

TAL ILAN

Silencing the Queen

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

115

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Edited by
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

115



Tal Ilan

Silencing the Queen

The Literary Histories of Shelamzion
and Other Jewish Women

Mohr Siebeck

Tal Ilan, born 1956; 1991 Ph.D. on Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; 1992–93 Guest Professor at Harvard; 1995 at Yale; 1997 at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; 1998 at Frankfurt University; since 2003 Professor at the Freie Universität, Berlin.

978-3-16-158709-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 3-16-148879-2

ISBN-13 978-3-16-148879-5

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

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

© 2006 by 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 typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

*This book is dedicated
to my parents, Shlomit and Amitzur Ilan,
may they live long and happily.*

Acknowledgement

This book is about the silencing of Jewish women from post-biblical antiquity in a long transmission process, down to our times. It traces the methods used to accomplish this end, and while doing so, throws light on some obscure historical episodes, and suggests new readings for some well known (and other less known) texts.

This book has been a long time in the making. When I first began thinking about the kind of questions I address in it, I did not know it would turn out to be a book. In fact, it was not even clear to me that all the topics discussed therein are aspects of the same phenomenon. Therefore, most of chapters and subchapters in this book have, since 1992, appeared in various forms as independent articles. Yet in order to fit the program of this volume some of them have been so thoroughly reworked, that aside from some of the ideas voiced in them, they are hardly recognizable as descendents of the old articles. I give here a list of the previous publications where these issues were discussed. Obviously, the old publications should now be considered redundant.

Introduction: "Learned Jewish Women in Antiquity," in H. Merkel and Beate Ego (eds.) *Religiöses Lernen in der biblischen frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung* (Tübingen 2005) 175–90.

Chapter 1: "Queen Salamzion Alexandra and Judas Aristobulus I's Widow: Did Jannaeus Alexander Contract a Levirate Marriage?" *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 24 (1993) 181–90.

Chapter 2: "Shelamzion in Qumran—New Insights," in D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick and D. Schwartz (eds.), *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 27–31 January 1999; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 57–68.

Chapter 3: "Folgenreiche Lektüren: Gender in Raschis Kommentar zum babylonischen Talmud," in Christiane Müller and Andrea Schatz (eds.), *Der Differenz auf der Spur: Frauen und Gender in Ashkenas* (Berlin 2004) 21–49.

"Rabbinic Literature and Women Studies: A Response to Shulamit Valler, Hannah Safrai and Judith Hauptman," in Renée Levine Melammed (ed.),

- “*Lift Up Your Voice*”: *Women’s Voices and Feminist Interpretation in Jewish Studies* (Tel Aviv 2001) 51–2 (Hebrew)
- “Paul and Pharisee Women” in Jane Schaberg, Alice Bach and Esther Fuchs (eds.), *On the Cutting Edge: The Study of Women in Biblical Worlds. Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza* (New York, London 2003) 82–101.
- Chapter 4: “Patriarchy, The Land of Israel and the Legal Position of Jewish Women,” *Nashim: Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies and Gender Issues* 1 (1998) 42–50.
- Chapter 5: “‘Daughters of Israel Weep for Rabbi Ishmael’ (*mNedarim* 9:11): The Schools of Rabbi Aqiva and Rabbi Ishmael on Women,” *Nashim: Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies and Gender Issues* 4 (2001) 15–34.
- “The Wife of Tinius Rufus and Rabbi Akivah,” *Massekhet* 3 (2005) 103–12 (Hebrew).
- Chapter 6: “‘Stolen Water is Sweet’: Women and their Stories between Bavli and Yerushalmi,” in P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Greco-Roman Culture* 3 (Tübingen 2002) 185–223.
- Chapter 7: “A Witch-Hunt in Ashkelon,” in A. Sasson, Z. Safrai and N. Sagiv (eds.), *Ashkelon: A City on the Seashore* (Tel Aviv 2001) 135–46 (Hebrew).
- “Cooks/Poisoners; Healers/Killers; Religion/Witchcraft: Jewish Women’s Religious Life at Home” in Elmer Kinger, Stephanie Böhm and Thomas Franz (eds.), *Haushalt, Hauskult, Hauskirche: Zur Arbeitseilung der Geschlechter in Wirtschaft und Religion* (Würzburg: Echter, 2004) 107–23.
- “In the Footsteps of Jesus: Jewish Women in a Jewish Movement,” in Ingrid Rosa Kitzberg (ed.), *Transformative Encounters: Jesus and Women Re-Viewed* (Leiden 1999) 115–36.
- “‘Man Born of Woman ...’ (Job 14:1): The Phenomenon of Men Bearing Matronymes at the Time of Jesus,” *Novum Testamentum* 34 (1992) 23–45.

In addition, many of these pieces were written as papers to be presented at various conferences.

Introduction: “Jewish Women in Eretz Israel” – Bar Ilan 2003.

“Judaism as Wissenschaft, Wissenschaft as Judaism.” – Berlin 2003.

“Religiöses Lernen im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum” – Osnabrück 2003.

“Social Sciences and the New Testament” section at the SBL – Atlanta 2003.

Chapter 2: Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center – Jerusalem 1999.

Chapter 3: “How have Women Studies Influenced Jewish Studies” – Jerusalem 1999.

“Women and Gender in Ashkenaz” – Duisburg 1999.

- SBL Annual Meeting – Orlando 1998.
 “Gospels and Rabbinic Literature” seminar of the *SNTS* – Bonn 2003.
 Chapter 6: “Finding a Home: Jewish Women’s Studies in the Academy” – New York 1999.
 “The *Yerushalmi*” – Princeton 2000.
 Chapter 7: “Haushalt, Hauskult, Hauskirche: Zur Arbeitseilung der Geschlechter in Wirtschaft und Religion” – Würzburg 2002.
 “The Beginnings of Christianity” – Tel Aviv 1996.
 Chapter 8: Sixth International Conference on Jewish Names – Bar Ilan 2003.

I take this opportunity to thank the organizers of all these events (Friedrich Aemarie, Michael Brocke, Aaron Demski, Beate Ego, Andreas Gotzman, Judith Hauptman, Esther Hazon, Birgit Klein, Renée Levine-Melamed, Peter Schäfer, Margalit Shiloh, and others far too numerous to name) for giving me the opportunity to air my views on these topics and respond to comments and ideas raised by fellow scholars.

As always, the entire manuscript was carefully read and meticulously corrected by my friend and mentor, Judith Romney Wegner, to whom I am eternally grateful for saving me again and again from my own failings and inadequacies. I also wish to thank my student, Kathleen Kahn for producing the indices for this book. All errors in style and judgment that remain in the manuscript after her careful reading are, of course, entirely my own.

The translations of rabbinic texts throughout are my own. For biblical texts I have used the Revised Standard Version translation. Translations of classical texts are quoted from various editions mentioned throughout. I am grateful to Prof. Deborah Gera of the Hebrew University for assisting me in translating several Greek texts quoted in the Introduction, for which no published translation exists.

Finally I wish to explain a phenomenon the reader will notice throughout the text. Since this book is all about silencing techniques, in the margins I have placed signposts, instructing the reader at which point a certain form of silencing is being revealed. For those interested in using this study as a reference book for such processes, these signposts will be most useful.

The publication of this book follows close on my appointment to professor for Judaism at the Institut für Judaistik at the Freie Universität, Berlin. I take the opportunity to thank the university and its administration, and especially Professor Giulio Busi, the head of the institute, for choosing me for the job.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	VII
Introduction	1
1. Women and Power: <i>Subordination</i> as Defining the ‘Natural’ Gendered Order	4
a. <i>bTamid</i> 32a–b	5
b. <i>3 Ezra</i> 3–4	10
2. Multiple Forms of Silencing	19
a. Alexander Polyhistor’s Biblical Exegete, Moso – <i>The Woman is a Man</i>	20
b. Galen’s Physician, Salome – <i>The Woman is a Gentile</i>	25
c. Zosimus’ Chemist, Maria – <i>The Woman is a Biblical Figure</i>	27
d. Philo’s Philosopher, Skepsis – <i>The Woman is an Allegory</i>	30
3. Shelamzion Alexandra – A Silenced Queen	35
a. <i>Paling and Elimination</i>	36
b. <i>Unification</i>	38
c. <i>Disparagement</i>	39
 <i>Chapter 1: “A King, not a Queen”: The Principle of Dynastic Succession in the Hasmonean Kingdom</i>	 43
1. Queen Athaliah	44
2. Queen Shelamzion Alexandra	47
<i>Excursus: The Impossible Identification of Queen Shelamzion Alexandra with Judah Aristobulus’ Widow</i>	50
a. The Chronological Argument	50
b. The Onomastic Argument	52
I. The Onomastic Solution	54
II. The Source-Critical Solution	56

<i>Chapter 2: The Whore of Nineveh: Queen Shelamzion in the Eyes of the Dead Sea Sect</i>	61
1. Shelamzion in Calendrical Documents	61
2. Shelamzion in the <i>Pesharim</i>	63
a. In <i>Pesher Nahum</i>	64
b. In <i>Pesher Hosea A</i>	67
c. In <i>Pesher Hosea B</i>	71
 <i>Chapter 3: Women Pharisees</i>	 73
1. <i>mSotah</i> 3:4 – A Woman Pharisee	74
a. Rashi’s Interpretation of “Injuries of the <i>perushim</i> ”	76
b. Rashi’s Interpretation of <i>perishut</i> and <i>tiftut</i>	77
I. <i>perishut</i>	77
II. <i>tiftut</i>	81
i. Dictionaries	81
ii. Rabbinic Literature	83
iii. <i>bKetubbot</i> 62b	85
c. Rashi’s Interpretation of a „woman <i>perushah</i> “	86
I. <i>bQiddushin</i> 80b–81b	88
II. <i>bKetubbot</i> 10a	90
d. A Different Interpretation of <i>mSotah</i> 3:4	94
2. <i>tDemai</i> 2:16–17 – A Woman <i>Haver</i>	97
a. Pharisee Research	98
b. The <i>Haverim</i> are the Pharisees – <i>Disparagement and Elimination</i> ..	100
c. Women in the Pharisaic <i>Havurah</i>	105
d. Paul and the Discipleship of Equals	107
e. Textual Reception of the Woman <i>Haver</i>	110
 <i>Chapter 4: Women’s Rights: Tosefta vs. Mishnah</i>	 111
1. The <i>Ketubbah</i>	111
a. The <i>Tosefta</i>	112
b. The <i>Yerushalmi</i>	112
c. The <i>Bavli</i>	113
d. The <i>Mishnah</i>	114
2. Women’s Rights vs. The Land of Israel	115
a. Migration to the Land of Israel	115
I. The <i>Mishnah</i>	115
II. The <i>Tosefta</i>	115
III. The <i>Bavli</i>	116

b. The Land of Israel Ideology vs. Patriarchy	117
<i>Excursus: The Bavli and Yerushalmi on Patriarchy</i> and the Land of Israel Ideology	121
 <i>Chapter 5: “Daughters of Israel, Weep for Rabbi Ishmael!”:</i> <i>The School of Rabbi Aqiva vs. the School of Rabbi Ishmael</i>	124
1. The <i>Midrashim</i> of Aqiva and Ishmael on Women	125
a. <i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i> and <i>Sifre Numbers</i>	128
I. <i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i>	128
II. <i>Sifre Numbers</i>	129
III. A Comparison	129
b. <i>Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael</i> and <i>Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon</i> <i>bar Yohai</i>	133
I. <i>Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael</i>	133
II. <i>Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon bar Yohai</i>	134
2. Aqiva and Ishmael on Women’s Inheritance	138
3. Historical Conclusions	147
4. Rabbi Aqiva and Rabbi Ishmael on Women in Nineteenth Century Scholarship	149
5. Rabbi Aqiva and his Wives	152
 <i>Chapter 6: “Stolen Water is Sweet”: Yerushalmi vs. Bavli</i>	160
1. <i>yTerumot</i> 8:5, 45c – <i>bNedarim</i> 90b	163
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Story:	163
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	166
2. <i>yShabbat</i> 14:4, 14d – <i>bAvodah Zarah</i> 28a	167
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Story	168
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	171
3. <i>yKetubbot</i> 4:11, 29a – <i>bKetubbot</i> 52b	172
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Story	172
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	174
4. <i>yKetubbot</i> 2:5, 26c – <i>bKetubbot</i> 22a	180
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Stories	180
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	182
5. <i>ySotah</i> 4:5, 19d – <i>bNiddah</i> 45a	185
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Story	185
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	186

6. <i>yBerakhot</i> 3:4, 6c – <i>bBerakhot</i> 22a	188
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Stories	188
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	190
7. <i>yMoed Qatan</i> 3:1, 81d – <i>bMoed Qatan</i> 17a	192
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Story	192
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Parallel	195
8. Conclusions	197
9. A <i>Yerushalmi</i> - <i>Bavli</i> Tradition and a Christian Parallel Text (<i>yTa'anit</i> 1:3, 64c – <i>bTa'anit</i> 23a–24a – Coptic Act of Peter)	200
a. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Stories	200
b. The <i>Bavli</i> Stories	202
c. The Christian Parallels	208
d. Conclusion	213
 <i>Chapter 7: “You Shall not Suffer a Witch to Live”: Witches in Ancient Jewish History</i>	 214
1. A Witch-Hunt in Rabbinic Literature	215
a. The <i>Mishnah</i>	215
b. The <i>Yerushalmi</i> Interpretation	216
c. Modern Interpretations	217
I. Joshua Efron’s Interpretation	218
II. Martin Hengel’s Approach	220
III. The Sociological-Feminist Approach	222
2. The Social Paradigm of the Witch-Hunt	223
a. Cooks/Poisoners	229
b. Healers/Killers	231
c. Religion/Witchcraft	236
c. Conclusion	241
<i>Excursus: Jesus and Jewish Women Healers</i>	242
a. Jewish Women in the Jesus Movement	242
b. Jesus Son of Mary	250
I. Jesus was a Bastard	250
II. Jesus was an Orphan	251
III. Jesus’ Mother was a Healer	251
IV. Jesus’ Mother was More Important than his Father	252
i. Priestly Lineage	252
ii. Royal Lineage	253
iii. Rabbinic Lineage	254
iv. Patriarchal Lineage	256

v. Davidic Lineage	257
vi. Others	257
<i>Chapter 8: In the Queen's Name</i>	259
1. The Name Shelamzion	259
2. The Name Shalom	261
Conclusion	276
Bibliography	281
Index of Sources	299
Index of Authors	309
Index of Names	310
Index of Subjects	313

Introduction

Only once in Jewish history did the Jews have a legitimate queen.¹ Her name was Shelamzion (Alexandra), she was the widow of the late king, Alexander Yannai and she ruled the Jewish people in the kingdom of Judaea between 76 and 67 BCE. If one takes this indisputable fact in one's stride, it is easy to produce inconsequential studies of her reign, as it was clearly short and relatively uneventful. Brief paraphrases of Josephus' description of her reign abound.² Her reign, according to this assessment was, in fact, so uninteresting that one major twentieth-century historian saw fit to skip over her reign altogether. Thus wrote W.W. Tarn over this period: "The twenty years after Jannaeus' death were merely years of war between his sons Hyrcanus II, the High Priest, and Aristobulus II."³ Yet for scholars interested in women and politics and women and power, who are aware that, throughout Jewish history, the story of women is one of powerlessness, the very existence of the queen is astounding. As a unique event, the rule

¹ It is true that the Bible relates the rule of Athaliah in the Kingdom of Judaea as a dangerous precedent. On her rule see e. g. Nancy R. Bowan, "The Quest for the Historical *Gēbirā*," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63 (2001) 606–8; Athalya Brenner, *The Israelite Woman: Social Role and Literary Type in the Biblical Narrative* (JSOT Supplement Series 21; Sheffield 1985) 28–31 and see below, Chapter 1.

² See only recently S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaeon State* 1 (Philadelphia 1968) 337–42; J. Klausner, "Queen Salome Alexandra," in Abraham Schalit (ed.), *The World History of the Jewish People VI: The Hellenistic Age* (London: 1972) 242–254; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* 1, eds. G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh 1973) 229–32; J. Goldstein, "The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty," in W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* 2 (Cambridge 1989) 343–6; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian I: The Persian and Greek Periods* (Minneapolis 1992) 304–6. I include under this rubric also the recent article of E. Baltrusch, "Königin Salome Alexandra (76–67 v. Chr) und die Verfassung des Hasmonäischen Staat," *Historia* 50 (2001) 163–79, even though he is much more aware of these pitfalls than other scholars, for he writes: "[Sie ist] von der Forschung recht stiefmütterlich behandelt" (p. 163). He is also aware of cases where other scholars are taken in by Josephus' or the rabbis' rhetoric (e. g. pp. 176–7 against Zeitlin) but he himself is taken in by the same rhetoric, e. g. on p. 164, where he writes that "[Alexandra] übernahm die Herrschaft, obwohl sie zwei erwachsen Söhne, Hyrcan und Aristobul hatte" which is a direct citation of Josephus *AJ* 13:407, without actually citing his sources, indicating that he too is of this opinion.

³ W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (Third edition 1952; copied from the paperback version Clinton MA 1974) 236. I wish to thank Etka Leibowitz for drawing my attention to this.

of a woman over the Jews raises a range of questions hitherto unexplored. This study takes as its starting point the reign of Shelamzion.

However, this book is not only about this Jewish queen. Rather it is a book about reading practices. Texts are literary compositions, most of them highly rhetorical, and their compilation, composition, editing, copying, and transmission took place through a long process in which they were reviewed, reread, corrected and corrupted. The reading practices I wish to highlight here are not new to feminists. I wish to show how, when reading for women and gender, we must always keep in mind that women, and *a fortiori* much more so queens, are anomalous for all the texts we consult. In the process of texts passing from one hand to the other, even all the way down to modern scholars, anomalous women have been treated as textual mistakes which need to be eliminated or manipulated or interpreted so as to fit into the reader's limited concept of what women could and did achieve through history. In other words, even before women were written into a text, someone was already writing them out. Yet no one is ever satisfied with the work of his predecessor. Women who had survived the earliest critical approach of an author were regularly silenced in the work of the next scholar who used his work. Often the original work has not survived; only the thoroughly edited version of the second author has come down to us. What this process failed to uproot, well-wishing copyists deleted. What they missed, Medieval commentators reviled. What they failed to notice, modern scholars have systematically dismissed and corrected. When I first set out on this expedition into gender country I thought that this elimination phenomenon, which I designated "censorship," was marginal and amusing, evident occasionally in the texts, and deserving a footnote here and there, or a short publication at most.⁴ Today I have become convinced that, in studying women and ancient texts, this is the most dominant and decisive feature, which scholars should seek out relentlessly. This study is a compilation of many studies I have undertaken over the last few years, and the silencing phenomenon stands out as the characteristic they all share.

In the preface to my second book *Mine and Yours are Hers: Retrieving Women's History from Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden 1997): I had written: "This book is a second in a trilogy on Jewish women in Greco-Roman antiquity and in the methods which should best be used in order to uncover their history. When I wrote my Ph.D., which was the first of the planned trilogy (*Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* [Tübingen 1995]) I did not know that it was only going to become Part I of a larger work. I thought the issue of Jewish women could be tackled, mastered and then removed, in order to make way for other (probably more important) topics of research. In this I had been in error. Studying women's

⁴ See Tal Ilan *Mine and Yours are Hers: Retrieving Women's History from Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden 1997) 51–84.

history is dissimilar to the study of any given issue in history, excluding history itself. Writing women's history is, in fact, most similar to writing the other half of the existing historical corpus. It is, as feminists would have it, writing Herstory. The trilogy, of which this book is a respected second, is in fact a preparation for a planned *magnum opus*, a textbook of the complete Jewish history of the Greco-Roman period which will consciously relate the story of both Jewish women and men. Thus, my aim in this book, as well as in the previous one and the ones to come, is first and foremost to relate history – certainly feminist history, but history nevertheless.”⁵ Reading my own writing as a text to be interpreted, I am not quite sure how to understand these words. Do I mean here that my third book in the trilogy will also be part of the preparation for my *magnum opus* or is the third book itself intended to fulfil that function? I think I had meant the latter, but as it stands in print this is not, by any means, certain. In any case, a third book, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Tübingen 1999) did follow, and it was certainly not the *magnum opus* as I had imagined in my preface, but rather a collection of loosely connected studies on Jewish women and gender. I had compiled that book at a time when I was producing much additional research on Jewish women. I felt that this research needed to be collected together, occasionally to demonstrate how some of the methodology of the second book can be applied and occasionally so as to demonstrate where reading more sources and adding more data into our corpus on Jewish women can enrich our knowledge on the topic. The present book began as an additional collection of the same order. However, meanwhile I have noticed how the issue of silencing has come to pervade every aspect of it, and I have also noticed what a major role Queen Shelamzion Alexandra occupies in my thinking on this period. In this respect it is closer in character to my second book, which was both about methodology and used the character of Rabbi Akiva's wife as thread on which to string all my beads of methodology. The topic of the present study is women and power. Its methodological underpinnings will be ways of silencing women, and Queen Shelamzion will take up the role of the common thread. In any case, this too is not the *magnum opus* I had promised.

To highlight my intentions, I will dedicate the remainder of the introduction to three short studies on women in power, on the silencing of women and on Shelamzion as a representative of this process. In all three I will analyze texts of major importance for the understanding of the phenomenon at hand.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xi.

1. *Women and Power: Subordination as Defining the 'Natural' Gendered Order*

The question of women's power and of women in power has been the subject of many philosophical debates and treatises in antiquity as well as in later times. The Jews too had their share in this debate. In a previous study I discussed three Jewish compositions, one biblical (Esther) and two apocryphal (Judith and Susannah) and showed how they can be viewed as partaking in this debate. I suggested that all three were composed in support of the queenship of Shelamzion Alexandra in the first century BCE and concluded that "Esther *Judith* and *Susanna* are contributions to the theoretical debate on the nature of women and their competence as political leaders. The books do not openly promote women's leadership, nor are they revolutionary in nature. Yet they do question some of the suppositions of their day on the 'natural order', in which men should rule over women."⁶ Aside from a short note, on one of the wisdom utterances in the Letter of Aristeas,⁷ I did not discuss the texts, which actually formulate what this natural order should be. In this chapter I will refer to two Jewish texts that present the common worldview on the topic. As befits a book that covers Jewish history from the Hellenistic conquest to the Byzantine period, they will be two stories, which date from the very beginning and the very end of the period under discussion in this book. The earlier is from the apocryphal Book of Ezra (henceforth 3 Ezra), usually identified as the oldest composition in the Apocrypha, and somewhat older than some of the books in the Bible.⁸ The second is an episode recorded in the *Bavli*, which should probably be dated to the sixth or seventh century CE. They are separated one from the other by almost a thousand years. Yet, as is also fitting for a book that concentrates on a Jewish woman of the late Hellenistic period, the two present themselves as describing an earlier period – the period of Persian domination and its aftermath. This is an epoch that inspired most of the court narratives in the Jewish as well as the surrounding world of many generations.⁹ The story from 3 Ezra refers to the time of King Darius (perhaps Darius I, 522–485 BCE) and the *Talmud* is interested in Alexander the Great, who put an end to the Persian Achimaenid Empire (332–323 BCE), both having predated Shelamzion by at least two and a

⁶ Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Tübingen 1999) 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁸ See J. M. Myers, *I and II Esdras* (The Anchor Bible; New York 1974) 8–15 who dates the book to the 2nd C CE. For attempts to date the particular episode under discussion here see C. C. Torrey, "The Story of the Three Youths," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 23 (1906) 179–85; A. Schalit, "Date and Place of the Story about the Three Bodyguards of the King in the Apocryphal Book of Ezra," *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* 13 (1947/8) 119–28 (Hebrew).

⁹ L. M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (Harvard Dissertations in Religion 26; Minneapolis 1990) 39–74.

half centuries. Also, the two show a pronounced interest in the power of women over and against the power of kings, both are compositions that fall within the genre of wisdom literature, and both approach the topic from the point of view of literary irony. I shall, however, first present and discuss the later of the two texts, not because it in any way chronologically predates the other, but because it formulates most completely the division of power and powerlessness between the sexes in Jewish antiquity. I shall then present the earlier text, because, while completely endorsing the first text's outlook, it also defines the shortcomings of these assumptions, particularly with reference to royal women, among whom the king's wife is paramount.

a. *bTamid* 32a–b

This text relates the meeting of Alexander the Great of Macedonia with a nation composed solely of women. It is related within the context of a series of stories about this great Gentile king, in which he tests the wisdom of the Jews and becomes a convert to their ways of thinking. There is little doubt that these stories belong to the grand "Alexander Romance" traditions, which developed in countries that had formerly been conquered by Alexander.¹⁰ The Alexander Romance is probably the rightful heir, in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, to the court legends of Persian and Hellenistic times.¹¹ It also belongs to the wisdom genre, in that it relates conversations between the king and his subjects, in which the latter, who are obviously weaker, excel. The Jews also took part in this great literary project, and according to scholars, left a lasting imprint on the genre.¹² Aside from their universal contribution to the Alexander novel, they also preserved their own unique strand of these compositions, whose origins go back to Josephus and continue into the middle ages,¹³ and of which a vital link is rabbinic literature, and at its pinnacle the *Bavli*.

¹⁰ On these texts see R. A. Freund, "Alexander Macedon and Antoninus: Two Greco-Roman Heroes of the Rabbis," in M. Mor (ed.), *Crisis and Reaction: The Heroes in Jewish History* (Studies in Jewish Civilization 6; Omaha 1995) 22–47; R. Stoneman, "Jewish Traditions on Alexander the Great," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994) 45–51.

¹¹ Wills, *Court of Foreign King*, 70–4.

¹² On the Jewish redactor of the C recension of the Alexander Romance, see F. Pfister, "Alexanders Heiligung durch das ägyptische Judentum," in *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarung der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 3; Berlin 1956) 24–35. On the non-Jewish character of recension B see T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophische-historische Klasse 38; Wien 1890) 25–7. This was obviously written in answer to an earlier claim that that recension is Jewish too.

¹³ In the Middle Ages, Hebrew Alexander Romances abounded, see W. J. van Bekkum, *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews College, no. 145* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 47; Leuven 1992) 1–34.

The text we are viewing runs as follows:

And [Alexander of Macedonia] went to that region where only women [reside]. He wanted to make battle against them. They said to him: If you kill us, they will call you “a king who slays women.” If we kill you, they will call you: “A king slain by women.” He said to them: Bring me bread. They brought him gold bread on a golden table. He said to them: Do people eat gold bread? They said to him: If you had [simply] wanted bread, had you no bread in your country that you left and came here? When he left he wrote on the gate of the region: I, Alexander of Macedonia, was a fool, until I came to the African country of women and was advised by women (*bTamid* 32a–b).

The source of this story is clearly found in the Alexander Romance. Already the earliest sources on Alexander the Great relate his meeting with Amazons – a race of women warriors.¹⁴ Arrian, considered the most reliable of the Alexander sources, relates how the satrap of Media, who paid homage to the Alexander, presented him with one hundred female warriors, whom Arrian identified as Amazons. Alexander released the women and “bade them announce to their queen that he was coming to see her in hope of offspring” (Arrian, *Annabasis*, 7:13). Arrian doubted the veracity of this report, writing: “this neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus nor any other reliable author on such matter has recorded. I do not myself think that the race of Amazons survived so long” (*ibid.*). Arrian’s doubts notwithstanding, in the next generation of Alexander histories, the Amazon story is related as a well-known fact. Quintus Curtius informs us that Alexander was met by the Queen of the Amazons, Thalestris, who asked him for a child, and he complied by cohabiting with her thirteen days (*History of Alexander* 6:5:25–32). This story has all the qualities of a romance.

Curiously, this romantic tale is not mentioned as such in any of the recensions of the Alexander Romance. Instead, Alexander’s meeting with the Amazons is portrayed already in the early A version of the composition as hostile. When Alexander’s train reached the lands of the Amazons, the latter approached the king with a threat. They boasted that they were great warriors, devoted to the defense of their country, and had never been defeated. They ended their speech by stating that:

If we conquer the enemy or put them to flight, that is regarded as a humiliation for them for the rest of time. But if they conquer us, it is only women that they have defeated.¹⁵

Disappointingly, despite the women’s wise claim, the story ends with the Amazons submitting to Alexander’s benevolent terms of surrender and paying him an annual tribute.

The *talmudic* rendition of the Amazon story is a literary reworking of this episode, mingled with other material associated with the Alexander Romance,

¹⁴ I have previously discussed the Amazons within the context of Jewish literature, see my *Integrating Women*, 129–32.

¹⁵ Translation by R. Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (London 1991) 144.

and is developed in such a way as to present a strong anti-colonial argument. While Alexander retains his benevolent character of the Alexander Romance literature, he at the same time also represents the ultimate manifestation of pursuit of power and conquest. This development is particularly important within the literature of the peoples subdued by Alexander. The women of this episode play a vital role in this reworking, because they come to represent the ultimate weakness of conquered peoples. Their story is incorporated in the *Bavli*, almost in the middle of a chain of stories about Alexander, most of which have parallels in the Alexander Romance and elsewhere in the Alexander tradition. However, the stories have undergone a subtle process of conversion to Judaism. The first story is a long encounter between Alexander and the sages of the Negev (south). As has been shown by many,¹⁶ this is a reworking of the story of Alexander's encounter with the Indian sages – Brahmins or Gymnosophists. Arrian already relates a similar episode (*Anabasis* 7:5–6), also containing an anti-colonial diatribe. The Brahmins are reputed to have said to Alexander: “each man possesses just so much of the earth as on which we stand; and you, being a man like other men ... not so long hence you will die and will possess just so much of the earth as suffices for your burial.” Obviously these words include criticism of Alexander's design to possess the entire world, and of the great journeys of conquest intended to carry out his plan.

The story of the Gymnosophists receives additional coloring and flavoring in its reworking by Plutarch (*Alexander* 64). There they are described as people who had supported an Indian rebellion against Alexander and thus deserve to die, for they adhere to a subversive, anti-colonial point of view. Before their execution, however, they engage with Alexander in a contest of questions and answers. In this competition, the Indian sages expand on the anti-colonialist sentiments voiced by the Gymnosophists of Arrian. One of them is asked why he supported the rebellion against Alexander, to which he replied “Because I wished (the leaders of the rebellion) either to live nobly or to die nobly.” According to this sage, living under occupation is ignoble. Another sage, asked how a man could be most loved, answered with the words: “If he is most powerful and does not inspire fear.” Fear, in this answer, probably refers to a reign of terror, and is a form of advice to Alexander not to carry out his design to execute the elders. As in most wisdom accounts, the wise men win the day. Alexander is dissuaded from his earlier plans and instead bestows gifts on them and sends them away.

The Jewish version of Alexander's conversation with the sages (of the Negev) is no less subversive and anti-colonial. The sages of the Negev (or south), as has been shown by Freund, could, of course, refer to sages of India. However, since the word “Negev,” aside from meaning ‘south’ in general, also connotes

¹⁶ See primarily in Freund, “Alexander Macedon,” 22–47.

a region in Land of Israel, the rabbis have most likely converted these Indians into Jews.¹⁷ This becomes evident because some of the questions that Alexander asks them (Who is wise? Who is brave? Who is rich?) receive answers quoted directly from the *mishnaic* tractate *Avot*. These answers, already in their original context, have an obvious character of subversive wisdom, by exalting weakness and meekness. He who is brave controls his desire. He who is rich is content with what he possesses (*mAvot* 4:1). Both answers are critical of Alexander's project. Putting them in the mouth of the sages of the Negev strongly suggests that these are the sages of Israel. This is further supported by their response to his question, which was created first, light or darkness? The rabbis refrain from answering Alexander, not because they do not know, but because rabbinic law requires that matters of creation not be discussed with people who are not initiated into a specific circle of elect (*mHagigah* 2:1). From our point of view it is important to note that the question Alexander asked in Plutarch's version, about how to gain the people's love, is repeated in an almost exact parallel in this version. The rabbi's answer, however, is even more subversive than the one in Plutarch – "he should hate kingship and sovereignty." This, like some of the previous answers alludes to a saying in the *mishnaic* tractate *Avot*: "love the worship [of God] but hate [earthly] power, and do not get involved with the authorities" (*mAvot* 1:10). Since these sentiments are much stronger than those voiced by the Gymnosophists in criticism of Alexander's colonial project, it is left to Alexander to challenge them with the words of the Indian sages: "he said to them: my (answer) is better than yours. He should rule mercifully and do good to (his) people." Further on, we also learn that the Sages of the Negev, like their Gymnosophist counterparts, resist Alexander's rule, for he inquires of them, much like Plutarch's Alexander, "Why did you refuse to receive me" – to which they reply, "Satan has won." This answer could mean either that they were overcome by an evil power, when they refused to accept him, but it could also mean that Alexander himself is compared to Satan. Thus the discussion with the sages ends with Alexander's rule being viewed as, if anything, problematic.

Alexander, impressed with the sages' wisdom, rewards them and then asks them to guide him to Africa. He follows their instructions and comes to the land of women described above. When he leaves that country he visits the gate to the Garden of Eden and receives a gift which he does not understand – an eyeball, which is heavier than gold and silver. He then approaches the rabbis, who explain to him its significance: it is men's eyes, which are forever greedy for more gold and silver. Again the answer alludes to Alexander's insatiable appetite for more wealth, which has led him on in his conquests. The wise men

¹⁷ Freund, "Alexander Macedon and Antoninus," 35–6. Freund's synoptic review of this question-answer session between Plutarch, the Alexander Romance and the *Talmud* (pp. 36–45) is very instructive.

he approaches are no longer designated "Sages of the Negev" but simply rabbis. Their conversion to Judaism has been completed.

The story of Alexander's encounter with the women is placed in the middle of this literary unit, after his long encounter with the sages of the Negev, and before his renewed appeal to rabbinic wisdom.¹⁸ The women are described as residing in Africa, and so obviously are not Jewish; yet their dialogue with Alexander is the most blatantly anti-colonialist in the entire composition. Between the two sections in which the sages of Israel best Alexander in their wisdom, and point out the futility of his quest, we find women besting him as well. If the idea embedded in the stories of Alexander's encounter with foreign sages is to show how the king could learn wisdom from his weaker subjects, it is further enforced by his confrontation with women. For if the sages of Israel can be presented as weak yet wise, how much more so can a nation of women, who are even weaker, and obviously at the bottom of the ladder of power? Israel might be in a weak position *vis a vis* Alexander but they are nevertheless in a stronger position than women. Many scholars have recently argued for the position that the rabbis often feminize themselves in their fantasies, whether *vis-à-vis* God or *vis-à-vis* Rome and its might. Yet they also agree that this feminization quickly develops alternative ways of subjecting and subordinating women.¹⁹ The irony of our

¹⁸ In another part of this book I discuss in detail the feminist implications for the development of stories from the Land of Israel to the Babylon setting. This story too originated in the Land of Israel, but its development follows another pattern. As has been shown above, one of the sources of this story is found in the texts of the Alexander romance, reflecting Alexander's encounter with the Amazons. The other part, however, the one in which the women feed Alexander with golden bread, is influenced by two stories from the Land of Israel – one in the *Yerushalmi* and one in the early *midrash Leviticus Rabbah*, both predating the *Bavli*. In the *Yerushalmi* we are informed of Alexander meeting an anonymous king of a place called Kazia. The king dispenses justice between two of his subjects who dispute the ownership of some money by suggesting that they marry their son and daughter to each other and they will thus share the disputed property. Alexander remarks that in his country such a dispute would have ended with the king executing both parties and taking the money for himself. On this the King of Kazia remarks to himself, that Alexander must indeed be very fond of gold (*yBM* 2:3, 8c). This theme is further developed in *Leviticus Rabbah*. Here Alexander goes to the King of Kazia in Africa where he encounters a land completely ruled by women. These women seem to be subjects of the King of Kazia. Their dialogue is similar to the one in the *Bavli*. After commending their wisdom, he goes to another country in the region and is served with gold bread. Then he views the King of Kazia dispensing justice. The story does not end with the king's comment on Alexander's love of gold, because that issue has been taken care of in the previous anecdote. Rather it ends with the King of Kazia's condemnation of Alexander's land, because of its injustice (*Leviticus Rabbah* 27). This combination of stories already contains a grain of anti-colonial criticism. The women mock Alexander for his desire to conquer their land and he rewards them by declaring them wiser than he is. The people of Africa feed him gold bread, because, had he wanted plain bread, he could have stayed at home. And the King of Kazia demonstrates to him how 'real' justice is dispensed. It remains for the Babylonian rabbis to combine all the elements into one story.

¹⁹ The idea of the rabbis' self-feminization, and consequently, the problematization of their relationship *vis à vis* women as weak, or weaker has been well developed by H. Eilberg-

story is that the weak may enter a wisdom contest and that the weakest may yet win it. And it is precisely their weakness card that the women play in this game. They are women, they claim, and a victory over them will bring no glory, since it will be a victory over an inherently weak opponent. Glory is attained only by overcoming insurmountable odds. On the other hand, a defeat (if such could be imagined) would immediately bring shame to the king, since it is to the weakest enemy possible that the king had succumbed – women. This answer is in itself a victory. Unlike the Alexander Romance, in which Alexander acknowledges the truth of the Amazons' claim, but nevertheless threatens them and cajoles them so that they succumb to him, in our story the women's victory of wisdom is not snatched away. A truce is celebrated in the form of a banquet. In this scene the women's wisdom is enhanced and they become the most blatant anti-colonialists in the entire story chain. Alexander's entire project, according to their approach, is pointless and foolish. If it is not for their golden bread that he had come so far, he should leave, because other bread he could also have found in his country. Their victory is complete. Without shedding a drop of blood Alexander leaves their country crowning them as his most successful teachers. Yet their victory is pyrrhic because it does not empower them but rather celebrates their subjugation and subordination.

b. *3 Ezra 3–4*²⁰

Chapters 3 and 4 in *3 Ezra* comprise a famous interpolation into an otherwise almost biblical account of the exploits of Ezra and his contemporaries. It tells of the three bodyguards of King Darius who set up a contest in rhetoric, in which each was expected to try and persuade the audience, and particularly the king, which thing, in his opinion, is the strongest in the world. The winner of the contest, the third speaker, was Zerubbabel, and in reward for his wisdom he was allowed to bring the temple utensils back to Jerusalem. As many have shown, this interpolation is a commonplace folktale, of no unique Jewish character, inserted into a Jewish composition.²¹ Whether it is Greek,²² Aramaic²³ or perhaps

Schwartz, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston 1994) 163–96; J. Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism: Masculine and Feminine in the Dual Torah* (Mcon GA 1993) 125–55 and D. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley 1997) 81–150.

²⁰ This section I presented as a lecture in a conference in Berlin in September 2003 entitled: "Judaism as Wissenschaft, Wissenschaft as Judaism."

²¹ Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 53 with some bibliography. The most complete treatment of this issue is found in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of W. R. Goodman, *A Study of I Esdras 3:1–5:6* (Duke University 1971). Others also endorse this view, and see below.

²² So according to R. Laqueur, "Ephoros: I. Die Proömien," *Hermes* 46 (1911) 168–72 (footnote).

²³ So C. C. Torrey, "The Nature and Origin of 'First Esdras'," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 23 (1906) 123–35.

Index of Sources

The Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>		27:9	145
4:25	22	36:1–12	141
6:1–4	227	36:8	143
46:17	106		
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
4:25	235	1:1	83
16:3	118	11:13–14	35; 69; 70
19:3	133; 135; 138	11:14	69; 124
19:7	134; 135; 137; 138	11:19	128
19:15	133; 135; 138	16:16	128
21:12	31	17:14	47; 70; 124
21:18	131	17:15	124
22:18	190	21:15–16	143
		21:15–17	140
<i>Leviticus</i>		21:23	131
19:14	195	23:4	128
21:9	139	25:5–10	49
24:10–22	141, n. 63	<i>Judges</i>	
26:4	36–7	4:17	105
<i>Numbers</i>		<i>1 Samuel</i>	
5:11–31	75	19:23–24	248
5:13	185	28:3	225
4:14	150	28:7	105; 225
6:23	129	<i>2 Samuel</i>	
9:6–14	141, n. 63	1:24	146
9:13	130; 131	13	207
15:4	129	21:8	46, n. 13
15:32–6	141, n.63	<i>2 Kings</i>	
15:25	129	9–10	44
15:38	131	9:11	248
18:14	132	11:1	45
19:9	130	16.10	261
21,5	83	17:24	122
27	143	22:14–20	247
27:1–10	140		
27:5	141		
27:8	145		

<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Proverbs</i>	
26:20	160	4:8	162
28:1	137, n. 52	7:12	160
58:7	175; 158	8:12	81
		9:17	166
<i>Jeremiah</i>		10:2	164
23:13	82	11:4	164
		31:10	105
<i>Ezekiel</i>		<i>Job</i>	
13:10	82	1:22	82
13:23	248	6:6	82
23:37	164	14:1	250, n. 104
		23:12	82
<i>Hosea</i>		<i>Ruth</i>	
2:10	68	4:13–17	128
2:11–12	68; 72	<i>Lamentations</i>	
5:14	71; 72	2:14	82
6:9	106	<i>Esther</i>	
6:9–10	72	1:3, 9	17
<i>Nahum</i>		<i>Nehemiah</i>	
2:12	66	6:14	247
2:13	66	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
3:1	65	24	61
3:1–3	65	<i>Matthew</i>	
3:4	66	3:22	245
<i>Malachi</i>		5:7	249
1:3	158	5:26	174, n. 27
		6:3	39; 250
<i>Psalms</i>		6:4	246
45:13	253	7:24–30	186
		15:40	39
		16:10	236
		<i>Luke</i>	
		1:26–31	258
		3:23–38	257
		4:22	250; 257
		7:11–17	246
		8:2	248
		11:15	245
		23:56–24:1	236
		<i>Mark</i>	
		3:21–22	249

The New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		3:22	245
1:1–17	257	5:7	249
1:18–24	258	5:26	174, n. 27
5:17	145	6:3	39; 250
9:34	245	6:4	246
12:24	245	7:24–30	186
13:54	257	15:40	39
13:55	39; 250	16:10	236
13:58	245	<i>Luke</i>	
15:21–8	186	1:26–31	258
16:17	248	3:23–38	257
23	78, n. 19	4:22	250; 257
27:56	39	7:11–17	246
28:9–10	242	8:2	248
<i>Mark</i>		11:15	245
3:21–22	249	23:56–24:1	236

<i>John</i>		<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
9:6	245	7:12–4	107; 108
11:27	248	7:13–14	108
19:25	39	11:5	248
20:14–17	242	15:5–8	242
<i>Acts</i>		<i>Philippians</i>	
16:17	249	3:5	107
21:9	248		
23:6	107	<i>Revelations</i>	
<i>Romans</i>		2:20	248
16:7	23, n. 57		

Josephus

<i>War</i>		13.383	223
1	57, n. 46	13.398–404	76
1.54–70	57	13.398–432	35
1.71	48	14.10	261
1.76	48	14.131	260
1.85	48; 52; 53; 56	13.404	50
1.91–8	64	13.405	53; 65
1.97	67; 220	13.407	47
1.98	223	13.408–10	65
1.186	54	13.410	220
1.107	53; 56	13.426	58
1.107–19	35	14.28	68
1.110–3	65	13.430	50
1.111	74	13.430–2	70
1.118	58	14.29–32	63
1.121	58	14.71	55
1.446	254	14.126	54
1.566	254	14.300	252
2.26	254	15.5	58
4.145	258	15.23	54; 55
<i>Antiquities</i>		15.81	254
5.200–9	19, n.45	15.178	50
11.31–54	14	15.254	254
13	57, n. 46	15.320–2	252
13.32	52	16.11	254
13.302	48	17:10	254
13.308	48	17.22	254
13.320	48; 53; 56; 57	17:42	99
13.323	48	17:62–3	230
13.228	57	17:69–76	230
13.228–300	57	17:230	254
13.288–96	73	18:34	252
13.348–55	260	18:130	254
13.372–63	64	18:133	254
13.380	229	20:16	252
		20:196	252

20.240	57, n. 46	<i>Vita</i>	
20.17–96	40	2	253
		185	252

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Ben Sira</i>		4.14–32	11
9:3–5	88, n. 43	4.34–41	13, n.32
25:24	236		
		<i>1 Enoch</i>	
<i>1 Esdras (3Ezra)</i>		7:1	227; 231
3–4	10–19	8:3	227
3:1–5:8	13, n.32		

Ancient Authors

Philo		Livy	
<i>De Congressu Eruditionis gratia</i>		8:18	226; 230
52–3	34		
		Tacitus	
<i>De Fuga et Inventione</i>		<i>Annals</i>	
10–11	31	2:74	229
55–58	33	3:7	229
		12:66–7	230
<i>De Vita Mosis</i>		13–4	229
1:4	31		
		Arrian	
Homer		<i>Annabasis</i>	
<i>Iliad</i>		7:13	6
14:215	218	7:5–6	7
Augustine		Plutarch	
<i>Contra Adimantum</i>		<i>Alexander</i>	
XVII	209	64	7
Origen		Athenaeus	
<i>Contra Celsum</i>		<i>Deipnosophistoi</i>	
55	243	10:451b	16
Quintius Curtius		Plato	
<i>A History of Alexander</i>		<i>Theaetetus</i>	
6:5:25–32	6	149C–D	93

Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah		<i>mNazir</i>	
<i>mPeah</i>		3:6	40
2:6	125, n. 5	<i>mSotah</i>	
<i>mDemai</i>		3:4	74–97; 107; 176
2:2–3	104	7:8	253
<i>mSheviit</i>		<i>mGittin</i>	
10:6	253, n. 111	9:10	156
<i>mTerumot</i>		<i>mQiddushin</i>	
8:4	163, n. 9	1:7	104; 131, n. 35
<i>mShabbat</i>		4:14	232
9:3	136, n. 49; 138	9:10	153
<i>mPesahim</i>		<i>mSanhedrin</i>	
8:7	83	2:1–2	49
<i>mYoma</i>		6:4	214; 216
3:10	40	<i>mEduyot</i>	
<i>mRosh Hashanah</i>		8:7	125, n. 5
1:7	233	<i>mAvot</i>	
4:7	106	1:8	173
<i>mTaanit</i>		1:10	8
3:8	200	3:1	155
<i>mHagigah</i>		4:1	8
2:1	8	<i>mKelim</i>	
<i>mYevamot</i>		1:6	119
6:4	48	<i>mToharot</i>	
<i>mKetubbot</i>		7:2	104
2:5	180; 184	<i>mMiqvaot</i>	
4:4	235	8:1	118
4:9	172	8:3	136; 138
13:11	115; 120	<i>mYadaim</i>	
<i>mNedarim</i>		4:3	125, n. 5
9:11	123, n. 1; 146		
11:12	166		

Tosefta

<i>tDemai</i>		<i>tKetubbot</i>	
2	104	12:1	112
2:2	105	12:3	117, n. 11
2:16–7	74; 106–8	12:5	116
2:17	110		
		<i>tSotah</i>	
<i>tTerumot</i>		3:5	151, n. 86
7:12, 13	163, n. 9	15:11–12	96
		<i>tQiddushin</i>	
<i>tShabbat</i>		1:10	104, n. 92
6:6	232		
7:21	232	<i>tAvodah Zarah</i>	
15:8	235; 236	3:10	104
15:15	234	4:3	119
		<i>tOhilot</i>	
<i>tPesahim</i>		3:9	236
8:6	83; 97–110	16:13	198
		<i>tToharot</i>	
<i>tKippurim</i>		8:3	104
4:20	253		
		<i>tYadaim</i>	
<i>tSukkah</i>		2:20	144, n. 69
1:1	40		
3:1	125, n. 5		
4:28	221		
<i>tHagigah</i>			
3	101		
3:35	101		

Yerushalmi

<i>Berakhot</i>		<i>yMeasrot</i>	
2:3, 4c	198	5:7, 52a	167
3:4, 6c	188–192		
7:2, 11b	36; 160	<i>yShabbat</i>	
7:2, 17b	53	1:4, 3d	41
9:2, 13d	258	14:4, 14d	167–171; 207; 234
9:5, 14b	154		
		<i>yEruvin</i>	
<i>yDemai</i>		10:1, 26a	198
2:2, 22d	110		
		<i>yPesahim</i>	
<i>yPeah</i>		1:3, 27c	199
1:1, 15b–c	165	1:6, 27d	41
		<i>yYoma</i>	
<i>yTerumot</i>		1:1, 38d	253
1:1, 40b	238		
8:5, 45c	163–166		

<i>yYom Tov</i>		4:5, 19d	185–188
1:6, 60c	196, n. 47	6:2, 20d	194
		9:1, 23b	194
<i>yTaanit</i>		<i>yGittin</i>	
1:3, 64c	200–213	4:4, 45d	193
1:3, 64b	201	4:6, 46a	193
<i>yMegillah</i>		<i>yBava Metzia</i>	
3:2, 74a	179	2:3, 8c	9, n.18
<i>yMoed Qatan</i>		<i>yBava Batra</i>	
3:1, 81c	121	2:2, 13b	167
3:1, 81d	192–196	8:1, 16a	144; 145
3:8, 83d	84	9:6, 17a	172; 173
<i>yHagigah</i>		<i>ySanhedrin</i>	
2:1, 77d	223	6:8, 23c	217
2:2, 77d–78a	217	7:9, 25d	240
		7:19, 25d	225
<i>yKetubbot</i>		10:2, 28d	238
2:5, 26c	180–185; 189	<i>yAvodah Zarah</i>	
4:11, 29a	172–179	2:2, 40d	169
8:11, 32b–c	113	2:3, 41a	164, n. 10
11:2, 34b	176	<i>yHorayot</i>	
13:11, 36b	116, n. 10	3:7, 48a	165
<i>yNazir</i>		<i>yNiddah</i>	
5:5, 54b	36	1:5, 49b	258, n. 127
<i>ySotah</i>			
1:4, 16d	245		
3:4, 19a	87; 176		

Bavli

<i>bBerakhot</i>		116a–b	145
15a	256, n. 120	125a	82
16b	258, n. 127	134a	234
18b	166	154a	255; 256
22a	188–192	156b	165
39b	27, n.76	<i>bEruvin</i>	
47b	104	29b	234
44a	53	64b	229; 240
48a	38; 162	<i>bPesahim</i>	
56b	254	57a–b	38
62a	239	91a–b	84
<i>bShabbat</i>		91b–92a	84
16a	40	103a	255, n. 117
16b	53	110a	240
88b	256, n. 120	111a	240
104b	240		

112a–b	238	50a–b	154
112b	238	90b	163–166
<i>bYoma</i>		<i>bSotah</i>	
38b	251	3a	150
78a	256	21b	81; 176
84a	240; 252	22a	86; 91; 208
		22b	40; 76
		49b	68; 77
<i>bSukkah</i>		<i>bGittin</i>	
46a	256, n. 120	36a	196
<i>bBetsa</i>		36b	256, n.120
25b	196, n. 47	38a	194
<i>bTaanit</i>		45a	194; 229
21b	206, n. 57	56a	254
22b–23a	36	68b–70a	26, n.71
23a–24a	200–213	69a	232
23b	254	70a	238
24b	256, n. 120	<i>bQiddushin</i>	
<i>bMegillah</i>		35a	177
12b	85	40a	157
<i>bMoed Qatan</i>		66a	77; 101
17a	192; 195	80b–81b	88–90
22b	84	<i>bBava Qamma</i>	
25b	256	59b	165
<i>bYevamot</i>		82b	77
45b	255	<i>bBava Metzia</i>	
<i>bKetubbot</i>		33b	137, n.52
10a	90–4	38a	96
10b	87; 234	103a	256, n. 120
22a	180–185	110a	256, n. 120
23a	184; 256	<i>bBava Batra</i>	
52b	172–179	10a	158
54b	178	52a	255
55b–56a	178	61b	256, n. 120
62	60, n. 53	115b	144, n. 69
62b	80, n. 23; 85; 86; 97; 257	119b	141
63a	153	149a	255; 256
67b	165	<i>bSanhedrin</i>	
82b	113	5a	255
85b–86a	81	34a	112, n. 3
87a	258	51a	140
110b	116	51b	139
111a	122	65b	158
<i>bNedarim</i>		67b	225
23a	253, n. 111	72b	32
50a	60, n. 53; 153	107b	223

bAvodah Zarah

10b	154
20a	155; 156
27a	235
28a	167–171
38a–b	229

bMenahot

64b	77
-----	----

bHullin

124a	256
------	-----

bKeritot

28b	38
-----	----

bNiddah

45a	185–188
-----	---------

bTamid

32a–b	5–10
-------	------

*Midrashic Works**Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael*

Pisha 17	198
----------	-----

Yitro de-Ama-

leq 1	235
-------	-----

Yitro bahodesh 2	134
------------------	-----

Yitro bahodesh 3	133
------------------	-----

Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai

19	135; 136
----	----------

*Sifra**Parasha 1,*

Pereq 1	126, n. 11
---------	------------

Shemini Mekhilta

de-Miluim 33	95
--------------	----

Behuqotai 1:1	37; 53
---------------	--------

Behuqotai 6:3	251, n. 109
---------------	-------------

Behuqotai 8:12	125, n. 6
----------------	-----------

Sifre Numbers

2	129; 129, n. 24
---	-----------------

4	129, n. 24
---	------------

39	129; 129, n. 24
----	-----------------

70	129; 129, n. 24; 130
----	----------------------

107	129; 129, n. 24
-----	-----------------

109	129, n. 24
-----	------------

111	129; 129, n. 24
-----	-----------------

112	126, n.10; 129, n. 24
-----	-----------------------

115	129, n. 24; 131
-----	-----------------

116	129, n. 24
-----	------------

117	129, n. 24; 132
-----	-----------------

124	129, n. 24; 130
-----	-----------------

134	143
-----	-----

Sifre Zuta

110	147, n. 73
-----	------------

Sifre Deuteronomy

1	83
---	----

1–54	128, n. 19
------	------------

13	125; 128, n. 18
----	-----------------

42	36; 47; 53; 69; 124
----	---------------------

46	128; 128, n. 18
----	-----------------

83	128, n. 18
----	------------

93	128, n. 18
----	------------

118	151, n. 87
-----	------------

122	128; 128, n. 18
-----	-----------------

143	128; 128, n. 18
-----	-----------------

149	128, n. 18
-----	------------

157	47; 70; 124; 128, n. 18
-----	-------------------------

190	128, n. 18; 139
-----	-----------------

215	128, n. 18; 139; 143
-----	----------------------

218	128, n. 18
-----	------------

221	128, n. 18; 131; 215
-----	----------------------

249	128; 128, n. 18
-----	-----------------

328	250
-----	-----

253	128, n. 18
-----	------------

351	125, n. 6
-----	-----------

Genesis Rabbah

9:14	255, n. 117
------	-------------

11:5	158
------	-----

17:8	236
------	-----

46:11	40
-------	----

70:5	252
------	-----

91:3	36, n.112
------	-----------

Exodus Rabbah

28	137; 138
----	----------

28:2	137, n. 52
------	------------

Leviticus Rabbah

27	9, n.18
----	---------

35:10	36, n. 112; 37, n. 113
-------	------------------------

Pesiqta Rabbati

21 250

Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer

40 137, n. 53

Avot de Rabbi Nathan A

16 156; 157

*Tanhumra*Terumah 3 158
Mesora' 18 137, n. 53*Dead Sea Documents*4Q161 68, n. 20
4Q166 67; 68, n. 20
4Q167 71
4Q169 68, n. 20
4Q331 62; 63
4Q332 62; 63
4Q333 62; 634Q448 56, n.44
4Q223, 225 54
4QpHos A 69
4QMMT C:7 76, n. 12*Pesher Nahum* 64–8; 71–2*Sefer Hasidim*58; 80 90, n. 52
174 93
178 93282 94, n. 66
380 93
1084; 1148 91, n. 54

Index of Authors

- Alon, Gedalia 119
Amir, Y. 31
Amusin, Joseph 68–9
Atlas, Eliezer 152
- Ben-Barak, Zafira 45
Boyarin, Daniel 188
Brenner, Athalya 45–6
Brooten, Bernadette 23
- Castelli, Elisabeth 109
Clermont-Ganneau, Charles 260; 272–3
Clark Wire, Antoinette 108–9; 243
Cohen, Abraham 81
Cohen, Shaye 246
Colson, F.H. 33
- Dan, Joseph 93–4
Danby, Herbert 78; 81
- Efron, Joshua 162; 217–20; 222–3
Eron, Lewis J. 12; 15; 18
- Fitzmyer, Joseph 62
Flusser, David 77
Fraenkel, Yonah 88–9; 197
- Gage, Jean 226
Geiger, Abraham 78; 149
Goldin, Judah 153
- Hay, D.M. 32
Hauptman, Judith 83–4; 102–3; 114–5;
120; 147
Hengel, Martin 217; 220–2
Hurwitz, Shay of 150–2;
- Ishida, Tomoo 445
Janowitz, Naomi 30
- Kahana, Menahem 147
- Klausner, J. 215–6
Kraemer, Ross 242
- Lacks, Roslyn 156
Laquer, Richard 14
- Marcus, Ralph 48
Müller, Johannes 49
- Naeh, Shlomo 89
Neusner, Jacob 79; 81; 95; 100; 118;
- Oppenheimer, Aaron 100
- Patai, Rafael 30
Plaskow, Judith 133
- Reviv, Hanoach 45–6
Rivkin, Elias 96
Rubenstein, Jeffrey 177
- Safrai, Shmuel 133–4
Schüssler-Fiorenza, Elisabeth 108; 190;
243
Schwartz, Daniel R. 38; 98–9
Sievers, Joseph 58–9
Smith, Morton 99; 245
Standhartinger, Angela 41
Stern, M. 21–2; 24; 26; 216
Strugnell, John 21
- Taylor, Joan 33; 35
Tarn, W.W. 1
- Urbach, Ephraim 246
- Van der Horst, Piet 30
Veltri, Giueseppe 217; 222; 232
- Wilson, Robert 246–7
Wise, Michael 63

Index of Names

- Abba b. Adda 193
Abba b. Manyumi see Abba b. Martha
Abba b. Martha 251–2
Abba b. Zutra see Rabba b. Zutra
Abba Hilqiah 165;
Abba Shaul son of Imma Miriam 258
Abbaye 27, n. 76; 85–6; 234; 239–40
Abraham 237
Abshalom son of Susannah 258
Achileus 212
Adam 22; 227; 236
Aemilius (Scaurus) 62
Agrat b. Mahlat 238
Agrippa 253
Agrippa II 38
Agrippina 230
Aha (Rav) 194; 196
Ahab 44
Ahasuerus 85
Ahaziah 44
Aibo 255
Alexander see Yannai
Alexander the Great 4–11
Alexander Tiberius 33
Alexandra see Shelamzion
Alexandra Aristobulus I's wife 47; 50–60
Ami 239
Amnon 207
Antigonus 48
Antiochus (IV?) 64
Antipater Herod's father 261
Antipater Herod's son 230
Antipater Salome's son 254
Apame 13; 18
Aphrodite 218–9; 238
Apollo 237
Aqaviah b. Mehalalel 155
Aqiva 32; 60, n. 53; 94; 124–159; 165;
186–7; 278, n. 12
Aquila the proselyte 252
Aretas 68
Aristobulus
– I (Judah) 47–60; 73
– II 1; 47; 54; 58; 68; 77
– son of Herod 254
Aseneth 41–2
Ashi 211
Asi 176; 239
Astarte 218
Athaliah 1, n. 1; 44–7; 58–9
Ation 257
Augustus 50

Baal 45
Bar Kokhba 119; 149; 154; 156
Batyah 253
Ben Azzai 75–6; 94–5; 97
Ben Batih 254
Ben Dama 254
Ben Sira 88, n. 43; 160–61; 236
Berenice
– daughter of Salome 254
– Queen 38–9
Beruriah 30, n. 92; 37; 92; 196

Cephas see Peter
Claudius 26; 229–30

Darius (I?) 4; 10–1
David 44–6; 58; 128–9; 207; 257
Deborah 19, n. 45
Democritus 29
Demetrius Akarius 64
Doeg son Joseph 251

Eleazar (R.) 176
Elazar b. Azariah 133; 135
Eliezer (R.) 75; 131, n. 33; 145; 165; 193;
214–5
Elisha 246; 248
Em 27
Eros 238
Eve 22; 227; 236
Ezekiel 248

- Gamaliel 257
 Gamaliel (Rabban) 145;
 Germanicus 229–30
- Hanan the Bashful 254
 Hananiah b. Tardion 39
 Hanina 121–2
 Hanina b. Papi 157
 Hannah Rabbi Isaac b. Eliyasshiv's
 wife 205–6; 209–10
 Helene 38, n. 118; 40
 Helios 238
 Herod 39; 46; 50; 53; 58; 99; 230; 253–4;
 261; 261, n. 11
 Hever 106
 Hillel (sage and school of) 101; 148; 256–7
 Hillel son of Ation 256
 Hiyya (R.) 255
 Hiyya bar Ashi 88–9
 Honi 193; 200; 202–3; 254
 HulDAH 247
 Hyrcanus (John) 47–8; 56–7; 59; 62–3; 73
 Hyrcanus II 1; 47; 50; 52; 54–5; 58; 62;
 68; 77
- Ilish (Rav) 229
 Imma Shalom 145; 165
 Isaac 237
 Isaac (R.) 193
 Isaac b. Eliyashiv 205
 Isis 237
 Ishmael (R.) (sage and school of) 124–152;
 254
- Jacob 237
 – House of 133–5; 137
 James 39; 242
 Jehu 44
 Jesus 39; 42; 107; 236; 242–58
 Jezebel 44; 248
 John son of Dorcas 258
 Joshua (R.) 75–6; 78–80; 86; 94–7; 107;
 236; 252;
 Joshua b. Levi 188–9; 193
 Joseph (biblical) 157
 Joseph Jesus' father 250–1; 257
 Joeseeph son of Iatrine 252
 Josephus 1; 5; 14; 22–3; 35; 39–40; 47–8;
 50–60; 64–5; 67–8; 70; 71, n. 28; 73–4;
 76–7; 99; 106; 220; 230; 252–4; 258;
 260; 269; 278–9
 Josiah (biblical) 247
 Judah (Rav) 195
- Judah see Aristobulus
 Judah of Usha 104
 Judah Nassia 195
 Judah son of Shalom 258
 Judah the Patriarch (Rabbi) 39; 95; 120;
 189; 191–3; 195; 257
 Judith 4
 Julius Severus 154
 Junia 23
 Junias 23
 Justus of Tiberias 23
- Kahana (Rav) 157
 Kamith 252
- Luke 242; 246; 248; 250; 257
- Malachi 246
 Mani (R.) 204–5; 209–10
 Mari b. Rachel 255–6
 Mari son of Isor 256
 Mari son of the daughter of Samuel 255
 Maria the Chemist 27–30;
 Mariamme the Hasmonean 46; 58
 Mark Anthony 50
 Martha 248
 Martha b. Boethus 40
 Martha Manyumi's mother 251–2
 Martha mother of Samuel 254–5; 255,
 n. 117
 Mary
 – Magdalene 42; 242; 248–9
 – mother of James and Joses 39
 – mother of Jesus 39; 250–2; 257–8
 Meir (R.) 245
 Menelaus 221
 Mikhal b. Kushi 198
 Mikhal b. Saul 46, 198
 Miriam b. Bilga 221
 Miriam Herod's wife 261, n. 11
 Miriam Moses' sister 28, n. 78; 30
 Moses 21–2; 25; 30–1; 83; 124; 133–5;
 140–2; 150; 187; 234–5; 237; 253–4
 Moso 20–5; 28; 30; 34;
- Nahman (Rav) 90; 178; 229; 256
 Nahum 64
 Nathan (R.) 35; 235
 Nehemiah 247
 Nero 230
 Noadiah 247
- Omri 44; 46

- Pantheras 250
 Paul 23; 98; 107–10; 210; 242–3; 249;
 Pentakaka 200–1
 Peor 238
 Peter 208–13; 242; 248
 Petronella 212–3
 Pheroras Herod's brother 230
 Philip 248
 Philo 20; 22; 30–35
 Priscas 23
 Prisca 23
 Ptah 238
 Ptolemy 40; 210–1
- Octavian see Augustus
 Qetia b. Shalom 154
 Qimhit 253
- Rabbah bar bar Hanna 85, 255
 Rabba bar Zutra 193,–4
 Rabbi see Judah the Patriarch
 Rachel 156
 Ravina 196
 Resh Laqish 178
 Rufina 210
 Ruth 128
- Salina 47; 52–7
 Salome
 – Alexandra, see Shelamzion
 – Herod's sister 27, n. 75; 39
 – the Physician 25–27
 Saul (King) 105; 146; 198; 225; 248
 Samuel son of Martha 254–5
 Shammai (sage and school of) 101; 148;
 Shelamzion 1–5; 18–9; 35–42; 47–74; 77;
 111; 114; 124–5; 160–63; 170; 196; 214;
 220–24; 258–62; 278–80
 Sheila 255
 Shimeon b. Elazar 110
 Shimeon b. Gamaliel 173–5
 Shimeon b. Shatah 36–38; 40–1; 111–5;
 160; 162–3; 170; 214–23; 225; 228;
 241
 Shimeon b. Yohai 131; 137
 Shimeon b. Va 173–4
 Shmuel 186; 189
 Simon b. Boethus 252
 Simon son of Martha 255, n. 117
 Simeon the Hasmonean 47
 Skepsis 30–35
 Susanna 4
- Tamar (biblical) 207
 Tamar 179
 Thalestris 6
 Theopempte 23
 Timtunis 168–70; 173–4; 233
 Tineus Rufus 154–8
 Titus 210; 250
- Vespasian 250
- Yaakov b. Aha 170
 Yael (biblical) 105
 Yael 23, n. 57
 Yannai Alexander, King 1; 19; 36; 38–41;
 47–60; 64–7; 71–3; 76–7; 97; 160–62;
 196; 214; 216; 220; 223; 225; 261
 Yehoram 44
 Yehu 248
 Yoash 44
 Yohanan (R.) 168–81; 184–7; 190
 Yohanan b. Zakkai 254
 Yohani bat Retavi 91–2; 94
 Yoram 44
 Yosi b. Abin (R.) 205; 212
 Yosi of Yoqrat, Rabbi 205–6; 212
- Zadoq (R.) 156–7
 Zelophehad 140–145
 Zipporah 234–5

Index of Subjects

- adultery/adulteress 75–6; 78; 87; 95; 164;
166; 185; 191; 211
- Africa 8–9; 9, n. 18; 274
- Alexander Romance 5–10
- Amazons 5–6; 9, n. 18; 10
- Ashkelon 215–20; 222–3; 242; 249
- Babylonian(s); Babylonia 27; 35; 38; 40;
81; 85–7; 90–1; 114; 117; 122–3; 126;
n. 10; 161–2; 166; 171–2; 174; 182;
186–7; 192; 196–7; 202–6; 208, 210–3,
218; 239; 254; 256–7
- beauty 18; 85; 88; 146; 155–6; 183–4; 202;
204–8; 210–3
- bride(s) 52; 113–4; 156; 252
– bride-price 114
- chastity 157; 200; 207; 209–19; 253
- child 6; 22; 194–5; 235
– birth 12; 15–6; 93; 235
– mortality 224
– illegitimate 250
– less 121–2
- children 46, n. 13; 64; 67; 77; 93; 104; 180;
195; 206–7; 245; 254
- Christians; Christianity 22–5; 29; 39; 42; 47;
49; 53; 74; 78; 89; 98; 107–10; 145–6;
170; 208–13; 224; 226–8; 236; 242–4;
246; 248; 250–1; 257; 272–3
- circumcision 234–5
- conversion 8; 40; 155; 168–9; 171; 208–9;
256; 261
- daughter(s) 34; 39; 43–4; 46; 54–5; 58; 75;
81; 94–6; 106; 108; 110; 118; 128–9;
139–46; 151; 154; 164; 169–70; 183–4;
190; 192; 198; 203; 206; 209–13; 227;
229–30; 240; 248; 252–5; 257
- Dead Sea; Sect/Scrolls 24; 35; 56; 61–72;
121, n. 21; 228; 236; 268
- Diaspora 27; 109; 118; 121–3; 260; 268;
- divorce 107–8; 112–8; 153; 156; 158; 166;
174; 178; 180–1; 184
- Egypt/ian 28–9; 118; 230; 238; 259–61; 274
- family; families 15–6; 34; 40; 46; 51; 54;
56; 59; 61; 149; 162; 170; 198; 202–5;
212; 230; 252–5; 257–8; 260
– Shelamzion's 52; 260
- foreign women see gentile women
- fornication 68–9; 78; 81; 139–40; 188;
218–9; 250
- fringes 104; 131–2
- gentile(s) 5; 25–7; 47; 108–9; 119; 121;
124; 132; 143; 145–6; 169–72; 179; 193;
218–22; 238
– gentile women 26–7; 88, n. 43; 90;
121–3; 168–9; 171–2; 218–20
- Gospel(s) 39; 42; 146; 242–3; 245; 248–51;
257
- hasid; hasidim 75; 166; 201–5
- haver; haverim 100–10
– woman haver 97–8; 105–10
- Hasmonean(s) 18–9; 46–8; 50; 54–6;
58–62; 64; 66–7; 73; 214–6; 218; 223;
225; 252–3; 260–1; 279
- healer(s) 232–3; 237; 240
– gentile 170–1
– women 27; 171; 231; 233; 235; 242–49;
251
- heretics 102; 143; 146
- Herodian(s) 54; 56; 69–70; 261
- homosexual intercourse 84
- idolatry 69; 122; 218–9; 232–3
- impurity 41; 100–1; 103–5; 107; 109; 117;
136; 163; 184; 188–191; 198; 236; 256
– menstrual 182; 188–90
- incest 207

- inheritance, women's 44; 46; 48; 58; 60; 81; 118; 128; 139–46; 175–6; 178
- intercourse *see* sex
- Jerusalem/ites 10; 55; 61; 68; 75; 115; 118; 250; 254; 259; 260; 269; 272–3; 275
- jealousy 150–2
- ketubah 111–7; 152; 174–8; 279
- leadership 103; 124–5; 148
- women's eligibility for 4; 23; 70; 124–5; 139
- levirate marriage (yibbum); levir 49; 51; 121–3;
- lover(s) 16; 18; 153; 209
- maidservant 39; 189–96; 198–9; 249
- marriage 46; 49; 51; 54–5; 88; 107–8; 110–1; 114; 116–8; 121–2; 149–51; 175–6; 181; 183–4; 213; 254; 277, n. 3
- intermarriage 107–10
- marriage contract *see* ketubah
- matron(a), matronita 25; 154; 156–7; 159; 171
- matronymes 239–40; 250; 269; 273
- men bearing 257–8; 272
- menstruation *see* impurity
- midwives 92–3; 231; 234–5; 252
- misogyny, misogynist 236; 244; 278
- mother 16; 27, n.76; 39–40; 43–45; 47–8; 50; 54; 59; 121–2; 178; 183; 230; 238–40; 251–8; 270
- New Testament 39; 78, n. 19; 146; 242–4; 249
- ordeal of the bitter waters 75; 151; 185
- orphan(s) 141; 176; 251
- patriarchy; patriarchal 15; 103; 117–22; 151; 163; 180; 192; 197; 240; 244; 256–7; 276
- Pharisees; Pharisaism 36–7; 40–1; 47; 65–6; 68; 70–2; 98; 124; 144; 147–9; 176; 218; 220; 242; 279
- women Pharisees 73–110
- phylacteries 104; 110; 198
- physician(s) 93; 231–5
- female 25–27; 168–74; 233–5
- poisoning 75; 163; 228
- by women 226; 229–30; 240–41
- priest(s) 45; 49; 61; 63–64; 73; 104; 121; 130; 139–41; 167; 187; 246; 249; 252–4; 273
- high 38; 52; 58–9; 73; 58; 130; 186; 221; 252
- property 113; 160; 173; 176
- woman's ownership of *see* inheritance
 - women as 140; 189–90; 192; 207–8
- prophet(s)/prophecy 63; 68–9; 72; 245–9; 272–3
- women prophets 19, n. 45; 247–9
- proselytes 38, n. 118; 132; 156; 252; 255–6
- prostitutes/prostitution 42; 64; 66; 68–9; 71–2; 87–90; 187; 200; 218–9; 250; 279
- punishment 68–9; 90; 117; 129–31; 139; 170; 177; 182; 186–7; 214; 222; 236;
- for having deserted the Land of Israel 121
 - for immodesty 68–9; 75; 95; 139
 - for woman's beauty 206; 208; 210–13
 - for raping 192
- purity *see* impurity
- queenship 4; 43; 46; 59; 70; 124
- Qumran *see* Dead Sea sect
- rape 185–92; 207; 256
- Roman/s; Rome 2–3; 5; 9; 12; 19–21; 23–7; 50; 51, n. 31; 55, n. 38; 58; 62–3; 72; 109; 146; 149; 154; 156–7; 159; 169; 188; 210; 213; 216; 221; 226; 229–31; 250; 262; 264–5; 274
- Sadducees; Sadducean 73; 101; 144–6; 279
- Samaritan(s) 22; 122
- Sects; sectarianism 33; 61; 63; 65–72; 74–5; 77–9; 94–5; 97–101; 103–7; 110; 121, n. 21; 147–8; 219–20; 225; 243–4; 279
- sex; sexuality; sexual relations 6; 16–8; 78–90; 94; 97; 109; 133; 136; 181–2; 185–92; 198–9; 211; 213; 219; 270; 277, n. 3
- sexual
- abstinence 78–80; 86; 94
 - abuse 189; 191; 209
 - activity 87
 - allure 16
 - availability 189
 - arousal 17; 88; 90
 - continence 75–6; 78; 89
 - desire 94; 182; 189; 202
 - enticement 88; 186
 - harassment 181; 183; 209

- impropriety 81–2; 84–5
- laxity 72; 79
- liason 87
- license 89
- misconduct 81; 84; 97
- promiscuity 76
- relations 187
- satisfaction 78–9; 86
- temptation 89; 157
- transgression 83; 87
- violence 185–92; 256
- Sinai; Sinaitic revelation 140–1; 187
- women’s inclusion/exclusion 125–39
- sister 23; 30; 38–9; 48; 122; 146; 162–3; 170; 196; 207; 230; 254; 261
- slave(s) 24; 83–4; 89; 118; 120; 128; 132; 166; 190; 192–4; 219; 230
- female see maidservant
- sorcery see witch(es)
- sotah 151
- succession practice 43
- Israeli/Judean monarchy 44–6
- Hasmonean monarchy 47–60; 278–9
- Torah 31; 80; 85; 119; 125–6; 128–9; 131–6; 140–1; 143–5; 152; 160; 192; 194; 212; 249
- study for women 75; 81; 87; 94–7; 139; 198
- Usha; Ushan 119–20
- virgin; virginity 86–7; 90–1; 113; 183; 186–7; 208–10; 213; 257
- widow 1; 48–60; 86–7; 91; 92, n. 59; 113; 121–3; 155–6; 174–8; 211; 230; 236; 246
- witch(es); witchcraft 87; 91–4; 214–258; 279
- whore(s) see prostitutes
- Yom Kippur 185–186

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Alphabetical Index

- Albani, M., J. Frey, and A. Lange* (Ed.): Studies in the Book of Jubilees. 1997. *Volume 65*.
- Ameling, Walter* (Ed.): Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis. Vol. 2: Kleinasien. 2004. *Volume 99*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich*: Tora und Leben. 1996. *Volume 55*.
- Becker, A. H., and 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*
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen* (Ed.): Geniza-Fragmente zu Avot de-Rabbi Natan. 2004. *Volume 103*.
- Bloedhorn, Hanswulf*: see *Noy, David*
- Bousthan, Ra'anan S.*: From Martyr to Mystic. 2005. *Volume 112*.
- 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*.
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo*: The Dead Sea 'New Jerusalem' Text: Contents and Contexts. 2005. *Volume 110*.
- Doehorn, 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*.
– Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine. 2001. *Volume 81*.
– 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 Woman into Second Temple History*. 1999. *Volume 76*.
 - *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*. 2002. *Volume 91*.
 - *Silencing the Queen*. 2006. *Volume 115*.
- 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*.
- Lapin, Hayim*: *Economy, Geography, and Provincial History in Later Roman Galilee*. 2001. *Volume 85*.
- 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*.
- Luttikhuisen, 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*
- Niehoff, Maren*: *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*. 2001. *Volume 86*.
- Noy, David, Alexander Panayotov, and Hanswulf Bloedhorn* (Ed.): *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*. *Volume 1: Eastern Europe*. 2004. *Volume 101*.
- , and *Hanswulf Bloedhorn* (Ed.): *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*
- Reichman, Ronen*: *Abduktives Denken und talmudische Argumentation*. 2005. *Volume 113*.
- : *Sifra und Mishna*. 1998. *Volume 68*.
- Renner, Lucie*: see *Schäfer, Peter*

- Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Rubenstein, Jeffrey L. (Ed.)*: Creation and Composition. 2005. *Volume 114*.
- 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, and 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 II/1–4: 2001. *Volume 82*.
 - Band II/5–12: 2001. *Volume 83*.
 - 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 Catherine Hezser (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*

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

- 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*: Tehiyat 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*.
- 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 Righeousness. 1994. *Volume 40*.

*For a complete catalogue please write to the publisher
Mohr Siebeck • P.O. Box 2030 • D-72010 Tübingen/Germany
Up-to-date information on the internet at www.mohr.de*