

indoctrinated by the *sicarii* extremists who controlled Masada. For instance, titles of functionaries are in Hebrew. However, it seems that this existed mostly on the official level. The *sicarii* were faced with the challenge of administering a sizable population in an overcrowded and besieged site. Their task of maintaining effective communication and order, the prerequisites of sustaining morale, compelled them to adjust themselves to the reality of the ever-increasing use of Aramaic instead of Middle Hebrew. This reality existed 60 years before the writing of the Bar-Kochba letters, which are in Hebrew but with Aramaisms. These letters are official correspondence and therefore their value as a source for evaluating the state of preservation of the Hebrew vernacular is *a priori* questionable. The scanty pertinent material from Engedi resembles the situation in neighboring Masada. However, it is noteworthy that Gk. *Maddaronas/Mand(a)ronas*, a by-name from Engedi, shows the same variation as Middle Hebrew *mdrwn/mndrwn* “slope” (see n. 43). It is revealing that Phoenician, the only surviving Canaanite language apart from Middle Hebrew, also died out in about the same age. and, like Hebrew, was replaced by Aramaic: the last Phoenician inscriptions are from the 1st century CE (unlike Punic which continued to be spoken outside the motherland) and very few Phoenician anthroponyms survived slightly later. This shows that the replacement of Canaanite by Aramaic is an areal phenomenon. Marda – if it really refers to Masada in the Byzantine period – might have been (re)named by the monks who dwelled there on account of the heroic revolt (alternatively – like other toponyms – it may denote “castle” in Aramaic).

RIMA 2, A.O.89.5, 6'-15'; cf. A.O.89.9, 3'-10'), suggested by Edmonds (2019, 35 with n. 49) seems unlikely in view of the Aleph sign. Lebanon is mentioned in Middle Assyrian inscriptions as the westernmost point of the Assyrian campaign. Kesed, the Chaldeans' eponym, is included in the list of the 12 sons of Nahor (Genesis 22, 21-24) together with several toponyms in Eastern Arabia, near the Persian Gulf. It is clear that the compiler of this list was not aware of the original abodes of the Chaldeans in the Jezira near the Habur but was acquainted with their later territories in the Babylonian alluvium. The most important of the Chaldean political units was Bīt-Yakīn in the Sealand on the Persian Gulf. The Nahorids' list can be compared with the Table of Nations. Therefore, a dating in the mid-6th century BCE is plausible.

The second issue is the preservation of the toponym Jabal *Dalūq* ("Mt. D.") in modern Palestinian Arabic. It refers to an elevated site on the same mountain range as Sartaba, and its second component goes back to Middle Heb. or JAram. *dlwq* "enkindled, burning". This is a reminiscence from the period when Sartaba was part of the chain of beacons announcing the consecration of the new month by the Judean sages. This chain of beacons reached Babylonia so that the Jewish community there was informed of the recurrent event. This practice presumably was not continued after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE. This find is relevant to the Hebrew-Aramaic linguistic interaction. Regarding the persistence of Middle Hebrew, its last phase as the vernacular of Judea has been thoroughly investigated by linguists. Here I deal with the socio-linguistic ramifications of the laconic texts unearthed in Masada and datable shortly before its fall in 73 CE. The Aramaic texts not only greatly outweigh the Hebrew ones, but the fact that the instructions for distributing the most vital commodity, viz. bread, to the inhabitants of the besieged fortress are only in Aramaic reveal that the dominant vernacular at that time in Masada was not Middle Hebrew but Aramaic. This is corroborated by the fact that the few letters from Masada are written in Aramaic; the occupational-professional terms are Aramaic; the filiations mostly contain Aramaic *br* rather than Hebrew *bn* "son;" and the productive naming consists almost entirely of Aramaic anthroponyms, whereas nearly all the Hebrew names are traditional-hereditary (there are also several Arabian names which may belong to Idumeans in Masada). There are indications that the use of Hebrew was encouraged and

Present Eschatology, and the Messiah who Came and Then Passed Away

Cana Werman, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

My paper starts with a summary of three uprisings against the Hellenistic movement and the Seleucid regime initiated by conservative priests in Jerusalem before the so-called Antiochian Decrees. It then detects the voice of this conservative group in two pre-sectarian writings found in the Qumran caves, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah and an independent literary unit embedded in the Damascus Document (B 19:5-13). The paper proceeds with an analysis of the Enochic Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 89-90), and the claim that the earlier, hidden layer of this treatise echoes the conservative group, while the treatise's overt layer is a sectarian one. The charismatic leader described there is no other than *Doresh-HaTorah*, known to us from the Damascus Document (A 7:9-21). A further claim is that both writings assign a messianic role to this figure; in other words, they assume 'present eschatology,' and both express the belief in the imminent coming of the Davidic Messiah. The last part of the paper shows that following the death of *Doresh-HaTorah*, the Qumran Community was forced to admit that "eschatology" belongs to an unknown future, and demonstrates that, as a result, messianic hope has an insignificant role or no role at all in sectarian writings such as Pseudo-Moses and Jubilees, composed at the end of the second century BCE. These writings, instead, focus on John Hyrcanus' evil deeds and envision his close disappearance.

On the origin of the Chaldeans, the Connections of Judea with Babylonia and the Ramifications of the Relevant Findings

Ran Zadok, Tel Aviv University

The first issue is the earliest attestations of the Chaldeans. The Middle-Assyrian inscription of Aššur-kettī-lēšir II, king of the land of Māri on the middle Habur (presented in transcription, Hebrew translation and Akkadian-English-Hebrew glossary cum indices) reveals the presence of the Chaldeans on the Habur as early as 1101 BCE, long before they are mentioned as dwelling in Babylonia (*unakkarūma* in line 19 should be rendered "removes"). On the other hand, the restoration [*Kal*]-da-IA^{mes} of [...]-' , -da-IA^{mes} (followed by *sutū* and [Tad]mirāyu, who [live] at the foot of Mt. [Lebanon...]) Grayson,

he was living in Italy at the time. A possible explanation for this is that the printers in Constantinople, who were among the deportees from Spain, knew about Abarbanel, and therefore they printed his commentary there.

In the sixteenth century, several commentaries on tractate Avot were printed in Italy, but none contained a long and comprehensive commentary by an Italian sage. We also do not have the manuscripts of Italian sages who interpreted tractate Avot, except for the commentary of Rabbi Avraham Paritzol, which was first printed only about fifty years before. It is possible that their writings were lost, perhaps due to the burning of the Talmud and other writings that took place in the sixteenth century.

Rabbi David's commentary on tractate Avot that is in our possession is a long and detailed commentary by an Italian sage. The article gives an overview of the commentary, noting that one of its unique features is that its author was the first to use Philo's book frequently, and saw in it an authoritative source. Alongside this, we publish R. David's introduction to Avot so that the reader can appreciate his approach to this special tractate.

“What’s in a Name?” On an Ostrakon from Masada and Names, Nicknames and Masqueraded Nicknames

Guy D. Stiebel, Tel Aviv University

The paper is devoted to one ostrakon from Masada. It offers a new interpretation of the name that was part of the so-called “Lots” and suggests that it derives from Greek. This reading positions the ostrakon as part of a large group of names that comprised the onomasticon of Judaea during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods: the nicknames and, more notably, the masqueraded nicknames. Moreover, the paper further reflects on the physiognomic aspect of the nickname under discussion in the context of the “physiognomic consciousness” of the period. Such nicknames formed statutory markers, both in Judaea and Rome, most notably amongst the elite circles. In addition, they were most popular in military institutions and even more so among close militia groups, in particular during periods of crisis such as the days leading up to and during the revolt. The paper suggests that these extreme conditions served as a catalyst and were conducive to the large number of nicknames uncovered at Masada.

Finally, archeological data, revised and updated through advanced testing and dating methods, has not provided a clear-cut answer. Although most scholars believe that the Bar Kokhba Revolt did not spread to the Galilee, there are others who consider this to be a realistic scenario. In this article, I focus on the latter point of view, and seek to present a comprehensive review of the data, accumulated from a wide range of studies, in support of this theory. I also provide possible interpretations of references to places in the Galilee linked to the revolt, as echoed in the literature of the Talmudic sages. In addition, I review archeological findings from the Galilee, albeit scarce, that relate to this period. Above all, I focus on new evidence emerging from studies undertaken of the Galilee hiding complexes that provides a valuable, comparative perspective in relation to the Judean hiding complexes that have been dated to the time of the revolt. With respect to these hiding complexes, there is value in further examination of their geographical distribution across the Galilee, as well as an analysis of archeological findings unearthed there. For example, recent excavations undertaken in two ancient settlements in the Galilee have uncovered evidence pointing to the period of the revolt. This further research may shed significant light on the Galilee's part; even if the Galilee may not have taken part in this event, hiding complexes were prepared for the possibility it would, like in the Judea region.

Rabbi David Provinzalo and his Introduction to his Commentary *Hasdey Avot* on Tractate *Avot*

Yaakov Shmuel Spiegel, Bar-Ilan University

Rabbi David Provinzalo was active in the sixteenth century in Mantua, Italy. He was born in the year 1596; the year of his passing is unknown. Although several scholars have written about him and his writings, there has been no study of his commentary to tractate Avot that can be found in the Kaufman Manuscript. Therefore, this article provides some new details and proves that the author of the anonymous commentary on the Song of Songs, found in the Cambridge Manuscript, is indeed Rabbi David.

The article also offers an overview of the printing of tractate Avot in Italy. It turns out that there were repeated publications of tractate Avot with Maimonides' commentary. It is therefore puzzling that R. Yitzchak Abarbanel's commentary on tractate Avot was first printed in Constantinople, even though

“Thick Locks of Curly Hair”: On the Hair and Beard of the Jewish Male in the Literature of the Sages

Joshua Schwartz, Bar-Ilan University and Israel Antiquities Authority

Hair, haircare and hairstyle have always been important. Hair was a public symbol in the ancient world, and still is in modern society. Facial hair, for instance, has often been a sign of male virility. Hair length and hairstyle has symbolized both conformity and non-conformity.

What about the Jewish world? Were the hairstyles and beards of the Jewish male in the ancient world particular to Jewish society? Could a Jew be identified as a Jew based on hairstyle or beard? Were the attitudes of Jewish males to hair and facial hair affected by Jewish law or custom? Was every hairstyle allowed? Was it permissible to shave or trim beards in Jewish society? To what extent did Jewish hair practice reflect common and accepted practices in the non-Jewish world?

Most Jewish men did not adopt the few beard or hairstyles that were markedly associated with the non-Jewish world, nor did they shave off their beards. However, as many hairstyles and aspects of hair and beard care were of a universal nature and not ethnic markers, the Jewish male, for the most part, grew and treated his hair in the same manner as his non-Jewish neighbor. Both the hair and beard style of the Jewish male were in keeping with what was common in the ancient non-Jewish world, but with the occasional Jewish hairstyle twists or tweaks.

The Galilee and the Bar Kokhba Revolt: A Different Perspective on the Galilee's Participation in the Revolt in Light of Evidence from Hiding Complexes

Yinon Shvitiel, Zefat Academic College, (ICRC) Israel Cave Research Centre (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Early scholars of the Bar Kokhba Revolt were the first to introduce the question of the role of the Galilee in this event, and the debate has intensified over time. Fragments of historical data that have come to light are not conclusive; moreover, Dio Cassius' reference to Judea as the place where the revolt took place has been interpreted to mean the immediate geographic region of Judea and not the Province of Judea, which included the Galilee.

Planting for the Public Along the Roads – Society and the Economy

Avraham (Avi) Sasson, Ashkelon Academic College

The study of ancient roads in the Land of Israel, especially those relating to the Roman-Byzantine period, has become very popular. This research has contributed to the field of historical geography far beyond the narrow perspective of study of the roads themselves. Exploration of this phenomenon sheds light on developments related to settlement, economy, security and social issues.

Safrai, who discusses how the Jewish authorities in the Land of Israel were obligated to take responsibility for the road network, mentions the planting of trees at roadsides. A perusal of the sources indicates that this was not a marginal issue in public discourse and government development of the road network; moreover, this effort was handled in a unique manner, of which there are echoes in later periods as well.

Talmudic sources indicate that it was customary to plant fruit trees on the edges of private fields and gardens adjacent to the rural and main roads, so that wayfarers could enjoy the fruit in that part of the orchard that bordered on the public domain. In the sources, this person is called "a planter for the public." Rashi explained the concept: "For public use, as in the middle of the road for every wayfarer."

Planting for public use exempted from *terumot* and *ma'asrot* (heave offerings and tithes), but limited the farmer. According to halakha, such fruit was permitted for enjoyment, but only proportionately: "he [the farmer] gathers and eats" and does not "bring [it] home" so that as many people as possible could benefit from it.

In a number of Talmudic sources, we found a link between roads and the fig. We also found echoes of the ancient custom in later periods, and in Arab agricultural culture as well, in the shape of avenues of sycamores in the southern Coastal Plain, and rows of fig trees along rural roads in various regions of the country.

My Home is My Fortress: Combat in Built-up Areas in the Roman Army

Zeev Safrai and Ran Ortner, Bar-Ilan University

In the abundant Roman combat literature, three tactics for achieving victory are described: the battle, the siege and the breaching of walls. Once the walls are breached, the war is over.

Themis combat was an additional stage of war that developed in the modern world, and it consisted of combat in the built-up area itself. In the democratic world, battles in built-up areas became complicated due to the effort entailed, and even armies that did not refrain from inflicting harm upon the civilian population found it difficult to capture large built-up targets.

The purpose of this article is to prove that a) there was occasional warfare in built-up areas during the Roman period; and b) combat in built-up areas most probably took place in additional cities; as well as examine c) conditions required for significant combat in built-up areas; and d) whether army leaders understood that this was a special stage of combat.

Sources which provide information about this type of combat include Josephus's description of the siege and capture of settlements during the Great Revolt; findings from archaeological excavations in Roman Palestine; Dio Cassius' (132-135 CE) very short and general historical description of the Second Jewish Revolt; archaeological findings primarily from the Second Revolt (132-135 CE); and rabbinical literature (sparse findings).

This paper discusses two major cases of combat in built-up areas: Gamla (6 ha.) and Jerusalem (100 ha.). We have also been told that they broke into these canals and tunnels with the assistance of collaborators, which is how they were able to find and catch rebels who hide in those tunnels.

Archaeological research in Jerusalem has recently produced a number of discoveries and impressive evidence of that. A good example is the network of drainage canals in the "City of David" excavation, discovered beneath a section of a graded street paved with large stone slabs. There is much evidence that proves that this was a method of fighting during the Bar-Kochva revolt (132-135 CE).

In the Western empire, there are very few subterranean hiding and tunnels complexes and the phenomenon is almost non-existent. We suggest that the reasons behind this have to do with the different buildings structures and materials used in the East as compared with the West.

teachers of the law; in time they appear as scribes and Pharisees. Accordingly, one finds in Chronicles first instances of Midrash Halakhah and Aggadah.

The Economy of the Province of Palaestina: A Comparison Between Roman and Byzantine Periods

Zeev Safrai, Bar-Ilan University

This article examines the economic changes that took place in the Provinces of Palaestina (Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda – mainly west of the Jordan River) during the Byzantine period. The economy of Byzantine Palaestina was based on large plots that were divided between wealthy landowners and monastic estates. This article demonstrates that, in economic terms, a monastery is similar to an estate (*villa*). These estates and the monasteries, as well as the large processing facilities (mainly wine presses); concentrations of facilities (canals for processing flax); and treasuries with gold coins (a phenomenon also related to inflation during the Byzantine period) are all archaeological expressions of the agrarian changes during these years.

During the Byzantine period (mainly in the fourth and sixth centuries) there was a massive increase in population in Palaestina Prima, while Palaestina Secunda experienced a demographic decline.

During the Roman period, the economy was based on independent production, and export was limited; in comparison, during the Byzantine economic orientation was one of more intensive export. Of particular importance was the export of wine and olive oil in "Gaza jars" which were produced throughout the coastal plain up to the Jabne region, if not farther.

Exports from Palaestina Secunda are not as clearly reflected in the archaeology of the period. This writer believes that the change was a gradual process, though it is most evident following the crisis in the fifth century, up until the early seventh century, when the process of economic decline began.

On the Role of *Argumentum ex Silentio* in the Interpretation of Missing Archaeological Finds, with Case Studies from Jerusalem

Ronny Reich, University of Haifa

The article discusses a situation in which archaeologists deal with finds that were not retrieved in an excavation, and they construct various interpretations based on these unretrieved results. It clarifies how a scholar can know of finds that were not found and perhaps could have been there, and under what circumstances interpretations may be proposed despite this lack of data. Furthermore, the article examines the circumstances in which such an interpretation might prove to be faulty, as well as situations where more finds are discovered that might refute the original interpretation. For the illumination of this issue, several case studies from various excavations in ancient Jerusalem are examined.

The Milieu of Chronicles as Evidenced by Its Anachronisms

Alexander Rofé, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Book of Chronicles recounts the history of Judah in pre-exilic times. Yet from its anachronistic depictions one can glean information about its time and conditions. Chronicles was composed towards the end of the Persian period. It credits David and Solomon knowledge and observance of the Torah. It describes the subordination to foreign empires as beginning with the invasion of Pharaoh Shishak, during the reign of Rehoboam. In its time, the territory of Yehud Medinta was limited to a radius of 20 km. around Jerusalem, as evidenced by the list of builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. The prayer of King Jehoshaphat in 2 Chronicles 20 reveals Judah's dread that her rapacious neighbors would utterly disinherit her. 1 Chronicles 16:35 (=Ps 106:47) assumes the existence of a large diaspora. The Samaritan schism was not yet consummated, since the chronicler repeatedly expressed his favor of the Northern neighbors. King Jehoshaphat organizes a mission, or missions, to teach Torah in the provincial towns. The members are nine Levites, five ministers and two priests only. Contrary to the old and ascertained practice implemented from the pre-exilic times and down to Malachi, the priests no longer administer the teaching of the Torah. The Levites are defined as *mebinim*, teachers. This forecasts the advent of lay

Previous scholars have presumed that the BW perceived the earth as flat and round. However, this paper demonstrates that there is insufficient evidence to support this claim of a round earth, and that the relevant verses in fact indicate a square-shaped earth. The authors of the BW did not invent this worldview; rather, they inherited it from an idea that was commonplace throughout the Ancient Near East. The concept of a square-shaped earth is related to a parallelism between the universe and a sacred temple. Thus, this depiction of the shape of the earth as square is part of a broader theological viewpoint.

Alexander Jannaeus /King Jonathan according to His Coinage

Eyal Regev, Bar-Ilan University

King Jonathan/Alexander Jannaeus mostly used symbols that were common on contemporaneous Seleucid coins, but notably omitted iconic and pagan motifs. The double cornucopia (which had a unique shape on the Hasmonean coin – appeared with a pomegranate, as well as a pair of ears of corn) represented success in the Hellenistic sense and divine blessing in the Jewish sense. The lily symbolized the Jewish people. King Jonathan's star represented his royal status, in accordance with both Hellenistic and (mainly) Jewish kingship imagery, whereas his diadem was a distinctively Hellenistic mark of kingship. The representation of the diadem around the star (instead of on the king's portrait) was also unique in the Hellenistic world. Jonathan used the anchor, a Hellenistic symbol of power and stability, to denote kingship as a whole, and not merely this or that military victory. Jannaeus' coins were the most popular of the Hasmonean coins and were probably minted posthumously by Salome Alexandra and perhaps also by his sons, Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. This indicates that his successors considered him an extremely successful king.

Overall, Jonathan's coinage reflects both the similarities and the differences between the Hasmonean self-image and political idioms and those of the Hellenistic civilization, especially that of the Seleucids. He drew on Hellenistic concepts and symbols but altered them substantially. In so doing, King Jonathan stressed his Jewishness and succeeded in creating novel representations of this identity both in content and form.

Establishment and Operation of the Synagogue at Herodium

Roi Porat, Yakov Kalman, and Rachel Chachy, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The synagogue on Mount Herodium was founded and used during the period of the Jewish revolts against the Romans in the first and second centuries CE. The synagogue building, unearthed during archeological excavations conducted at the site from the 1960s onwards, is a rectangular structure with benches along three of its walls and a ceiling supported by stone columns. The opening of the building faces east towards a peristyle garden dating to Herod's days. To the north of the synagogue entrance, a small room was added onto the outside of the hall during the time of the revolts; it houses a *mikveh* (ritual bath) and related facilities. There are reasons to believe that the rooms flanking the hall were also used for activities relating to the synagogue.

Previous researchers of the site have expressed different opinions about some of the hall's architectural components, especially with regard to the time of the construction and operation of the synagogue. Father V.S. Corbo, the first and main excavator of the hall, tends to date its construction and function as a synagogue to the days of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, while G. Foerster suggests an earlier date – during the Great Revolt. The present article focuses on the architectural components of the synagogue and the time of its construction and operation, in light of the renewed research conducted at the site by the present authors, and an analysis of the previous research. Taking into consideration all the data at hand, we tend to agree with Foerster with regard to the synagogue's dating, and believe it was established during the Great Revolt, and continued to function as such during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

Geography and Theology: The Shape of the Earth in the Book of Watchers and Its Biblical Background

Eshbal Ratzon, Tel Aviv University

The Enochic Book of Watchers (BW) is the oldest Jewish text to explicitly describe the earth's geography. The current paper analyzes the shape of the earth in this book, while also providing comparisons to the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Jewish literature as well as to ancient Near Eastern texts.

three of the poems were originally secular in nature and were converted into religious poetry only secondarily, as part of their redaction within the framework of the War Rule. At least one of them appears to have originated in the royal propaganda of the Hasmonean court (and this may apply to the other two as well). These conclusions shed new light on the compositional history of the War Rule, the complex redactional processes that underlie its recorded texts, and the literary history of Hebrew poetry of the Second Temple period.

"Awake, Why Sleepest Thou, O Lord? Arise, Cast Us Not Off for Ever" (Ps. 44: 24). On Jerusalem Temple Orientation, Inauguration and the Sunrise

Joseph Patrich, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Jonathan Devor, astronomer, independent scholar

Roy Albag, architect, independent scholar

The Temple of Zerubbabel was inaugurated on the 3rd day of Adar, in the sixth year of King Darius. It followed neither the inauguration date of the Tabernacle (1st day of Nisan, or 23 Adar) nor that of Solomon's Temple (7th of Tishri). Why did the Returnees decide upon this date? Contemporary Babylonian astronomical calendars indicate that this lunar date corresponded to March 12, 515 BCE according to the Julian Solar Calendar. The azimuth of the sunrise above the Mount of Olives on that same day, relative to an observer standing at the temple portal, was 99.7°. This befits exactly the orientation of the temple façade, as preserved in the long axis of Water Cistern No. 5 that underlies the upper platform of Haram al-Sharif. This water cistern points to the exact location of the altar and the Temple, and its orientation. Hence, the inauguration date was determined by the sunrise of that same day. This article also surveys the Jewish practice of facing the sun, prevalent both in the public and private cult during the second Temple period and even earlier.

of theoretical information on the relationship between a subject city and an empire. Accordingly, the article enhances the different meanings of liberty (ἐλευθερία), a key-term in such a relationship.

Vayyiqra Rabba 25:4 and Its Parallel Texts: Studies in the Formation of Early Midrash

Chaim Milikowsky, Bar-Ilan University

Vayyiqra Rabba 25:4 is a *petihta* which begins with a midrashic exposition of Qohelet 2:4, continues with comments on verse 6, and concludes with comments on verse 5; in classic *petihta* style, it links the final midrashic comment to one of the first verses of the Torah reading of that day, which, in this case, is Vayyiqra 19:23. A close parallel to this passage is found in Qohelet Rabba 2,8,2. Inasmuch as it can be shown that Qohelet Rabba occasionally used the composition we know as Vayyiqra Rabba, my initial assumption was that this was the case here also. Furthermore, a variant version of this passage is also found in Midrash Haggadol to Devarim 8:9: this passage, like Qohelet Rabba, comments on Qohelet Rabba 2:2-8, and the scholarly consensus was that Midrash Haggadol simply copied Qohelet Rabba. A more intensive analysis, however, has led me to some radical conclusions: in this case, Midrash Haggadol has retained an earlier version of a midrash on Qohelet that predates the composition we know as Qohelet Rabba, and Vayyiqra Rabba made use of that composition in generating the *petihta*. Qohelet Rabba 2,8,2 is an edited and poorly revised version of the passage in that reconstructed early midrash and is not dependent on Vayyiqra Rabba.

“Recruited Poetry”: On the Sources of the War Rule and the History of Hebrew Poetry in the Second Temple Period

Noam Mizrahi, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This study focuses on a poetic paragraph of the War Rule, whose text is duplicated in 1QM, columns 12 and 19, with an additional textual witness: 4Q492 (4QM^b). In its present context, the paragraph appears to be a prayer to God, but critical analysis indicates that it actually comprises four different poems, which are discussed in detail in order to clarify various aspects of the poetics of each individual poem. Several considerations suggest that

Systematic research of the hiding complexes in Eretz-Israel began between the late 1970s and early 1980s. To date, hundreds of hiding complexes have been identified in Judea and the Galilee, the majority of which have been surveyed and mapped, but not excavated. In the late 1980s, researchers reached the conclusion that the uniform style of the Judean Foothills hiding complexes affirms their connection to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. This understanding was based primarily on relative chronology and interpretation of ancient written sources. As a result, many hiding complexes discovered in recent decades were dated to the Bar Kokhba Revolt merely because of their comparable architectural features, and often as not, following only a brief survey. The possibility that these complexes might be an ancient and long-standing civilian phenomenon and not an organized defence system was scarcely considered.

Although the subterranean complexes at Nesher-Ramla Quarry are similar in their architecture to the hundreds of hiding complexes discovered in Judea and the Galilee, they, as well as other sites, clearly indicate that these installations pre-date the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The great contribution of the Nesher-Ramla Quarry is its magnitude of excavations and recovered finds, which testify that the hiding phenomenon in the Judean Foothills dates back to an earlier period, and that these underground complexes may have had a somewhat different function than previously believed.

Political Thought in 2 Maccabees

Doron Mendels, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The article assumes a pagan reading publicum alongside a Jewish-Hellenistic one. In contradistinction with the Jewish audience, this publicum could easily read *2 Maccabees* as a standard narrative of life in a Greek polis under foreign rule, where the “ancestral constitution” played a significant role typical of Greek poleis from the classical period through the Hellenistic era.

Reading the book, as a Greek would have read it, can provide insights concerning its socio-political and theological message (independent of the Jewish one). In fact, the book can be read as a reflection, or rather a microcosmos of the Greek sphere in the second century BCE, during the Hellenistic period. The overall message emerging from the book differs from that broadcasted to the Hellenistic Jews and constitutes a rich mine

that followed, and its resettlement by a Jewish population probably emigrating from Judea, since the region had been profoundly weakened by now and was only sparsely settled. Furthermore, new archaeological data seem to indicate that the Hasmonean annexation of the Galilee was not a singular event but was comprised of a few campaigns, and a continued progression of settlement, beginning perhaps as early as the days of Jonathan and ending in the days of Alexander Jannaeus.

R. Shlomo Alkabetz and his Poem *Lekha Dodi*

Yehuda Liebes, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

An old manuscript page illustrates the cover of a new book on R. Shlomo Halevi Alkabetz, written by Bracha Sack (*Solomon Had a Vineyard*, Ben Gurion University Press, 2018). This page contains a version of the poem *Lekha Dodi*, including notes. *Lekha Dodi*, composed by Alkabetz, is a Sabbath eve hymn sung in Jewish congregations throughout the world, and may be the most widely known Hebrew text of the last five centuries. An in-depth examination of this version reveals far-reaching new facts about this poem and its development throughout the ages. Now it is evident that the text was written later than originally presumed. In scope, it was originally shorter by half in comparison to its later versions, and it underwent radical changes in phrasing due, inter alia, to the Sabbatean messianic movement. In summary, we are now better informed about this magnificent poem thanks to this page.

The Hiding Complexes at Neshet-Ramla Quarry and their Contribution to the Study of Hiding Complexes in Eretz-Israel

Alexander Melamed, University of Haifa

The Neshet-Ramla Quarry (El-Hirbe), located in the north-western part of the Judean Foothills (Shephelah), has been the site of one of the most extensive and long-lasting salvage excavations in Israel, conducted over almost two decades. During this time, 55 hiding complexes were exposed. The author has recently published a detailed review of these findings in a separate monograph. The present article summarizes the typology of the Neshet-Ramla hiding complexes and discusses their dating and functionality.

second and third centuries. In our opinion, the peremptory assertion that the *gilyonim* and the books of the *minim* were not to be considered *scriptura sacra* (and hence were not to be included in the list of books that render the hands unclean) testifies to a desire to fight against a use of these books that was deemed unacceptable. If in fact these books belonged to Jewish Christians still living in the Jewish world and attracting other Jews to their rituals and beliefs, then the struggle of the *Tannaim* against these influences becomes more readily understandable.

The Historical Background of the Hasmonean Occupation of the Galilee

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The time and nature of the Hasmonean takeover of the Galilee have been widely debated. While at the end of the second century BCE at least part of the Galilee was clearly controlled by the Hasmoneans, existing sources do not tell us when and how this happened, and the result is various and contradicting hypotheses.

This paper presents the findings of an archaeological investigation of Hellenistic sites across the Lower Galilee, carried out by a team of the Hebrew University. The research included excavation of a key site called Khirbet el-‘Eika, in the Eastern Lower Galilee, and a survey of Hellenistic period sites between the Mediterranean coast and the Sea of Galilee. The material culture revealed at Khirbet el-‘Eika points to a probable pagan population with close ties to the Phoenician coast. The site came to a sudden end in a dramatic destruction and the rich assemblage of artifacts allow us to pinpoint this event to ca. 145/4 BCE. Furthermore, a synthesis of other published and unpublished excavations, as well as the results of our survey, point to an additional number of Galilean sites that were abandoned during these years, indicating a wider and hitherto unknown phenomenon. Some of these abandonments may be related to Jonathan the Maccabee’s campaign in the Galilee around this time, while he was operating as a *strategos* of Antiochus VI. Others, especially those in the vicinity of ‘Akko-Ptolemais, may have stemmed from clashes between other players in the Seleucid Empire who operated in the region, such as Alexander I Balas, who first battled Demetrius I and later Ptolemy VI. Whatever the reason, these abandonments undoubtedly facilitated the gradual Hasmonean gain of control of the Galilee in the years

Josephus as a Source for the Affair between Titus and Berenice

Tal Ilan, Freie Universität Berlin

Josephus makes no mention of the fact that Titus, the general who destroyed Jerusalem in 70 CE, and Berenice, the daughter of the last Jewish king, Agrippa I, were intimate; indeed, he says nothing more about this woman after the end of his second book on the Jewish War. In this article I show that the only way to understand how the affair between Titus and Berenice began, and what went on between them during the Jewish-Roman War, is to follow what Josephus has to tell us about Titus, and about Berenice's brother, Agrippa II.

The Novatians, Sabbatius the Jewish Convert and the Date of Easter: Heresy and Identity through the Prism of 5th Century Christian Historiography

Oded Irshai, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The paper follows the extremely intricate history of the Novatian sect during the 4th and early 5th centuries, during the period in which the barriers between Orthodoxy and heresy were slowly on the rise. A unique component in the history of the sect, no doubt complicating its fate, touched upon its somewhat schismatic tendency to celebrate Easter "with the Pasch of the Jews". This inclination reached its apex in the days of the Novatian presbyter and former Jew Sabbatius (early 5th century). The saga of this sect and church is viewed via the 5th century Constantinopolitan Church historians, Sozomen, and even more so, Socrates who might have had, in this case, an axe to grind; the article sets out to decipher this stance.

The Rabbis and *Sacra Scriptura* of the Jewish-Christians

Dan Jaffé, Bar-Ilan University

This article seeks to clarify the use of the term *gilyonim* as it appears in the Talmudic corpus. Based on an historic and philological examination, we propose that this term be regarded as a cryptic reference to the Gospels. The innovative element of the argument here is the claim that the status of the Gospels as holy books was being debated in the Jewish world in the

The Day of Atonement Torah Reading in the Temple: Two Mishnaic Strata

David Henshke, Bar-Ilan University

According to the Mishnah (*Yoma* 7:1, *Sota* 7:7), the high priest read three Pentateuchal pericopes during the Day of Atonement service: two from Leviticus pertaining to the Day of Atonement ritual, read from the scroll, and one from Numbers relating to the Day of Atonement *Musaf* sacrifice, recited by heart after the scroll was rolled back up. This Torah reading, however, lacks a Pentateuchal basis. Some scholars doubt its accuracy, viewing it as a projection of the synagogal Torah reading; others take the more moderate view that it reflects the implementation of synagogue practice in the Temple. After demonstrating that the Torah reading in the Temple definitively differed from synagogal practice, I argue that this reading in fact took place and that its rationale must be sought in anti-sectarian polemic.

The main difficulty posed by this Torah reading is the unusual recitation by heart. Based on a close analysis of the Mishnaic language and text, I suggest that the Mishnah contains two strata (*mishnah rishonah* and *mishnah aharonah*) and that the recitation by heart does not belong to the first stratum, which relates only to the reading of the Leviticus pericopes from a scroll. This lends logic to the priest's statement: "More than what I have read out before you is written." The reading from Numbers belongs to a later stratum. Its author/s saw no reason to omit this pericope, but it was impossible to erase the earlier statement that the scroll was rolled back up after the first two were read. The solution was recitation by heart, which had a precedent in Torah reading by members of the watch (אנשי המעמד). Consequently, the priest's statement (quoted above) was now interpreted as meaning recitation by heart.

The difference between the earlier stratum and the later one relating to Numbers and the *Musaf* sacrifice can be understood against the backdrop of polemics attested in Second Temple and rabbinic sources regarding the relationship between the *Musaf* sacrifice and the Day of Atonement service. Thus, the exegetical and linguistic difficulties in our Mishnah were created, as in other instances, by the introduction of secondary material into the earlier stratum.

is a typical Roman construction, there is no other source that has attributed its building to Diocletian's days.

The following paper will argue that the study of Diocletian's reforms and his travels in the East may determine the credibility and authenticity of the Talmudic tradition that attributes the creation of the "Sea of *HMZ*" to that Roman Emperor.

Discussion of Mishnah, *Bava Metzia* 4.1 in Light of the Roman Legal Definition of the Contract of Sale (*Emptio Venditio*)

Merav Haklai, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

This paper observes the role of money in the Roman contract of sale (*emptio venditio*) in the second and third centuries CE, and in Jewish law of that period, as practiced in Roman Palestine. The first part reviews the school controversy in Roman law regarding the pecuniary nature of a price (*pretium*) in Roman sale contract. The triumphant stance in the controversy favored a binding pecuniary requirement of *pretium* to distinguish sale (*emptio venditio*) from barter (*permutatio*). The existence or absence of money eventually distinguished between the two legal procedures. This line of reasoning stemmed from a clear, though implicit, dichotomy between money and everything else. The second part of the paper shows how this dichotomy also affected discussions of Jewish sages – preserved in Jewish legal sources from the period – regarding sale transactions in acquisition by drawing (*qinyan meshikkah*), in particular, *Bava Metzia* 4.1 and the relevant Talmudic discussions. The paper argues that the same pattern of thought, which decided the Roman school controversy in favor of a pecuniary purchase price (*pretium in numerata pecunia*), dictated the rulings of Jewish sages. The two legal traditions reflect a common conceptual framework, which distinguished between money and any other type of goods and affected the economic reality of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

paper shows Herod's interest in and predilection for Greek cultural values and discusses the king's own standing as a Greek intellectual who took an interest in the various branches of Greek learning and authored a Greek Autobiography. His interests and his authorship are discussed in the context of the intellectual attainments of other Hellenistic kings and generals.

Josephus and Ezra-Nehemiah: How the Jewish Historian Used His Sources

Lester L. Grabbe, University of Hull

In many cases, it is difficult to know how Josephus used his sources because they are no longer extant. With the biblical text it is often much easier, given that about half of his *Antiquities of the Jews* is, more or less, a paraphrase of the biblical text. A special situation arises with the so-called period of Ezra and Nehemiah, as he clearly used the apocryphal book of 1 Esdras, rather than the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah. This essay examines in detail how Josephus used and adapted the contents of 1 Esdras, at times drawing on other sources and information, to present his story of Zerubbabel and Joshua, and of Ezra. It then looks at Josephus's story of Nehemiah and argues that it originates not from the Hebrew book of Nehemiah, but from a parallel, no longer extant story or tradition, which differs somewhat from the canonical book.

"And There is the Sea of Homs? – Diocletian Gathered Rivers and Made It"

Tziona Grossmark, Tel Hai College

An early Rabbinic tradition (probably a baraita) on the verse "For he hath founded it upon the seas and established it upon the floods" (Ps. 24:2) states that the Land of Israel is surrounded by seven seas and four rivers. With some variations, this tradition is found in Palestinian as well as Babylonian writings. The version found in the Jerusalem Talmud mentions the "Sea of *HMZ*", usually identified with the Lake of Homs, an artificial lake that was created by a large dam on the Orontes some twelve kilometers south-east of Homs. The inclusion of this sea among the seven seas was rejected because this lake created by Diocletian, was an artificial one. Although Homs dam

According to the Temple Scroll 60: 2-3, the firstborn of a pure animal belongs to the priest, but 52: 7-12, based on Deuteronomy, states that this firstborn belongs to its owner. Despite this contradiction, the prevailing notion in previous scholarship is that like the Talmudic Sages, the Temple Scroll ruled that this firstborn belongs to the priest.

However, one cannot rule out the possibility that the Karaite solution that establishes a separate category for the firstborn pure animal mentioned in the Book of Deuteronomy is based on an ancient law that is an alternative to that of the Talmudic Sages, the traces of which are found in the Temple Scroll.

Greeks in the East during the Period of the Neo-Babylonian Rule and the Adventures of Antimenidas, the Brother of Alcaeus

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In this article, I review the available evidence from a variety of written and archaeological sources pertaining to the general presence of Greeks in the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and in particular, the possible employment of Greek mercenaries in the Neo-Babylonian army, whose struggles against the Egyptian army and its Greek mercenaries reshaped the Levant during the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE.

The alleged testimony of Alcaeus about the mercenary service of his brother Antimenidas in the Neo-Babylonian army has long served as the inspiration for many theories concerning the possible employment of Greek mercenaries in Near Eastern armies and their assumed role in the transfer of eastern influences to Greece during the Archaic period. A reassessment of the historical and archaeological evidence at hand, with a special focus on the Alcaeus fragments and their possible meaning, suggests that there is little reason to believe that Antimenidas served as a mercenary in the army of Nebuchadnezzar II; the evidence is certainly insufficient to conclude that Greek mercenaries were routinely employed in the Neo-Babylonian army.

Herod the Greek Intellectual

Joseph Geiger, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Herod's euergetism towards Greek cities, both those adjacent to his realm, as well as those on the Greek mainland and islands, is well known. This

there are other reasons to think that the verse originally applied to Philistia, which is indeed attacked by Judas Maccabaeus at the end of the chapter, although no other explanation for that is provided. This article suggests that during or after the translation of the chapter into Greek, a pro-Simonide editor mistook the original reference to *galil* for a proper noun (“Galilee”) instead of a common noun (“district”) and, not realizing that ἀλλόφυλοι meant Philistines, produced a chapter that refers to Simon’s campaigning in the Galilee rather than the coast. That coast is defined by 1 Macc 5:15, echoing Joel 3:4 (MT 4:4), as running from Tyre and Sidon in the north down to “the district(s) of the Philistines” in the south. The differences in meaning between the original Hebrew text and Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων reflect the growing Judaization of the Galilee in the Hasmonean period and also the transformation of ἀλλόφυλος, in Jewish usage, from “Philistine” to “Gentile.”

The Laws of the Firstborn Pure Animal According to the Karaite Yefet ben ‘Eli

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There is a stark difference between the law concerning a firstborn pure animal, set forth in the Book of Deuteronomy, and parallel laws cited in the rest of the books of the Pentateuch. According to the Book of Deuteronomy, the firstborn of a pure animal belongs to its owners, who should eat it in Jerusalem. In the other books, this firstborn is one of the priestly gifts. This animal must be given to the priest and cannot be redeemed. The priest must sacrifice the firstborn animal and is its only permissible beneficiary. In addition, only the book of Deuteronomy explicitly states the law regarding a blemished firstborn pure animal.

The Talmudic Sages ignore this contradiction and affirm that the firstborn of a pure animal belongs to the priest, following the view articulated in the other books of the Pentateuch; they do not address the statements in Deuteronomy. The Karaite commentator Yefet ben ‘Eli states that the book of Deuteronomy does not refer to the firstborn of an individual animal that came out of its mother’s womb, but rather to the firstborn of a flock (בכור עדר). This difference in interpretation is the main cause of the many dissimilarities between the Karaite and Rabbinic halakha concerning this issue.

furnishes an early Hebrew testimony of the two-ways idea. It reworks the covenant blessings and curses in Deuteronomy 28, as is obvious from the contrastive blessing and annihilation terminology, taken from Deut 28:22, 24. The Qumran passage connects these to the Deuteronomic choice between two options offered to the people of Israel (Deut 30:15, 19), the good one resulting in life, and the bad one resulting in death. However, in the Qumran text, the option involves two ways, a good one and a bad one. Therefore, while the Torah speaks of modes of existence in the frame of the covenant between Israel and God, the Qumran fragment introduces a new term, “way” (דרך), which seems to suggest a general human mode of behavior.

The other passage discussed here is taken from the Aramaic Visions of Amram, a work that perhaps predates the above Hebrew text. Attributed to the father of Moses, it contains a scene, revealed in a dream to Amram, depicting good and evil angels ruling over two respective groups of people. The account of this scene survived in three copies of the work: 4Q543 5–9, 4Q544 1–2, and 4Q547 1–2. The passage describes the two angels that Amram saw and communicated with in his vision. The angels explain that they rule over all human beings. The dark and fearsome angel rules over the dark domain whereas the bright and laughing one rules over the light domain. Amram is presented with a choice between the two and he chooses to be under the rule of bright angel. This passage clearly outlines man’s freedom to choose between the two modes of existence.

“Galilee of the Gentiles” or “District(s) of the Philistines” (1 Maccabees 5:15)?

Michal Drori-Elmalem and Daniel R. Schwartz, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The phrase Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων in 1 Macc 5:15, which tells of troubles the Judeans experienced with their neighbors, in a narrative context pertaining to the 160s BCE, is universally rendered as “Galilee of the Gentiles,” echoing Isaiah 9:1 (MT 8:23). This translation implies that, at that time, the Galilee was essentially Gentile; the only debate is whether that implication is historically true or, rather, the author was simply using a nice phrase borrowed from Isaiah, and we should not take it as an historical statement. However, in the Septuagint, including *1 Maccabees*, ἀλλόφυλοι usually refers to “Philistines,” not “Gentiles” (who are usually termed ἔθνη); moreover,

הַאָמוֹר כְּדָבָר הַאָמוֹר: When Reading Tradition and Grammar Converge

Chaim E. Cohen, Tel-Aviv University

This article investigates the vowelization and vocalization of the word הַאָמוֹר in the phrase כְּדָבָר הַאָמוֹר in the *Qedusha*, recited, according to the Ashkenazic custom, in the Shaharit service on Saturday morning.

Based upon grammatical rules, the expected vowelization would be הַאָמוֹר – with a *Qamaṣ* under the *he* – even though the pronunciation of הַאָמוֹר – with a *Segol* under the *he* – is not uncommon. While the reading הַאָמוֹר would seem to be a grammatical error, the basis of this pronunciation tradition is hundreds of years old and continues until this very day. Evidence of this pronunciation may be found in halachic codes and books of customs dating back to the thirteenth century, and was provided both by its proponents and by those who rejected it. All based their opinion on the word הַאָמוֹר, appearing in the Bible (Micha 2:7), and whether they considered the *he* to be interrogative or definitive. This question was dealt with by the greatest medieval biblical commentators and grammarians. An additional clue to this pronunciation comes from a non-liturgical source: from the vowelization of similar words in various mishnaic manuscripts. However, it appears that the impetus for the הַאָמוֹר vowelization in the *Qedusha* was the longstanding tradition of the pronunciation of this word, which received approbation and justification, based on grammatical considerations, by Rabbi Shabbethai Sofer in his prayer book. Even though most editors of prayer books subsequently did not accept his opinion, and the vowelization הַאָמוֹר is virtually unpreserved in printed editions of the siddur, the prevailing pronunciation ignores the vowelization הַאָמוֹר and retains הַאָמוֹר quite frequently. Such is the strength of reading tradition.

The Two-Ways Notion in the Qumran Texts

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The notion that two ways are open before man has been discussed primarily in the context of early Christian writings. The present essay takes a closer look at evidence relating to this idea that is embedded in some of the Qumran texts. Two Qumran fragments are re-edited and discussed in this context, one in Hebrew and the other in Aramaic. The second fragment of 4Q473

strikingly negative, extends over six full paragraphs. This latter theory is presented as the authoritative one, not only by its impressive length but also by the introductory words "most authors agree", which convey the message that this is the one to be preferred. Moreover, this theory appears last and serves as an introduction to the paragraphs that follow, where Tacitus gives vent to his negative views about the Jews.

In fact, the treatment of the origin of a people was a standard element in ancient ethnography and headed ethnographical works because the *origin* of a people was considered the main clue to the understanding of its character, customs, and history, which were thought to have been deeply influenced by the special circumstances of the a nation's birth.

The question is whether this was the ultimate purpose of Tacitus in presenting his contradictory traditions, or whether he only meant to surprise and tease his readers. But perhaps this is not really a question and the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, if O'Gorman is correct in pointing out that the historical understanding of Tacitus' works resides in the continual interplay of false appearance and hidden truth.

Nicolaus of Damascus: Autobiographical Excerpts in Hebrew

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Hebrew readers know Nicolaus of Damascus as a central protagonist of Herod's court and especially as a historian. Flavius Josephus used Nicolaus's writings as a main source on the Hasmonean period and, apparently, as a unique source on Herod's days. Therefore, some passages from Nicolaus's historical accounts appear in Hebrew translations in Josephus's *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*.

Here is offered a Hebrew version of the extant autobiographical fragments as gathered, for the most part, by Felix Jacoby. These accounts of historical events provide the reader with an overview of Nicolaus's personal history and character as well as an opportunity to better evaluate his reliability and goals as an historian, all of which are topics of controversy among scholars of this period.

certain agricultural society. In other words, changes in agriculture resulted in changes in the sex ratio.

Data pertaining to Jewish society from approximately 500 BCE – 220 CE, a period known as a *longue durée*, is analyzed in order to explain the changes that occurred between biblical times and the Mishnaic period, i.e., the Roman epoch. In biblical times, a price was paid for the bride given in marriage; centuries later, however, the marriage was based on a Marriage Contract (postponed payment, if at all) instituted by the Rabbis, in addition to the dowry. This change in social customs reflects a devaluation in the status of women. In fact, over several centuries, the sex ratio changed from about 145 to 120; with the increased supply of women came a decrease in demand, hence the devaluation of women.

The increase in the number of women compared to men was the result of improvements in agriculture over the centuries. In “biblical times” there was a much smaller selection of foods as developed later in post-biblical times. The increase in new flora and fauna required less physical strength, therefore more women could make their living out of agriculture, and this in turn raised the fertility rate that increased immigration. The presumed situation in the Land of Israel, namely, the changes in sex ratio related to agricultural, are compared with the situation in India (changes in time dimension are compared to changes in local dimension).

Tacitus and the Origin of the Jewish People

Miriam Ben Zeev Hofman, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

The plethora of traditions offered by Tacitus on the origin of the Jewish people certainly attests to his broad learning. Deeply rooted in the Hellenistic literary tradition, the variants demonstrate his scholarly standards and objectivity. It is puzzling, however, that not only are these theories not interrelated, they even contradict each other. Since the presentation of conflicting views is a typical Tacitean feature, and the absence of consequentiality is intentional, Gruen suggests that the different theories on the origin of the Jewish people are to be seen as an ironic game played by Tacitus in order to tease his readers.

The disproportions between the various theories, however, may not be accidental. The first five, rather neutral in tone, are introduced by general expressions and concisely presented in three paragraphs, while the sixth,

This is because the word מגילה (“scroll”) with the definite article referred to in tractate Taanith refers only to מגילת תענית (“Scroll of Fasting”) and not to any other scroll.

The Evolution of the Story of the Sadducee Priest Who Prepared the Incense Outside

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According to Rabbinic literature, a major controversy arose between the Sadducees (or Boethusians) and the Pharisees regarding the manner of the incense offering presented by the High Priest in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. The Tosefta tells the story of an anonymous High Priest who offered the incense in the Holy of Holies in accordance with the Boethusian Halakha. Only a few days pass, and this priest dies as a result of his sin (*Yoma* 1:8). This article traces the development of this story. The author seeks to demonstrate that the evolution of this story has two connections: a) Its placement between two other stories about the ritual practices of anonymous Sadducee priests (*Tos. Parah* 3:8; *Tos. Sukkah* 3:16); b) Its adherence to the pattern of the story about the death of the two sons of Aaron Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10:1-5). The development of the story and its various motifs are elucidated by unraveling these connections.

Sex Ratio in Ancient Jewish Society

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The aim of this paper is to discuss an unknown social aspect of Jewish history: sex ratio, i.e., the quantitative difference between the number of men and women in a certain society. In this interdisciplinary study, this socio-demographic aspect is discussed with reference to data emerging from several societies, places and times.

Historical data from archeological as well as literary sources, related to Jews and non-Jews alike, is presented starting from the 20th century, backwards in time, to antiquity, while attempting to provide an explanation for the “impossible” figures. It is argued that the differences in sex ratio derive from agricultural developments, specifically, the role of women in a

and characterize the tefillin casings and straps in terms of morphology; g) analyze the skins and stitching material in terms of animal origin and manufacturing processes.

The present research project is significant in that it ventures far beyond the limited question of early tefillin practice and promises to serve as an important test-case for research into the development of early systems of Jewish ritual law in general.

Two Topics in the Grammar of the Noun in Mishnaic Hebrew

Moshe Bar-Asher, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This paper deals with two grammatical topics in the morphology and the syntax of the noun in the Mishnah. The first one is a unique phenomenon in the morphology of the noun, which is attested in one important manuscript and in additional witnesses. This is a novel discovery previously unknown in the research literature. This phenomenon undoubtedly came into being in the specific context that the word in question appeared twice.

This is the noun תְּחִלָּה which functions as an adjective. In two occurrences in tractate *Yadaim* (3, 1) Ms. Pa-b reads ידיו תְּחִלָּה [...] ידיו שְׁנִיּוֹת, מטמא את עקבי' וחכמ' אומ' להיות שְׁנִיּוֹת ('his hands suffer first-grade uncleanness...second-grade uncleanness...His hands suffer first-grade uncleanness. So R. Akiba. But the Sages say: Second-grade uncleanness only'); there are other witnesses with the same reading.

The second topic focuses on two nouns in Mishnaic Hebrew; each noun echoes the meaning of a known construct phrase in Mishnaic Hebrew, but without the *nomen rectum*. Clearly, the one who chose to use each one of these nouns assumed that the *nomen rectum* is understood and it is therefore possible to omit it. Others would say that its omission is almost a necessity, since the noun's context makes the use of the *nomen rectum* redundant.

The matter here is the omission of the understood *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase. This paper deals with these two phrases: > תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ הַמֵּיטָה, תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ > בְּמַגִּילַת תְּעֻנִית, תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ בְּמַגִּילָה. I will demonstrate by shortly discussing the second phrase. In reliable textual witnesses of the Mishnah we find בְּמַגִּילָה (Ta'anith 2, 8), referring to מגילת תענית ("Scroll of Fasting", a Second Temple period Aramaic text) while less-reliable witnesses read במגילת תענית. Clearly, the reading בְּמַגִּילָה of the reliable textual witnesses is the original reading.

English Abstracts

(alphabetical order of the authors)

The Assemblage of Ancient Tefillin Remains from the Judean Desert: A Preliminary Report on a New In-Progress Research Project

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Ancient tefillin remains, discovered together with the Dead Sea Scrolls in the middle of the 20th century, provided the first opportunity to examine evidence relating to the origins and early development of the tefillin ritual. Unfortunately, this vital corpus of tefillin finds has never merited comprehensive scientific analysis, and many of them remain unpublished, including several tefillin slips which have never even been unfolded and deciphered. Official publications of the tefillin texts which *have* been opened and deciphered rely on old readings of the minuscule texts carried out before the introduction of high-resolution multispectral imaging. The paleographic character of the scripts on most of the published tefillin slips has never been comprehensively studied, and as a result, the chronology of the finds remains uncertain. Finally, no full scientific report has ever been published on the majority of the tefillin casings. In short, the corpus of Judean Desert tefillin remains is a treasure-trove of vital information which remains largely untapped.

The present essay presents a preliminary report on a new, in-progress research project whose goal is the comprehensive scientific analysis and publication of all the ancient tefillin remains found in the Judean Desert. The project uses state-of-the-art technologies to analyze both the inscribed tefillin slips and the casings made to house them, as well as the straps which attached these casings to the body of the tefillin practitioner. The seven specific objectives are to a) physically locate the remains; b) open the folded tefillin slips and thereby obtain new tefillin texts; c) generate new readings of previously published tefillin slips using new imaging technologies; d) prepare graphic reconstructions of the original slips; e) determine the dating of all tefillin manuscripts through paleographic analysis; f) document

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