
 Peshat 14–17, 19, 25, 26, 29–31, 35, 37, 39, 41, 51–54, 62–65, 67, 68, 73, 77, 79, 80, 103–106, 108–111, 113–115, 117, 118, 122–125, 131–133, 136, 137, 140, 144, 146, 148–154, 157, 160, 161, 165, 167–170, 172, 174, 181, 183, 212–216, 219, 222, 223, 224
 Peshet 1, 187, 188, 191, 193, 195–197, 205
 Peshitta 111
 pHab 188, 189, 213
 Pharaoh 95
 Pharisees 3, 5, 12, 21, 30, 32, 47, 48, 62, 64, 74, 77, 88–118, 159, 161–163, 170, 184, 188, 195, 196, 206, 207, 216, 218, 221–223
 Philo 5, 16, 22, 170, 173, 182, 184, 186, 192, 194, 195, 198–210, 213, 217, 219, 221, 223, 224
 Philological survey 17, 18
 Philosophic truth 200
 Phineas 118
 Phonetically similar 190
 Phylacteries 173
 Physical punishment 77
 Pilgrim 150–152
 Pilgrim sacrifices 32, 152
 Pilgrimages 141
- Pinkai 118
 Plain meaning - see Peshat
 Plato 204, 210
 Plene spelling 158
 Plural 34, 54, 135, 136, 141, 142, 160, 166
 Plutarch 204
 Poetic 166, 167
 Poetic gaps 181
 Poetical 173
 Poll-tax 87
 Positive commandment 147
 Pragmatism 21, 38, 95, 111, 124, 125, 145, 156, 160
 Precedent 21, 33, 34, 143, 144, 160, 166, 221
 Priests 3, 72, 73
 Primary meaning - see Peshat
 Private use 120–122
 Procreate 166
 Proem 69
 Proof text 140, 172
 Prophecy 77, 172, 196, 198, 208, 212, 214–220, 222, 225
 Prophetic Fulfilment 22
 Prophetic interpretation 20
 Prophets 166
 Prosbul 37, 65, 144
 Proverb 41
 Prushim 96
 Psalms 196
 Pseudo Philo 177, 184
 Ptolemy 209
 Pun 139, 162, 178, 196
 Punctuation 114, 149, 160, 171, 199
 Punished eternally 146
 Puns 152, 199
 Pythagoras 202, 204
- Qal vaHomer 6, 17, 39, 42–47, 49, 71, 72, 95, 99, 100, 103, 138, 146, 151, 160, 161, 165, 178
 Qere 173, 178, 215
 Qumran 5, 14, 22, 93, 132, 162, 177–180, 182–184, 187–198, 205, 210, 213, 214, 217–220, 222–224
- Rab 32, 47, 73, 119
 Rabbenu Tam 100
 Rabbi 81, 125
 Rabed 19
 Rashbam 99
 Rashi 24, 51, 65, 84, 99, 100, 141, 149, 181, 201

- Readers 170
 Red Heifer 81
 Redaction 168
 Redactors 178
 Redemption 59, 72, 83–85, 118, 130, 131
 Reductio Ad Absurdum 21, 92, 93, 95, 96, 99, 100, 104, 105, 140, 145, 160, 161
 Redundancy 21, 22, 33, 36, 55, 57, 58, 74, 84, 103, 109, 125, 128, 137, 139, 156, 160, 166, 215, 152, 158, 199, 200, 209, 220
 Remarry 137, 138
 Resurrection 89, 90, 146, 184
 Reward 89, 90
 Rewritings 194
 Rhetoric 162, 204
 Rich 79
 Right hand 74
 Roman exegesis 15
 Roman law 98
 Rules 4, 45, 199, 200
 Rules' of allegory 199, 209

 Sabbath 6, 18, 31–35, 41, 46–49, 71, 109, 110, 125, 127, 129, 131–133, 149, 151, 165–167, 206, 218
 Sabbath blessing 148
 Sadducees 2, 5, 6, 12, 13, 21, 30, 31, 47, 48, 64, 66, 74, 76, 81, 88–118, 159, 160–163, 166, 170, 179, 184, 188, 196, 206, 210, 216, 217, 222, 223
 Sadok of Galilee 96
 Sages 2, 31, 72, 73, 101, 102, 104–107, 109, 153, 164
 Sake of heaven 149
 Samaritan 213, 215, 223, 224
 Samaritan Pentateuch 180, 197
 Samaritan literature 177
 Samaritans 151, 215, 223
 Sameas 30, 62
 Sanctuary 79
 Sanhedrin 6, 78
 Sarcasm 160
 Scapegoat 78
 Scholion 108, 113
 Schoolroom 180
 Scribes 2, 3, 11, 17, 54, 159–171, 174, 182, 195, 212, 215–225
 Scripture 92, 93, 96, 171
 Second Temple 3
 Second Tithe 58, 130, 140
 Second meaning 191
 Second-degree uncleanness 91,
 Secondary meaning - see Derash
 Sects 89

 Secular debates 21
 Sedarim 169
 Seder 69
 Self-consistent 165, 212
 Separatists 12, 32
 Septuagint 3, 5, 52, 88, 99, 114, 124, 125, 149, 164, 165, 171, 173, 177–181, 183, 184, 197, 201, 203, 205, 209–214, 217, 219, 223, 224
 Sermon 69
 Servant 30
 Seventh year 132, 133
 Severus Scroll 170
 Shammai 15, 30, 32–35, 66, 71, 76, 94, 119, 149, 154
 Shammaite 13, 71, 159, 216
 Shechinah 219
 Sheet 107, 109
 Shekel 85–88
 Shema 68, 138, 168
 Shemaiah 6, 30–33, 36, 47, 217
 Sheol 145, 146, 169
 Shewbread 186
 Sifra 11, 19
 Sifre 218
 Simeon 94
 Simeon b. Bathyra 47
 Simeon b. Gamaliel 66, 119, 157
 Simeon b. Shetah 24, 25–29, 30, 98, 105
 Simeon the Just 12, 23, 24, 78, 88
 Simon of Kitron 31
 Singular 136, 166
 Slave 72, 94, 95, 143, 145
 Smoke-raising agent 101, 102
 Socrates 204
 Solomon 70
 Sons of P/Bathyra - see Bene P/Bathyra
 Sopherim 2, 3
 Sosibius 171
 Specific 123
 Spelling 167, 199
 Spiritual meaning 17, 173, 200
 Stater 86
 Stoic 200, 204
 Stoned 82
 Substitution 189
 Sukkot 50, 51
 Summaries 190
 Superfluous - see Redundancy
 Supplementary meaning - see Derash
 Susanna 105
 Symbolism 22, 25, 30, 41, 54, 63, 79, 80, 146, 148, 160, 170, 182, 183, 193, 199, 200, 201, 206, 211

- Synagogue 6, 171, 180, 210, 224
 Synonyms 146, 178, 189, 199
 Syriac 99

 Tabernacles 47, 74, 75, 167
 Talanton 86
 Tamid - see Daily offering
 Tannaim 2, 3, 11
 Taqanah 37, 144, 145
 Targum Onkelos 179, 180
 Targum Pseudo-Jonathan 38, 158, 179, 180, 183
 Targum of Job 179, 194
 Targum on Leviticus 179
 Targumim 3, 5, 79, 171, 177–181, 184, 192–194, 205, 213
 Tarphon 133
 Tassel 134, 146, 168
 Teacher of Righteousness 188, 190, 193, 197, 214
 Tefillin 115–119
 Teleological method 199
 Temple 50, 62, 63, 65, 72–75, 77–80, 93, 100, 101, 104, 111, 114–116, 118, 140, 141, 151, 170, 214, 217, 218, 224
 Temple Scroll 194
 Temple doors 78
 Tense 199
 Terefah 115–117
 Terumah 71, 72
 Testimonia 188, 194
 Tetradracmon 86
 Tetragrammaton 100
 Text form 165, 170
 Therapeutae 205
 Third part 145
 Third text 19
 Threads 135
 Tiberius Julius Alexander 206
 Timaeus 204
 Tooth 107
 Torah 65, 66, 76, 93
 Tort 30, 82
 Tosafot 24
 Tosefta 11, 15
 Translations 171, 178–180, 186, 194, 212–217, 222
 Translators 215, 220, 222, 224
 Trial 82
 Truth 154
 Typology 186, 187, 194, 221, 224

 Ultra-literal 14–16, 22, 29, 58, 71, 90, 106, 108, 109, 115, 138, 139, 159, 160, 162, 165, 167, 168, 170, 172, 212
 Unbroken stream 93
 Unchastity 136, 138
 Unclean after childbirth 127
 Unclean spirit 81
 Uncleanes to hands 90
 Unleavened bread 165
 Unusual 17, 20, 74, 75, 87, 132, 160, 162, 167, 168, 199

 Vain prayers 52
 Variant manuscripts 181
 Variant readings 170
 Variants 173, 174, 189, 198, 212, 214, 216, 217, 219, 222, 223, 224
 Veil 101, 186
 Veiled meaning 189
 Verbal association 1
 Versions 217
 Vespasian 80, 81
 Vessel 192
 Vestments 186
 Visions 215
 Vows 150, 155

 Water Libation 47, 74, 75, 167
 Wave-offering 85
 Weeks, Feast of 109–111
 Well Midrash 190–192
 Western lamp 78
 Wicked Priest 188, 196
 Wisdom 29, 54, 204, 213, 215
 Wooden leg 141
 Wool and linen 146
 Wordplay 20, 53, 63, 104, 141, 158, 160, 167, 171, 186, 191, 193, 199, 201, 207
 World to come 89
 Worship 3
 Writing on a Sabbath 74
 Writings 166,
 Written Torah 16, 66, 76, 109
 Written versions 174

 Yeshu b. Pantere 155
 Yohanan b. Bag bag 71
 Yohanan b. Gudgada 78
 Yohanan b. Narbai 118
 Yohanan b. Zakkai 12, 16, 53, 54, 64–66, 75–88, 90, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99, 109, 111–113, 162, 163, 169, 173, 182, 183
 Yohanan the High Priest 91, 92

Yonathan b. Uzziel 53
 Yose 115, 163
 Yoseph 155
 Yudan the Patriarch 98

Zadok 89, 90
 Zadokites 162
 Zealots 2, 96, 184
 Zuz 57

Index of Modern Authors

Aageson, J.W. 177
 Aberbach, M. 179, 180
 Abrahams, I. 144, 173
 Aicher, G. 163
 Albrektson, B. 173, 223
 Alexander, P.S. 13, 171, 179, 181
 Allenbach, J. 210
 Alon, G. 203
 Amir, Y. 200, 208, 210
 Aptowitz, V. 98, 170, 173
 Attridge, H.W. 184–186
 Aune, D.E. 215

 Bacher, W. 4, 82, 159, 173, 181, 193, 194
 Bamberger, B.J. 13, 203, 204
 Bar-Ilan, M. 217
 Barr, J. 181, 221, 224
 Barthelemy, D. 20, 180, 210
 Bassier, H.W. 89, 90, 162
 Baumgarten, J.M. 11, 92, 93, 162, 188
 Beckwith, R.T. 188, 195, 210
 Belkin, S. 95, 109, 199, 203, 206, 207
 Benoit, P. 188
 Bernstein, M.J. 13
 Betz, O. 193, 195
 Bickerman, E. 57, 89, 180
 Black, M. 2, 188
 Blackman, P. 96, 122, 139, 144
 Blenkinsopp, J. 187
 Bloch, R. 3, 179
 Bockmuehl, M.N.A. 224
 Boeckh 88
 Boid, I.R.M. 109, 177, 215
 Bonsirven, J. 171, 173
 Borgen, P. 200, 203–205, 210, 211
 Bowker, J.W. 5, 12, 69, 179, 180
 Bowman, J. 177
 Braude, W.G. 158
 Brock, S.P. 180, 224
 Brockington, L.H. 179
 Brooke, G.J. 5, 6, 179, 190, 191, 194, 198
 Brown, F. 124
 Brownlee, W.H. 5, 124, 179, 189, 191, 193–197
 Bruce, F.F. 184, 190–192, 197

Buchler, A. 70
 Burkhardt, H. 209

 Carmignac, J. 195
 Cashdan, E. 179
 Cazeaux, J. 199, 202, 204
 Chadwick, H. 208
 Chajes, Z.H. 172, 173
 Charlesworth, J.H. 177, 188, 195
 Chernick, M. 6, 20
 Chester, A.N. 177, 180, 190
 Childs, B.S. 3
 Chilton, B.D. 194, 195
 Christiansen, I. 202
 Churgin, P. 179–181
 Colson, F.H. 201, 210
 Coppens, J. 203
 Cross, F.M. 197
 Cullmann, O. 188

 Danby, H. 122, 139
 Daube, D. 5, 6, 15, 105, 162, 178, 186, 187, 202, 203, 211, 221, 217
 Davies, P.R. 188, 196
 Deaut, R.Le 4, 179, 181
 Delitzsch, F. 88
 Dillon, J. 204
 Dimant, D. 177, 197
 Dion, P.E. 180
 Dodd, C.H. 164
 Doeve, J.W. 19, 177
 Dorrie, H. 5
 Driver, G.R. 5, 162, 188, 190, 194, 196

 Edersheim, A. 125, 186
 Eisenman, R. 189, 196
 Elliger, K. 190, 192, 197
 Ellis, E.E. 3, 22, 177
 Enelow, H.G. 4

 Feldman, L.H. 162, 184, 185, 217
 Finkel, A. 190, 193, 193, 218
 Finkelstein, J.J. 82
 Finkelstein, L. 94, 100, 103, 111, 133, 134, 178, 194

- Fishbane, M. 3 5, 108, 132, 172, 178, 190, 193, 197, 213, 215
 Fishel, H.A. 5
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 179, 188, 191, 193–195
 Forbes, P.B.R. 208
 Frankel, I. 174
 Frankel, J. 172
 Frankel, Z. 5, 99, 179, 180, 199
 Franxman, T.W. 185, 186
 Friedmann, M. 67, 68, 134

 Gabrion, H. 195
 Gard, D.H. 181
 Geiger, A. 6, 98
 Gelles, B.J. 172
 Gereboff, J. 163
 Gertner, M. 16
 Ginzberg, L. 81, 117, 162, 179, 182, 184, 188, 192, 196, 201, 203
 Glatzer, N.N. 188
 Goldberg, A. 3, 11
 Goldenberg, R. 77
 Goldschmidt, L. 67
 Goodenough, E.R. 202, 206
 Gooding, D.W. 179, 180
 Gordon, R.P. 179, 194
 Gottlieb, I.B. 18
 Gottstein, M.H. 197
 Grabbe, L.L. 20
 Grant, R.M. 209
 Gray, G.B. 166
 Greenstone, J.M. 37
 Grossfeld, B. 179
 Gudemann, M. 173
 Guttman, A. 6, 32, 47, 49, 96, 144, 217

 Halevi, E.E. 5
 Hamerton-Kelly, R.G. 199, 204, 208
 Hanson, A.T. 163, 177, 199, 200, 202, 207
 Hanson, R.P.C. 22, 221
 Harris, I. 3
 Havazelet, M. 180
 Hay, D.M. 200, 205, 211
 Heater, H. 180, 181
 Hecht, R.D. 199, 200, 204, 205
 Heinemann, I. 4, 68, 179, 203
 Hengel, M. 217, 224
 Herr, M.D. 11, 64, 81
 Hirschfeld, H.S. 4
 Hoffmann, D. 5, 64, 70
 Holm-Nielsen, S. 195
 Horbury, W. 38, 52, 54, 65, 68, 143, 145, 221
 Horgan, M.P. 193, 195
 Horovitz, S. 68
 Horton, F.L. 194
 Howard, G.E. 184, 209, 210

 Isenberg, S. 179
 Ishmael, R. 6

 Jacobs, L. 5, 6, 13, 21
 Jastrow, M. 76, 193
 Jellicoe, S. 180
 Jeremias, J. 2, 57, 92, 144
 Josiah, R. 47

 Kadushin, M. 4, 103, 172
 Kahle, P. 179, 180
 Kaminka, A. 5, 217
 Kanter, S. 163
 Kasher, R. 70, 173, 174
 Katz, P. 209, 210
 Keil, C.F. 88
 Kelly, J.N.D. 221
 Klausner, J. 155
 Klein, M.L. 171
 Knibb, M.A. 191
 Knox, W.L. 210
 Koch, D.A. 224
 Koenig, J. 5, 179, 181
 Kraft, R.A. 180
 Krämer, H. 209

 Lagarde, P. de 180
 Lampe, G.W.H. 208, 209
 Lane, W.R. 194
 Lange, N.De 165, 202
 Larsson, G. 104
 Lauterbach, B.Z. 3, 22, 88, 99, 103, 108, 122, 162, 170, 181–183
 Lehmann, M.R. 179, 194
 Le Moyne, J. 12, 98, 99, 111, 113
 Levi, I. 181, 182
 Levias, C. 178, 202
 Levine, E. 180
 Lichtenstein, H. 115
 Lieberman, S. 5, 171, 202, 211
 Lightstone, J.N. 163
 Lindars, B. 177, 224
 Loewe, H. 128
 Loewe, R. 14, 22, 36, 41, 58, 172, 200, 201
 Loewinger, S. 170
 Logan, A.H.B. 64
 Longenecker, R.N. 1, 177
 Lowy, S. 173, 177, 215, 223

- Maass, F. 5, 163
 Mack, B.L. 200, 204, 208
 Marmonstein, A. 64
 McNamara, M. 171, 179
 Meir, R. 173
 Metzger, B.M. 22, 194
 Meyer, R. 224
 Mez, A. 183
 Mielziner, M. 4, 15, 17, 18, 21, 48, 49, 119, 123
 Mirsky, S.K. 6
 Moering, H.R. 202
 Montefiore, C.G. 128, 36
 Moo, D.J. 190, 194, 198
 Moore, G.F. 1
 Mulder, M.J. 3
 Murphy-O'Connor, J. 187, 191
 Neusner, J. 2, 5, 11–13, 24, 28, 36, 37, 39, 40, 47, 50, 53–57, 62, 64–67, 69, 72, 75, 76, 81, 92, 98, 119, 121, 122, 124, 128, 130–135, 140, 144–146, 148, 149, 153–155, 157, 163, 164, 182
 Newlands, G.M. 199
 Newsom, C.A. 218
 Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 177
 Niditch, S. 186
 Nikiprowetzky, V. 198, 202, 204
 Orlinsky, H.M. 178, 180
 Osswald, E. 192, 194
 Patte, D. 177, 195
 Pearson, B.A. 177
 Pepin, J. 22, 200, 205
 Perrot, C. 210
 Petit, M. 203
 Porton, G.G. 2, 3, 6, 20, 163, 223
 Prijs, L. 179
 Rabin, C. 180, 188, 191–193, 197
 Rabinowitz, L.I. 172, 193
 Rappaport, S. 179, 184, 186, 204
 Reider, J. 187
 Reinhold, M. 205
 Reiss, W. 18
 Ringgren, H. 194, 198
 Rivkin, E. 12, 32, 91, 96
 Robert, A. 4
 Roberts, B.J. 198
 Rokeah, D.A. 5, 207
 Rosenblatt, S. 15, 17, 157, 170
 Roth, C. 182, 188, 196, 219
 Rowley, H.H. 195
 Runia, D.T. 204, 208
 Russell, D.S. 215
 Ryle, H.E. 209
 Saebo, M. 180
 Saffrai, S. 2
 Saldarini, A.J. 13
 Sambursky, S. 202
 Sanders, J.A. 195
 Sandmel, S. 180, 201–204, 211
 Sanford, W. 198
 Sarason, R.S. 5
 Schalit, A. 106, 184
 Schiffman, L.H. 197
 Schmitt, J. 188
 Scholem, G. 218
 Schurer, E. 2, 62, 70, 75, 188
 Schwarz, A. 4, 6, 17, 19, 36, 49, 98, 100
 Seeligman, I.L. 5, 163, 179
 Segal, M.H. 135, 170, 223
 Shinan, A. 179, 180
 Shroyer, J. 206
 Shutt, R.J.H. 184, 186
 Siegal, J.P. 170
 Siegfried, C. 5, 199, 200, 202
 Silberman, A.M. 201
 Silberman, I.H. 5, 193
 Singer, S. 68
 Skehan, P.W. 178, 180, 181
 Slomovic, E. 190
 Smith, M. 217
 Smolar, L. 180
 Sonne, I. 6, 169, 182
 Sowers, S.G. 200, 205, 206, 208
 Sparks, H.F.D. 79
 Stein, E. 199, 200, 202, 207
 Stein, S. 178
 Stemberger, G. 11
 Stendahl, K. 188, 197
 Strack, H.L. 4
 Suter, D.W. 20
 Tal, A. 177
 Talmon, S. 170, 173, 178, 190, 197
 Tarfon, R. 163
 Tate, J. 200
 Taylor, C. 89
 Teeple, H.M. 217
 Thackeray, H.St.J. 184–186, 221
 Tigay, J.H. 193
 Tov, E. 178, 180, 181, 197, 217, 223, 224
 Towner, W.S. 4–6
 Trever, J.C. 193, 195, 198

- Urbach, E.E. 2, 3, 218
 Varneda, P.Villalba I 185
 Vermes, G. 4, 5, 25, 79, 80, 170, 179, 188,
 192, 194, 198
 Visotzky, B.L. 66, 76, 174
 Wacholder, B.Z. 11, 162, 188, 196, 197
 Weingreen, J. 5, 174, 178
 Weis, P.R. 187
 Wernberg-Moller, P. 190
 Wevers, J.W. 180
 Wieder, N. 179, 193, 195, 198
 Winter, B. 210
 Wolfson, H.A. 202, 206, 207
 Wright, A.G. 3
 York, A.D. 13
 Zahavy, T. 163
 Zeitlin, S. 5, 6, 30, 33, 93, 98, 108, 111, 114,
 115, 121, 151, 170, 187, 195
 Zunz, L. 3

Index of References

- Josephus:*
 Life 10–12 184
 – 208f 187
 Ant.1.10–12 183
 – 1.14 184, 185
 – 1.17 185
 – 1.24 186
 – 1.24 186
 – 1.25 186
 – 1.54 185
 – 3.3 113
 – 3.123 186
 – 3.179–187 186
 – 4.197 185
 – 4.226, 228 186
 – 4.285–7 121, 124
 – 4.303 214
 – 8.56 185
 – 10.79 187
 – 10.218 185
 – 12.104 219
 – 14.4.3 125
 – 14.163–171 62
 – 14.168–176 30
 – 14.172–176 62, 218
 – 14.403 62
 – 15.2–4 30
 – 15.3f 62, 218
 – 15.368–71 30
 – 15.421 62
 – 17.23–31 47
 – 17.41–5 62, 218
 – 17.149 3
 – 18.3–10 96
 – 18.16 162
 – 20.97f 221
 – 20.167f 221
 – 20.169–172 221
 – 20.179 118
 – 20.188 221
 C.Ap.1.37 214
 – 2.281 210
 – .42 185
 Wars 1.78–80 196
 – 1.648 3
 – 2.17 2
 – 2.159 196, 215, 218
 – 2.166 162
 – 2.258f 221
 – 2.261–3 221
 – 2.433 3
 – 3.351–4 187
 – 4.622–9 187
 – 5.217f 186
 – 6.5.3 218
 – 6.9.3 125
 – 6.294 78

Qumran Texts:
 CD.1.16ff 196
 – 1.18 195
 – 2.14–6.1 191
 – 4.19 196
 – 6.3ff 190
 – 6.11b–8.3 191
 – 7.9ff 196
 – 8.3ff 198
 – 8.12 196
 1QS.5.20ff 197
 – 6.6 198
 – 6.9f 197
 – 7.12f 198
 – 8.11f 197
 4QMishnah 93
 4QTg.Job 193
 11QTemp 56.34 108

11QTg.Job 193
 Hod.2.15, 32 195
 – 4.10 195
 pHab.2.2 197
 – 4.17ff 197
 – 5.14 190
 – 12.1–6 79
 4Qpls.c.23.2.10 195
 – e.1–2.2f 197
 4QpNah.1–2.2.7 195
 – 3–4.1.2, 7 195
 – 3–4.2.2, 4 195
 – 3–4.2.8 196
 – 3–4.3.3, 7 195
 4QpPs.a.1–10.3.14ff 197
 11QPs.a.27.11 196

Philonic texts:

Abr.217 200
 – 232–244 200
 – 234 209
 Agric.20, 43 210
 – 20f, 26ff 207
 – 27f 213
 – 42f, 57 207
 – 157 206
 Cher.4 207
 – 27 209, 211
 – 42 207
 – 48 205
 Confus.2, 6–8 206
 – 190 200, 206, 219
 Congr.74–76 204
 Decal.175 208
 Deter.126 210
 Ebr.65 206
 – 144 200, 214
 Fug.179 206, 219
 Gig.24 208
 – 62ff 207
 Her.197 186
 – 243 209
 – 265 208
 Hypoth.6.2 203
 Migr.35 209
 – 89ff 200
 – 89–93 205
 Mos.1.4 211
 – 1.34 113
 – 1.76 204
 – 1.158 209
 – 2.25ff 203, 210
 – 2.40 210
 – 2.41 217

– 2.88 186
 – 2.102f, 117–123 186
 – 2.187–292 208
 – 2.265 209
 Mutat.61f 206
 – 65 200
 – 66ff 207
 – 125–128 208
 – 138, 140 200
 Opif.77ff 200, 203, 211
 Plant.27 210
 – 32ff 200, 214
 Poster.28, 169 210
 Prob.82 205
 Sacrif.94 208
 Somn.1.8 200
 – 1.39 206, 219
 – 1.92ff 200
 – 1.94 200, 214
 – 1.164 200
 – 2.252 209
 – 2.301 207, 213
 Spec.1.69 111
 – 1.72 103
 – 1.214 205
 – 3.178 200
 – 4.34 121, 124
 – 4.49 208
 Q.Gen.3.43 207
 – 4.51 200
 – 4.243 200
 V.Con.29 205
 – 78 200

Mishnah

mAb.1.9 105
 – 3.1 69
 – 3.2 67, 69
 – 3.2–11a 69
 – 3.5 69
 – 3.11b 69
 mArak.8.6 72
 – 8.7 73
 mBM.3.12 120, 122
 mBQ.1.1 94
 – 1.4, 6 31, 170
 – 4.4 82
 – 8.1 109
 – 8.5 94
 mBer.1.3 138
 – 8.5 148
 – 9.3 52
 mBetz.2.4 151
 – 2.6 149

mEd.1.3 217
 – 1.13 143
 – 4.5 130
 – 4.10 126
 – 5.1 132
 mErub.3.1 58
 mGit.4.2 21
 – 4.3 37
 – 4.5 143
 – 5.8 21, 82
 – 9.10 136
 mHag.1.1 82, 140
 – 1.6 150, 152
 – 2.4 110, 111
 mHull.6.7 157
 mKer.1.6 126
 mKet.13.1 108
 mMS.5.3, 6f 130
 mMakk.1.6 104
 – 5.9 93
 mMeg.2.4 82
 mMen.1.2 73
 – 5.10 77
 – 6.1f 113
 – 10.4 110
 mMik.1.4, 8 39
 mNed.2.4 73
 mNidd.3.7 128
 mOhol.15.7 39
 – 17.4 39
 – 18.5 39
 mOrl.2.12 149
 mPar.3.3 39
 – 5.4 82
 mPeah.7.6 130
 mPes.5.3 124, 125
 – 8.4 55
 – 9.5 65
 mRH.4.1–4 77
 mSanh.4–6 82
 – 5.4 105
 – 11.3 2
 – 16.3 47
 mShab.1.4–11 125
 mShebi.4.2 132, 133
 – 10.3 37
 mShebu.6.4 82
 mSheq.1.4 16
 – 6.6 67
 mSot.7.8 70
 – 9.9 77
 – 9.15 118
 mSukk.3.12 77
 mTaan.3.8 25

– 4.8 70, 169, 173
 mTem.6.3 155, 156
 mTer.1.5, 9–10 140
 – 3.9 130
 mYad.4.6 90, 92
 – 4.7 21, 93, 94
 – 4.8 95
 mYeb.6.6 142
 mYom.4.1 78
 – 4.2 78
 – 6.8 78

Tosefta

tArak.4.32 72
 tBM.3.12 120
 tBQ.7.3–7 182
 tBer.1.4 138
 – 2.21 39
 – 5.30 147, 148
 – 6.24 39, 40
 tErub.3.7 33–35
 tHag.3.35 104
 tHull.2.24 155
 tKer.1.9 126
 tKet.4.9 164, 217
 tKipp.1.8 101
 tMaksh.1.1 93
 tNaz.4.7 23
 tNed.6.5 38
 tNeg.1.16 35
 tPis.4.13 6, 18, 218
 – 4.13f 41
 tSanh.6.6 25, 105
 – 7.11 6, 45
 – 8.3 26
 – 8.7–9 203, 211
 – 12.10 70, 169, 173
 – 13.3 145
 tShab.1.20–21 125
 – 13.10, 12–13 33
 tShebi.4.2 134
 tSot.13.2–4 218, 219
 tSukk.4.3 50
 tTer.2.13 130
 – 3.16 139
 tYad.2.19 92
 – 2.20 96, 97, 99, 100
 – 8.4 142

Extra-Talmudic tractates

ARNa.4 77, 79
 – 5 88
 – 12 41, 51
 – i4 53, 54

- 19 69
- 20 68, 69
- 21 69
- 37 45
- 41 145
- ARNb.6 79
- 7 77, 78
- 10 88
- 27 51
- 28 53
- 31 75
- 46 217
- Sof.1.2 115, 116
- 4.4 170

Jerusalem Talmud

- yAZ.1.9 66
- yBB.8.1 96
- 8.4 98
- yBM.3.9 120
- yBer.1, 3a 2
- 1.6 138
- 7.2 26
- 8.8 99
- 9.5 39, 52
- yBetz.2.4 150
- yErub.10.1 118, 119
- yGit.4.5 143
- 9.11 136
- yHag.1.1 140
- 2.1 152
- 3.8 104
- yKet.4.8 164
- 5.4 71
- yMQ.3.1 25
- yMS.1.3 57
- 5.2, 3 130
- 55b 193
- yNaz.1.5 23
- 5.3 26
- yNed.1.1 23
- 10.9 38
- 5.7 53
- yPeah.7.5 130
- yPes.6.1 35, 38, 41
- 9.5 57
- ySanh.1.2 80
- 1.4 82, 83, 85
- 4.9 25, 26
- 6.3 25
- 11.4 138
- yShab.1.5 125
- 19.1 41
- yShebi.4.2 132, 138

- 9.6 132
- 8.1 120
- 10.2 37
- 35b 134
- ySot.1.1 136
- ySukk.5.4 51
- yTaan.3.12 25
- 4.2 217
- yYeb.6.6 142
- 15.3 164
- yYom.1.5, 39a 101, 102

Babylonian Talmud

- bAZ.16b–17a 155
- 20a 66
- bArak.11b 78
- 26b 143
- 28b–29a 72
- bBB.4a 59, 63
- 12a 218
- 13a 143
- 115b–116a 96, 100
- 134a 53
- bBM.43a–44a 120
- 59b 218
- 104a 164, 217
- bBQ.65b 155
- 82a 183
- 93b–94a 155
- bBekh.5a 82, 84, 85, 109, 173
- 12a 59
- 39b 134
- 50a 88
- bBer.11a 138
- 19a 25
- 24a 181
- 31b 174
- 48b 26, 30
- 51b–52a 218
- 53a 147
- 55b 193, 218
- 56a–58a 218
- 56b 193
- 60a 52
- 63a 39
- bBetz.16a 149
- 20b 150
- bErub 6b–7a 218
- 13b 218
- 21b 2
- 27b 57
- bGit.36a 37
- 40b–41b 143
- 56ab 79

- 90a 136
- bHag.2a 143
- 3a 141
- 4a 140, 141
- 9ab 54, 56, 217
- 12a 152
- 16b 25
- bHull.88b 156
- bKer.7b–8a 126
- 28b 118
- bKet.16b–17a 154
- 46a 109
- 106a 170, 223
- bKidd.43a 21
- bMakk.5b 25
- bMeg.3a 179
- 9a 217
- 25b 178
- 29a 218
- bMen.40a 146
- 41b 134
- 45a 115
- 49b 58
- 65ab 109, 114
- bNaz.4b 23, 24
- bNed.3a 174
- 9b, 10a 23
- 37b 173, 178
- 75b 38
- bPes.3a 126
- 54a 99, 183
- 57a 118
- 66a 41, 43
- 66b 41, 47
- 88ab 143
- 88b 64
- 96a 58
- 114a 218
- bQid.10b–11a 71
- 22b 182
- 42b 120
- 43a 30, 32
- 49a 171
- 54b 130
- bRH.16b–17a 145
- bSanh.9ab 170
- 11a 218, 219
- 19ab 29, 95
- 20a 174
- 34a 172
- 37b 26
- 41a 78
- 88a 72
- 101a 169, 173
- bShab.13b 71
- 15a 78
- 18b 125
- 19a 33, 35
- 25b 146
- 31a 66, 76
- 34a 26
- 89b 158
- 103b 74
- 105a 207
- 108a 115
- 115a 171, 179
- bShebu.26a 11
- bSot.15a 174, 182
- 16a 156
- 41b 70
- bSukk.28a 53
- 53a 50–52
- bTaan.17b 109
- 23a 25
- bTem.30b 155
- bYeb.4a 170
- 5b 134, 135
- 14a 218
- 61b–62a 142
- bYom.19b 101, 102
- 39a 115
- 39b 77
- 53a 101
- 71b 217
- bZeb.63a 73
- Other Rabbinic texts*
- GenR.1.1 152
- 12.14 152
- 20.12 173
- 38.1 193
- 39.14 41
- 59.7 3
- 82.14 99
- 91.3 26
- 92.7 178
- ExR.45.5 53
- LevR.1.5 53, 79
- 35.8 25
- 36.1 152
- NumR.3.14 82
- 4.9 82, 84
- 10.7 23
- 19.8 81
- Meg.Taan.p323 114
- p325 109
- p331 106
- p334 96

- p338 111
- p342f 98
- Mekh.Ish.1 173
- 76a 182
- Bah.1 169
- 7 33, 71
- Besh.4.58–61 31
- Kas.3.37–41 26
- 3.31–35 25
- Nez.6.45 109
- 13.17 109
- 15.49–55 120
- Pis.5.118–120 124, 125
- 17.209–216 118

- Mekh.Sim.p12.4–5 124
- p147.22–148.3 63
- p148 33, 71, 149
- p149.15–21 125
- p218.28–29) 140

- Mid.Tann.Deut.34.2 37
- p.58 75
- p138f 146
- p215 76

- Pes.Kah.6.61b 157

- Rab.16 157
- Rab.48 157

- Sifra Introduction 46

- AM.3.11 101
- Behar.1.5 132
- Em.15.5 131
- Qed.3.7 130
- Shem.9.5 38
- Taz.3.1–2 126
- 9.16 36
- Vay.13.13b 120

- Sifre Num.22 23

- 42 67
- 115 134, 135
- 117 71, 72

- Sifre Deut.34 138

- 61 64
- 113 37
- 143 140
- 166 135
- 175 218
- 190 104
- 203 15, 33, 35
- 234 134
- 237 109
- 269 136
- 294 70

- 351 65
- 356 217
- Tg.Onk. Deut.23.18 144
- Tg.Ps-Jon. Deut.17.17 90

Bible

- Gen.1.1 145, 152, 168
- 1.27 143
- 1.28 142, 145
- 2.4 152, 168
- 2.10–14 211
- 2.15 133
- 3.24 133
- 4.4 185
- 5.2 142, 143
- 6.4 179
- 12.5 41
- 14 200
- 14.14 178
- 14.21 209
- 15.2 178
- 15.6 31
- 15.11 209
- 17.4 207
- 21.28 135
- 24.63 125
- 35.22 185
- 36 183
- 36.20 97
- 36.24 183
- 38 185
- 40.5 193
- 49.10 191, 192
- Ex.4.31 31
- 9.27 96
- 12.5 59
- 12.6 124, 125
- 12.14 151
- 12.15 36
- 12.16 150
- 13.9 116, 117
- 13.10 118, 119
- 13.13 59
- 14.27 125
- 14.31 31
- 15–18 194
- 15.22 182
- 15.27 112
- 16.12 58, 125
- 18.2f 143
- 20.8 33
- 20.9 125
- 20.21 209
- 20.24 50

- 21.20ff 95
- 21.29 29, 80
- 22.7(8) 120, 124
- 22.8(9) 120, 122
- 22.17 62
- 22.27 60
- 23.7 154
- 23.14 141, 141
- 24.12 16, 107, 109
- 29.38 158
- 29.39, 41 125
- 30.8 125
- 30.38 104
- 38.25f 87, 88
- 38.26 85
- 38.29 85, 88
- Lev.2.2 73, 74
- 6.14-23 112
- 7.11-18 113
- 8-9 115
- 11.36 38, 93
- 12.5 128
- 12.6 126-128
- 13.17 36
- 13.37 35, 37
- 15.25ff 129
- 16.2 102, 103,
- 16.12f 101
- 16.13 101-103
- 17.13 157
- 17.13-15 92
- 19.9f 130
- 19.23 130
- 19.24 130, 131
- 22.21 24
- 23.5 125
- 23.7 131
- 23.11 110
- 23.15 110
- 23.16 110
- 23.18 112
- 23.39 131
- 24.20 107
- 25.6 132
- 25.29 118, 166
- 27.2 24
- 27.21 73
- 27.28 72
- 27.30 139, 140
- Num.1.46 85
- 3.13 85
- 3.22 83
- 3.22ff 85
- 3.28 83
- 3.34 83
- 3.39 85
- 3.43 85
- 6.2 24
- 6.26 67
- 9.2 43
- 9.3, 5, 11 125
- 15.3, 8 24
- 15.20f 140
- 15.24 61, 63
- 15.38 134, 135
- 18.12 140
- 18.27 139, 140
- 18.30 140
- 19.16 92
- 19.17 18, 156
- 21.18 190, 192, 213
- 22.28 141
- 22.32f 141
- 27.8 98
- 28.2 43, 58, 114
- 28.3 157, 171
- 28.4 114, 125, 166
- 28.8 125
- 28.10 44
- 29 167
- 29.3f 70
- 29.19 74
- 29.31 74
- 29.33 74
- Deut.1.2 110
- 1.5 191
- 3.25 79, 80
- 4.2 185
- 4.13-40 63, 64
- 5.12 33
- 6.7 138, 168
- 6.8 116
- 12.2 75
- 12.3f 65
- 12.32 185
- 14.21 116
- 14.26 57
- 15.3 37
- 15.4 37
- 15.9 122, 123
- 16.2 36
- 16.8 36
- 17.11 107
- 18.4 135, 136
- 18.15ff 217
- 19.15 26
- 19.17 30
- 19.21 104

- 20.19 33
- 20.20 35
- 22.11 146
- 22.12 134, 147
- 22.17 107
- 23.11 125
- 23.19 155, 156
- 24.1 136, 137
- 24.4 138
- 25.9 107
- 26.5 22, 178
- 28.46–48 69
- 31.19 107, 109
- 33.10 65, 66, 76
- 33.21 192
- 34.10 217
- Josh.2.2f 192
- Judg.19.26 125
- 1Sam.2.6 145
- 25 136
- 25.18 135
- 2Sam.1 15
- 1.1 34
- 1.2ff 34
- 2.1ff 34
- 5.19 34
- 12.9 33
- 23.1 51, 52
- 1King.22.6, 12, 15 34
- 2King.16.20 92
- 23.4 157
- 1Chron.23.15 142, 143, 166
- 2Chron.23.20 80
- Ezra 6.15 114
- 10.40 207
- Neh.3.5 80
- 8.8 179
- 10.29 80
- 13.12 146
- Ps.19.9(8) 68
- 22.4(3) 51
- 24.7 118
- 41.8(9) 122
- 43.4 146
- 46.5(6) 125
- 60.7(9) 192
- 68.19(20) 149, 171
- 80.3 52
- 101.3 122
- 104.24 66
- 112.7 52
- 113 53
- 113.5f 53
- 116.1 145, 146, 169
- 119.126 40, 41
- 122.3f 141
- 122.5f 67
- Prov.4.8 29
- 6.23 61
- 8.21 54
- 11.24 40
- 14.28 148
- 16.18f 53
- 23.25 25
- 31.5 191
- Qoh.1.15 54, 170
- 3.4f 40
- 3.5a 41
- 7.12 27–29
- 10.20 60, 62
- Cant.1.6 70, 169
- 1.8 169
- Is.1.18 158
- 2.2 61, 63
- 2.11 53
- 2.17 53
- 5.15 53
- 6.4 104
- 7.21 135
- 10.33 53
- 10.34 79, 80
- 26.20 28, 29
- 33.22 192
- 45.7 67, 68
- 45.18 144, 166
- 48.13 153
- 54–55 191, 192
- 54.13 178
- 54.15 192
- 54.16 191
- 55.1 183, 191, 192
- 55.3, 5 192
- 55.6f 192
- 57.7, 9 53
- 65.12–14 69
- 66.1 153, 170
- Jer.1.11f 178
- 2.13 63
- 25.26 178
- 30.21 79
- 51.41 178
- Ezk.17.24 53
- 24.21 61
- 45 87
- 45.12 86, 88
- 45.18 115
- 46.11 70
- Dan 5.26 193

- 7.10 51
- 12.2 146
- Amos 4.13 68
- 9.6 153
- Hos.4.14 77, 173
- 12.13 217
- Mic.7.19 157
- Nah.3.18 80
- Hab.1.16 190
- Zech.11.1 78, 79
- 13.9 145, 146
- Mal.3.18 56, 166

- Mt.24.26 221
- Mk.2.16 2
- 7.1ff 2
- 10.19 121
- Lk.5.17 3
- 5.30 2
- 17.7ff 57
- Jn.14.1, 13f 50
- Act.4.6 92
- 5.24 3
- 23.9 2

- 1Co.9.9 31, 95, 170, 200
- 1Tim.5.18 31, 95, 170

- Extra-canonical texts*
- Ecclus.1.8–9, 12 79
- 24.10–13 79
- 38.24ff 3
- 1Macc.7.12 3
- 10.29ff 108
- 2Macc.6.18 3
- 3Ezra 7.5 114
- Ben Sira 11.1 28, 29
- 24.33 215
- 39.6–8 215
- Wisd.8.8 215
- Sus.1.45 105

- Other texts:*
- Aristeas 144 200
- Aristobulus 2.4; 3.1 210
- Moreh Nebukhim 2.ch.43 173
- Timaeus 72A 209
- De liberis educandis 2A-C 204

