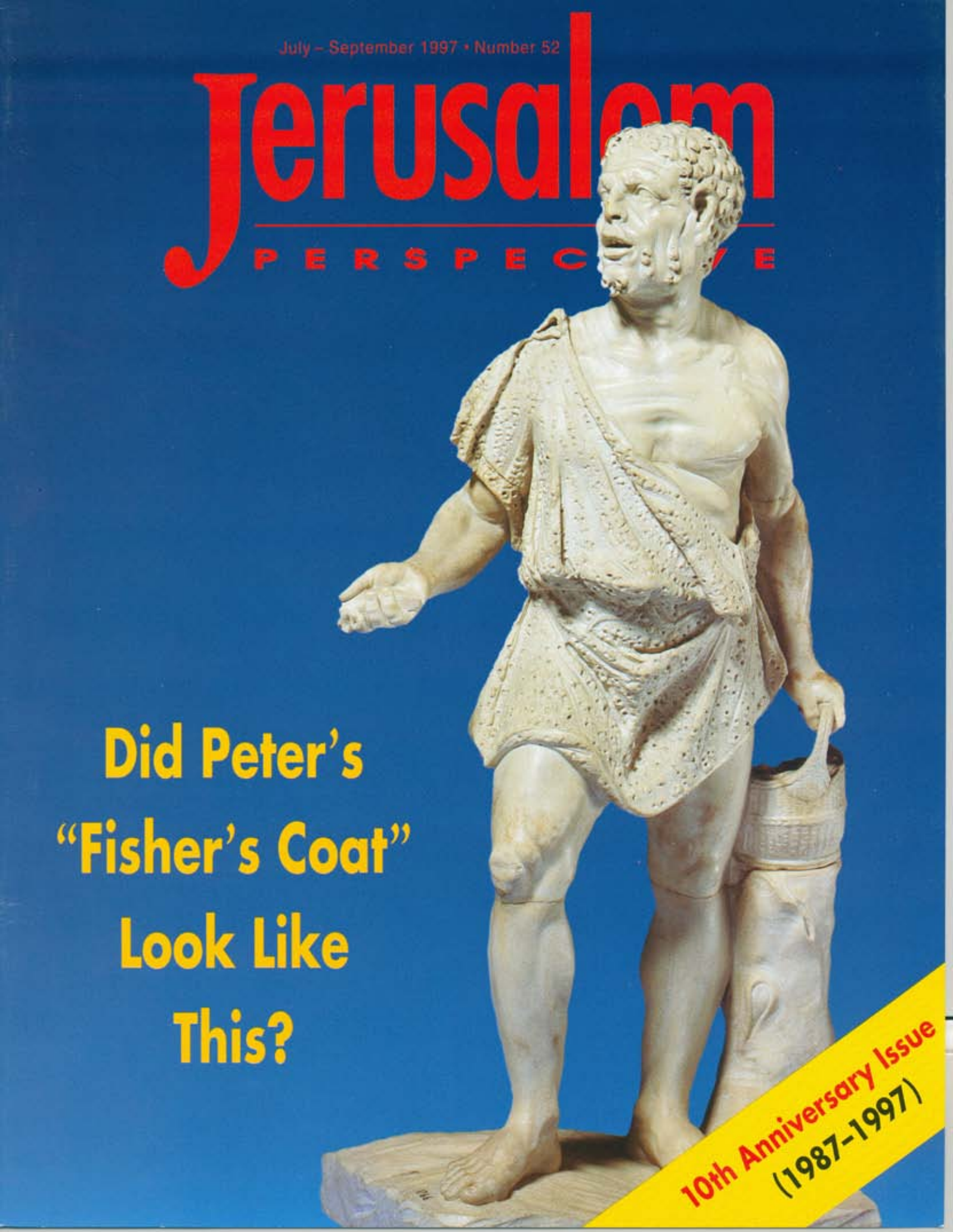
July – September 1997 • Number 52

Jerusalem Perspective



Did Peter's "Fisher's Coat" Look Like This?

10th Anniversary Issue (1987-1997)

Perspective on This Issue

Once again, we are privileged to be the first to announce a major discovery relating to the life of Jesus. For the announcement, turn to page 16.

Evangelicals have suggested a vast number of end-time scenarios. Many of these scenarios are highly imaginative. Evangelicals also differ widely on the chronology of end-time events. In "The Nature of Jesus' Task," p. 12, **Joseph Frankovic** warns that when interpreting biblical prophecies, one must be humble and extremely cautious.

Frankovic is a student at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where he is pursuing a Ph.D. in Midrash under the direction of Professor Burt Visotzky.

■ Many scholars in Israel see the influence of Hebrew in the Greek texts of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Just how frequent are Hebraisms (Hebrew idioms) in the synoptic gospels? In "Hendiadys in the Synoptic Gospels?" p. 14, **David Bivin** takes a first step towards an answer. As examples of Hebrew idiom and syntax accumulate in the articles of this new column, the answer will emerge.

Bivin is a founding member of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research. Arriving in Israel in 1963, he became one of Robert Lindsey's first students in Jerusalem. Bivin was also the student of Hebrew University professors David Flusser, Shmuel Safrai and the late Yechezkel Kutscher.

■ According to several versions of the New Testament, when Peter heard that Jesus was standing on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, he put on a "coat." Influenced by this translation, some painters in the Middle Ages even portrayed Peter swimming to Jesus dressed in heavy robes. What *did* Peter put on? In "What Was Simon Peter Wearing When He Plunged into the Sea?" p. 18, **Mendel Nun** helps us decide.

Kibbutz member, author and foremost expert on the Sea of Galilee, Nun worked for twenty years as a fisherman on the lake. In 1964 his book *Ancient Jewish Fishing* (in Hebrew) was published, for which he was awarded the Ben-Zvi Prize. His Hebrew monograph on the Sea of Galilee appeared in 1977.

■ In "Were Women Segregated in the Ancient Synagogue?" p. 24, **Shmuel Safrai** offers his longest and most up-to-date treatment of women and the synagogue. Professor Safrai's earlier article in *JP*, "The Place of Women in First-century Synagogues" (No. 40 [Sept./Oct. 1993], 3–6, 14), created a sensation. Safrai's description of Jewish women's status in first-century synagogues was shocking because it differed so completely with modern synagogue practice, and for women the implications were immediately apparent. Safrai stated in summary: "In the first century, women were the equals of men religiously" (p. 3). The article was so popular we asked Professor Safrai to write in more detail. He agreed, and we are proud to present his newest article on this subject.

Safrai, one of the senior members of the Jerusalem School, is professor of Jewish History of the Mishnaic and Talmudic Period at the Hebrew University. He has written twelve books and over eighty articles, and has received many literary prizes for his research, including the 1986 Jerusalem Prize. Earlier this year he was awarded the prestigious Ben-Zvi Prize for his life's work (see p. 38).

JP Celebrates Tenth Anniversary

Internet Site Launched

To celebrate JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's tenth anniversary (Oct. 1987–Sept. 1997), we have lovingly prepared this special anniversary issue. We think it is the most beautiful issue to date, complete with photographs obtained from the British Museum, the Vatican Museum, the Museum of Art and History in Geneva, Switzerland, as well as photographs by Werner Braun and Joel Fishman, two of Israel's finest photographers.

As a contribution to the celebration, we introduce two new columns: "Cats in Jerusalem" and "New Discoveries." The first column will highlight Hebrew idioms appearing in the synoptic gospels; the second will be a platform from which to announce the latest textual "finds" excavated from ancient Jewish sources by scholars here in Israel. These two columns will appear often in future issues of *JP*.

Another major milestone in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's life is the launching of *JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE Online* (http://www.JerusalemPerspective.com), the magazine's site on the World Wide Web. Presently, the site features a sampler of twenty-five articles from past issues of the magazine, at least one article by every author we have published. In addition, the site contains a calendar of coming events, an Online Ordering page, and much more. Using the Online Ordering page, visitors to *JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE Online* can subscribe, renew subscriptions and order back issues. When we have finished inputting all back issues of the print magazine, subscribers to an electronic version of *JP* will be able to search and find every occurrence of any word that has appeared in the publication.

Adapting to the new Internet technology was an immense challenge and has greatly delayed publication of this issue. However, we felt we had to adjust, and do so without delay. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE subscribers already are found in more than fifty countries. Having a location on the World Wide Web will enable us to bring a Jerusalem perspective on Jesus to every corner of the world. Hopefully, we have made decisions that will allow us to serve you better as we enter an era in which our subscribers will send email and surf the Net as often and as commonly as they use the telephone today.

David Bivin

Editor

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's Identity

The focus of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is ישוע (*ye·SHU·a'*, Jesus) of Nazareth, a first-century A.D. Jewish sage. Therefore, we publish articles that contribute to a better understanding of this unique historical figure. We attempt to present these articles with a maximum of objectivity and a minimum of prejudice, and in a way that faithfully communicates their authors' ideas. The magazine is not devotional, and is more textual than theological. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's publisher and editor is a Christian, but to describe the magazine as a Christian publication is inaccurate. We zealously guard the magazine's nonsectarian stance. Its contributors are Christians and Jews, and accordingly, the publication resists being labeled as either Jewish or Christian. We seek to be of service to everyone whose interest is in the life and teachings of Jesus regardless of his or her religious convictions.

Published in Jerusalem since 1987, JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is an independent, quarterly magazine reporting on recent discoveries relating to the life and teachings of Jesus. It features the work of Jewish and Christian scholars, particularly the scholars of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research.

Publisher & Editor David Bivin

Contributing Editors
Randall Buth, David Flusser, Joseph Frankovic, R. Steven Notley, Mendel Nun, Ronny Reich, Halvor Ronning, Chana Safrai, Shmuel Safrai, Ze'ev Safrai, Marvin R. Wilson

Design Helen Tweria

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Numbers 1–20 (4 pages each) are US$1.50 – £1.00 – NIS4.00.
Numbers 21–47 (16 pages each) are US$5.00 – £3.50 – NIS12.50.
Numbers 48–51 (40 pages each) are US$7.50 – £5.00 – NIS19.00.

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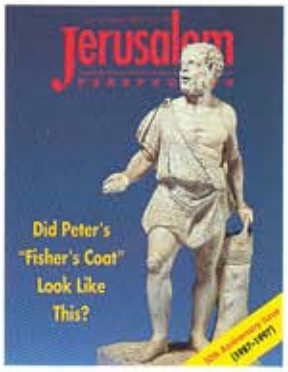
Jerusalem PERSPECTIVE

Exploring the Jewish Background to the Life and Words of Jesus



COVER: First-century A.D. statue of a fisherman offering fish for sale to passers-by at the market in Alexandria, Egypt. With his right hand the fisherman holds out a fish to prospective buyers, and with his left hand he clasps the handle of a basket of fish. *Photo courtesy of The British Museum, London.*

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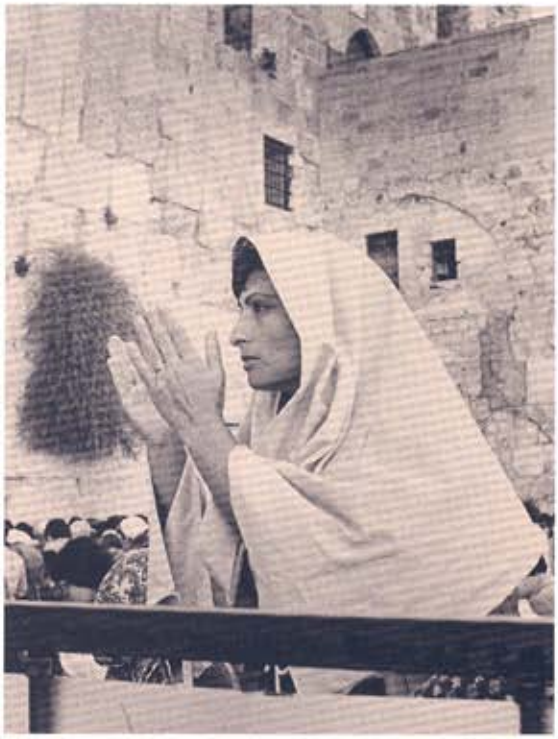

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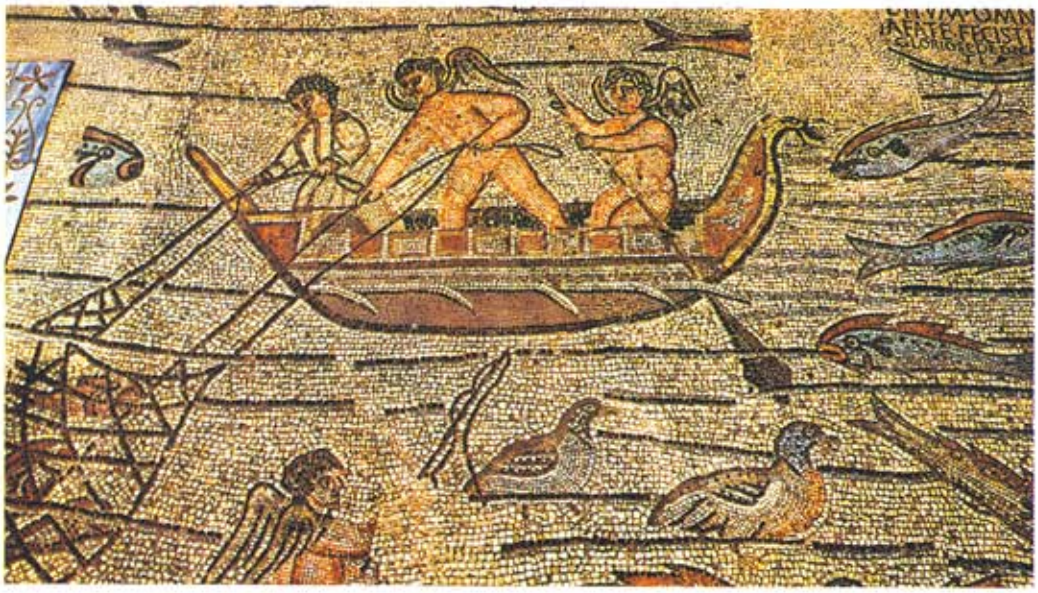

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Readers' Perspective

Appreciation for *JP*

We greatly appreciate your excellent magazine, with its scholarly input and incredibly beautiful pictures, and we also appreciate those who labor so hard to bring this about. Your issue concerning Robert L. Lindsey and the foundations of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research [*JP* 49 (Oct.–Dec. 1995)] moved us very much. We feel privileged to have the opportunity of benefiting from this work.

We enjoy discussing the magazine's contents with others, which has led some to subscribe. Our recipe is simple: we pray a blessing at the beginning of the day on all who will visit our home, and we frequently get the opportunity to mention the importance of this research to believing friends. Something so good is easy to share.

Jo and Ron Rose
Ilfracombe, Devon, England

A Joy to Look At

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE in colour is excellent, a joy to look at and so clear. We are learning so much from the articles. The first article in your new column, "From Moses' Seat" ["Esteeming the Jewish People," *JP* 51 (Apr.–Jun. 1996), 36–37], is excellent and very timely.

Helen and Ed Plenty, Howard Springs
Northern Territory, Australia

JP a Help in Understanding the Scriptures

Many thanks for JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE 51 (Apr.–Jun. 1996), the articles of which I find most helpful in understanding the Scriptures. I am renewing my subscription for the next two years. My wife and I enjoyed very much the CFI Shoresh Tour and three-day conference in Jerusalem last May, when we valued the teaching of our guide Halvor Ronning, the conference speakers and meeting some of the JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE team. We continue to pray for you.

John Colley
Kingsteignton, Devon, England

All This Learning—Does It Matter?

In reply to the letter from my friend and neighbour Pastor Kraay ("Does It Matter Who Wrote First?" *JP* 50 [Jan.–Mar. 1996], 7), I remember being at the barber's some years back with Dr. Bob Lindsey, and I said to him: "Bob, I'm just a simple Christian. Where is all this research getting us? What is the bottom line?"

"Well, David," Bob replied, "among other things, we can say today that we have a far more accurate account in the gospels of the life and teaching of Christ than the so-called 'higher critics' would ever have credited us with!"

Incidentally, Pastor Kraay's church runs a Christian school which has just received high praise from government inspectors; they have classified it as one of the best schools in the country! All this learning—does it matter?

David Winter
Danbury, Essex, England

Baptists and Jews

The following letter appeared in The Knoxville News-Sentinel *(p. A11) on July 5, 1996 under the heading, "Southern Baptists May Negate Previous Good." Nathan Solomon is pursuing a Bachelor of Divinity degree at a Southern Baptist seminary in the United States. He recently completed a two-year appointment by the Southern Baptist*

Convention's Foreign Mission Board as a "journeyman" in Israel.

The evangelical nature of the Southern Baptist denomination has often put it at odds with the Jewish community, but the recent vote by the Southern Baptist Convention [meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11–13, 1996] to actively seek Jewish converts to Christianity is a step too far.

I fear that the methods Southern Baptists have used in the past to make converts will certainly not result in the Jewish community embracing Jesus as the Messiah but will become yet another wedge separating our closely related faith traditions. Apparently, the mistakes of the past have not been taken to heart.

Dr. Robert L. Lindsey was a pioneer of the Baptist presence in Israel from 1939 to 1987, achieving legendary status in the Israeli-Jewish community—not by actively seeking converts from Judaism but by being an active and vital part of the community of faith. Dr. Lindsey built long-lasting bridges between the Christian and Jewish communities by starting orphanages, championing the rights of victims and working closely with Jewish-Israeli scholars to learn more about the teachings of Jesus.

Dr. Lindsey did more to heal Jewish-Christian relations than any figure within Christendom in the last 200 years; these relations may crumble because of the bad judgment of his co-religionists. Southern Baptists would do well to consider the life and times of someone like Robert Lindsey before they destroy his work.

Nathan Solomon
Maryville, Tennessee, U.S.A.

Tiberias, February 1962. Hard at work in his study, Dr. Robert Lindsey searches for a solution to the synoptic problem.

Issue 50

Divorce and Remarriage

■ *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* Misses Hebraic Nuance of "And"

I was very impressed by your article about divorce [*JP* 50 (Jan.–Mar. 1996), 10–17, 35–38], and the various meanings of *vav* [and]. My Greek lexicon confirms that Greek και [*kai*, and], unlike Hebrew *vav*, cannot be the "*and* of purpose or intention."

On the other hand, the English word "and" can have more meanings than *kai*. In particular, it can be "introducing a consequence, actual or predicted" (*The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1947). Of the two examples of this usage given by the dictionary, one is from Lk. 10:28: "This do, *and* thou shalt live," which is clearly a quotation from one of the examples you give from the Hebrew Scriptures: "Do this *and* [i.e., so that] you may live" (Gen. 42:18).

The editor of the dictionary, knowing that the English "and" could introduce a consequence, evidently recognized the "and" of Lk. 10:28 as a good example of the usage. He may or may not have known that the English "and" was a straightforward translation from the Greek *kai*, which does *not* imply a consequence. He is unlikely to have recognized that the Greek word was an overly literal translation of *vav*, and that the Hebrew word implies not only a consequence, but even the intention of such a consequence.

Douglas Hadfield
Helmdon, Northamptonshire, England

■ Lives Ravaged by Guilt

The material which you had in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE [No. 50] on divorce and remarriage was excellent. Would to God that the church had continued in its Judaic heritage and not become so influenced by Platonic dualism. How many lives could have been made more pleasant and fulfilled, and less ravaged by guilt, if the truly biblical perspective on marriage had been maintained.

John D. Garr, Ph.D.
President, Restoration Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

ISSUE 51
"PARAPHRASTIC GOSPELS"

■ The Father Did Indeed Abandon the Son

I read with interest the late Robert Lindsey's article entitled "Paraphrastic Gospels" in the April–June 1996 issue, and should like to comment on his remarks about Jesus' words on the cross: "My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mk. 15:34). Lindsey suggests that Mark's version is "another example of Mark's editorial replacement habit" (p. 14). However, Matthew also records that Jesus uttered the same words (Mt. 27:46). Lindsey found Mark's version "difficult to grapple with theologically," but if we accept what God has revealed of Himself in canonical Scripture then the Father did indeed abandon the Son, as Paul showed, through the Son "being made a curse for us" (Gal. 3:13). This statement is paralleled elsewhere (2 Cor. 5:21; 1 Pet. 2:24).

In identifying with us Jesus passed through the same sequence of conditions we each experience as believers. First, in Adam, we have died spiritually and so, mysteriously, Jesus in the hours of darkness on the cross was cut off from the Father and was thus spiritually dead. Then, by saving faith we become alive in Christ spiritually, and so also Jesus, in commending his spirit into the Father's hands, returned to fellowship with the Father. After coming to life spiritually we shall die physically, and so, too, Jesus died physically after being reunited with the Father. Finally, we shall rise from the dead physically just as Jesus did.

Like your respondent, Dr. Garvey (p. 6), I feel that Lindsey overstates his case in devaluing Mark's gospel, which should be regarded as complementary to the others and not apocryphal.

Peter W. V. Gurney
Wolverhampton, West Midlands, England

I do not agree with you that God abandoned his son Jesus. Matthew DOES NOT record that "Jesus uttered the same words" in Mt. 27:46. Matthew, or possibly a later copyist, introduces a small change—"Eli, Eli." *Mark has* "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?" *and then remarks that the bystanders thought Jesus was calling for Elijah. However, in Aramaic the play "my God [*eli*]" and* "Eli," *the shortened form of* Eliyahu *(Elijah), is lost. As he copies Mark's text, Matthew apparently notices this difficulty and corrects to* "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?"*—a mixture of Hebrew (*Eli, Eli*) and Aramaic (*lama sabachthani*).*

The problematic "Eloi, Eloi" *in Mark is further evidence that Mk. 15:34–36 may be a Markan enhancement of an earlier text that was similar or identical to the much shorter Lukan text. It is not only that in Mark Jesus is portrayed as abandoned by God, and that Luke's "Into your hands I entrust my spirit" is what one would expect on the lips of a dying, observant Jew; but, in addition, Mark's text appears to be a midrashic expansion of the first version of Jesus' death on the cross.* ***– DB***

"ANTI-JEWISH TENDENCIES IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS"

■ What is the Jerusalem School's Hermeneutical Criterion?

The stimulating article on "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels" by R. Steven Notley in issue 51 of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE was of great interest to me not only for what it said but especially for what it left unsaid. (Please understand that as I share my thoughts I by no means intend to imply any endorsement of anti-Jewishness, nor any disrespect for the scholars to whom I refer.)

Let us for the moment accept what Notley and others argue, that in the gospels we find evidence of anti-Jewish sentiment. When Notley states that these are sentiments which "reflect little of Jesus' own thinking or experience," he presents a conclusion that will stand or fall on the strength of the evidence and argument.

But with this and other historical conclusions regarding the words and teachings of the historical Jesus, the Jerusalem School scholars leave unanswered a huge hermeneutical question, which lies implicit in these lines from Notley: "It is the duty of those working to hear clearly the words of Jesus to ensure that such distorted [anti-Jewish] perceptions do not become identified with the historical Jesus." Here a distinction is recognized between on the one hand the historical Jesus, whose authentic words presumably contained nothing anti-Jewish, and on the other hand the canonical Jesus, to whose teachings the "theology of replacement" is attributed. What Notley does not tell us is the hermeneutical criterion that justifies preference for his reconstructed teaching of Jesus over the version that the canon has delivered to us.

Let me make this point with a similar, broader example. From time to time scholars of the Jerusalem School will offer in books or articles fascinating insights into a saying or parable of

Jesus as it would have been understood by the audience on the scene when Jesus addressed them in Hebrew. But the actual historical scene of Jesus speaking in Hebrew is not what the gospels present to the reader. Rather, the only record we have of Jesus' teaching are highly edited Greek versions, in which the sayings and parables of Jesus have been intentionally arranged in ways that serve certain rhetorical purposes the gospel writers had in mind. Jerusalem scholars of course recognize that the gospels are the product of editorial activity, but they seem to dismiss that editorial activity as an irrelevant, secondary accretion to the Jesus tradition. What justifies that assumption?

Implicit in the Jerusalem School's approach to the words of Jesus is that those words have authority for faith primarily as they came forth from Jesus' mouth and were remembered and recorded in Hebrew. Little, if any, recognition is given to the authority God might have imbued into the tradition process as it continued by preserving those words in Greek and arranging those teachings into at least the three different editorial frameworks we call the synoptic gospels. This is essentially the same oversight found in the various quests for the historical Jesus that the past 150 years of European and American New Testament scholarship have witnessed.

Tradition processes of the sort that produced the Bible invariably will preserve a variety of stances on single issues. From Notley's work we learn that the final product of Scripture contains two stances on Jews: one free from anti-Jewish attitudes, and another that blames the Jews for the death of Jesus. This is similar to the simultaneous presence of fiercely anti-pagan theology canonized as Old Testament Scripture (in, e.g., Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua) alongside other canonical works far more theologically open to the heathen (e.g., Jonah). Both are voices present in Scripture; that is an established fact, and the work of Notley reminds us of that fact. But that very fact makes necessary a clear, compelling, and canonically sensitive criterion by which we justify our choice to listen to the one voice instead of the other. The criterion implied by New Testament scholars of the Jerusalem School seems to be historical; that is, the historically earlier element in Scripture is the one that is normative. Given the evidence that later biblical editors played an enormous role in the shaping of canonical Scripture, the historical criterion is in need of justification.

For all the considerable historical importance of the work done by members of the Jerusalem School, the value of that work for interpreting Scripture within the context of faith remains in question as long as this issue of the hermeneutical criterion remains unaddressed. Adding this key hermeneutical question to the tasks pursued by the School is, I feel, worth serious consideration.

William Yarchin
Azusa Pacific University
Azusa, California, U.S.A.

Steven Notley responds:

Thank you for your well thought out critique of my article. You have raised a number of important points. I am sorry that space will not allow me to respond to them in full.

In your comment regarding the hermeneutical questions raised by the work of the Jerusalem School, you have struck upon what I consider one of our most serious failings. There as yet exists no single volume with a full and clear presentation of the working methodology *of the Jerusalem School, especially one directed to other scholars working in the field. It is my hope that in the near future a cooperative effort can be made by scholars of the Jerusalem School to fill this gap and lay a foundation for future research.*

Individual Jerusalem School scholars bring their own perspectives to their study; however, I have observed three underlying assumptions that distinguish the Jerusalem School's work: first, that Hebrew was the primary teaching language of Jesus. He likely also knew Aramaic and Greek, but when looking for the linguistic milieu of the Lord's sayings, a working knowledge of post-biblical Hebrew is imperative. Second, that Jesus lived and ministered within a Jewish cultural and religious context. Sometimes his words and the writings of the gospel writers assume that we are familiar with that world. Sadly, that is often not true. Third, that Luke was written first and was followed by Mark and Matthew. Thus, the Jerusalem School scholars have concluded that the literary relationship of the synoptic gospels is not that which is widely held. Unlike many scholars who view Luke as merely a tertiary reworking of Mark with little historically reliable material, we are of the opinion that Luke possesses primitive material which can shed light on the life of Jesus. Matthew was written last of the synoptic gospels, but his chronological position should not be taken to mean that his gospel is without valuable historical information. All of the gospel material must be taken into account in order to gain a clear picture of the life of the Lord.

In light of the above, while I recognize that the canonical gospels are in Greek, I do not share your opinion that "the only record we have of Jesus' teaching" are "highly edited Greek versions." Your depiction blurs the individual literary state of the various gospels.

It has long been recognized that the gospels

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE welcomes letters, faxes and email messages to the Editor. We will use this column to share as many of our readers' comments, queries and requests as possible.

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Correspondence may be edited for clarity or space.

bear the mark of the Semitic world in which they were born. I would submit that these Greek versions reflect one or more earlier Hebrew accounts of Jesus' life which were translated and have become more polished in their Greek style as the tradition developed.

Your suggestion that we "seem to dismiss that editorial activity as an irrelevant, secondary accretion to the Jesus tradition" also misses the mark a bit. Moreover, I cannot agree with your characterization of our gospels as merely "three different editorial frameworks." Nor are the divergent theological views found in the Old Testament relevant at this point. From a literary standpoint, a more relevant parallel might be the relationship of the books of Samuel and Kings with Chronicles.

In any historical study utilizing the gospels, it is important first to establish what Jesus said, before we can know what Jesus meant. That need sometimes necessitates determining (if possible) a saying's earliest literary stage. By the way, I do not subscribe to the view of redaction criticism which holds that each gospel writer merely amended the gospel stories to serve his own particular theological *or* ecclesiastical *needs. If such were the case, you would be right that all that remains for today's reader is an inspired process—without any visible historical figure.*

Instead, I place great importance upon the historical Jesus who stands behind our canonical Scriptures and upon our ability to see and hear him. My work only attempts to peer through the evidence we have in an attempt to understand Jesus more clearly. The positive attitude of the Jerusalem School scholars concerning the ability to discern the actual sayings and events in the life of Jesus should be noted. It is often overlooked that the Jerusalem School's research stands in stark contrast to that of the Jesus Seminar, whose members, on the whole, feel that there is very little historically reliable material to assist us in determining what Jesus said and did.

A Great Disservice to the Gospels

I am an avid reader of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. In fact, I recommend it to my students. It regularly provides significant insight into the gospels and also into the times and teachings of Yeshua.

Therefore, I was both disappointed and disturbed by R. Steven Notley's article, "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels," in the April–June 1996 issue. I found the article inaccurate, skewed, and dated. Dr. Notley is either unaware or ignores scholarship which calls into question his conclusions about the gospels' anti-Jewishness, as well as the assumptions on which his conclusions are based. Let me cite a few examples.

The renowned *Jewish* scholar Louis Feldman ("Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic?" *Moment* [December 1990]) demonstrates that the gospels are *not* anti-Semitic documents. Bernard Lee (*The Galilean Jewishness of Jesus*) and Harvey Falk (*Jesus The Pharisee*), among others, show why certain statements in the gospels have been misconstrued to be anti-Jewish. Others, such as E. Linnemann (*Historical Criticism and the Bible;* and *Is There a Synoptic Problem?*), John Wenham (*Redating Matthew, Mark and Luke*), J.A.T. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*), and Grant Osborne (*The Resurrection Narratives*) demonstrate the bankruptcy of the methodology applied by Dr. Notley.

This article does a great disservice to the gospels, their Messianic *Jewish* authors, and the early believing Jewish community to which they were addressed.

Rabbi John Fischer, Ph.D., Th.D., Rosh Yeshiva
UMJC Yeshiva Institute
Palm Harbor, Florida, U.S.A.

Steven Notley responds:

There are scholars who reject the notion of anti-Jewish tendencies in the synoptic gospels. In "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels," I have offered the reader an opportunity to examine the passages relevant to the difficult questions that this article raises. I appreciate the additional biographical information you supplied for the readers. When dealing with complex issues such as these, I encourage serious students to consider various points of view. However, readers of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE might have been better served if you had provided examples of where my article was "inaccurate, skewed, and dated." You can appreciate that without specific examples it is difficult for me to respond. I cannot respond to a bibliography.

Subscriber Is Profoundly Insulted

First let me tell you that I am one of your first subscribers and have devoured each issue as soon as it showed up in the mail. I love Jesus, and any new light you can shine on his walk on the earth is greatly appreciated. But, I was profoundly insulted by the whole tenor of your last issue. There is an evil which is labeled "anti-Semitism." It was fashioned by Satan. There is another evil—

it has no label—which is characterized by finding anti-Semitism where it is not, in an attempt to stir up hatred between Jews and their friends. How can you characterize anything Jesus said or did, or even any commentary by Matthew, Mark or Luke as anti-Semitic?

Jesus was a Jew. The disciples were Jews. All the early Christians were Jews. If a Jew mistreats a Jew, does that make him anti-Semitic? If so, the Pharisees (Jews) were anti-Semitic. Saul of Tarsus imprisoned and killed Jews (obviously anti-Semitic behavior), until he was stopped by Jesus. If the target of someone's fury is against Jews, does that make him anti-Semitic? Then David was anti-Semitic when he warred against Saul's former followers.

I do not deny that much evil exists which is rightly labeled anti-Semitism. The Lord is their judge. But Jesus said there would be war, brother against brother, over doctrine. It is not Jews (the Pharisees) that Jesus hated, but rather the *doctrine* of the Jews (the Pharisees) which enslaved and blinded the eyes of those who followed it. To the extent the church is against the doctrine of the Jews, they are no more anti-Semitic than David. To the extent that they hate Jews because they are Jews, they will have to answer to the Judge of the Universe.

Edwin A. Mass
Rockford, Minnesota, U.S.A.

Steven Notley responds:

You are absolutely correct in saying that the Christian anti-Semitism of later centuries had nothing to do with Jesus and his first followers. In "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels," never do I suggest that either Jesus or his first disciples harbored ill will toward Judaism. Instead, I have tried to trace the rising tensions that developed between the early Christians and their Jewish contemporaries—which I have described as "anti-Jewish tendencies." This is an important distinction. These tensions, which most historians recognize resulted from the Church's growth and departure from its Jewish context, provided fertile ground for the development of Christian anti-Semitism in later centuries.

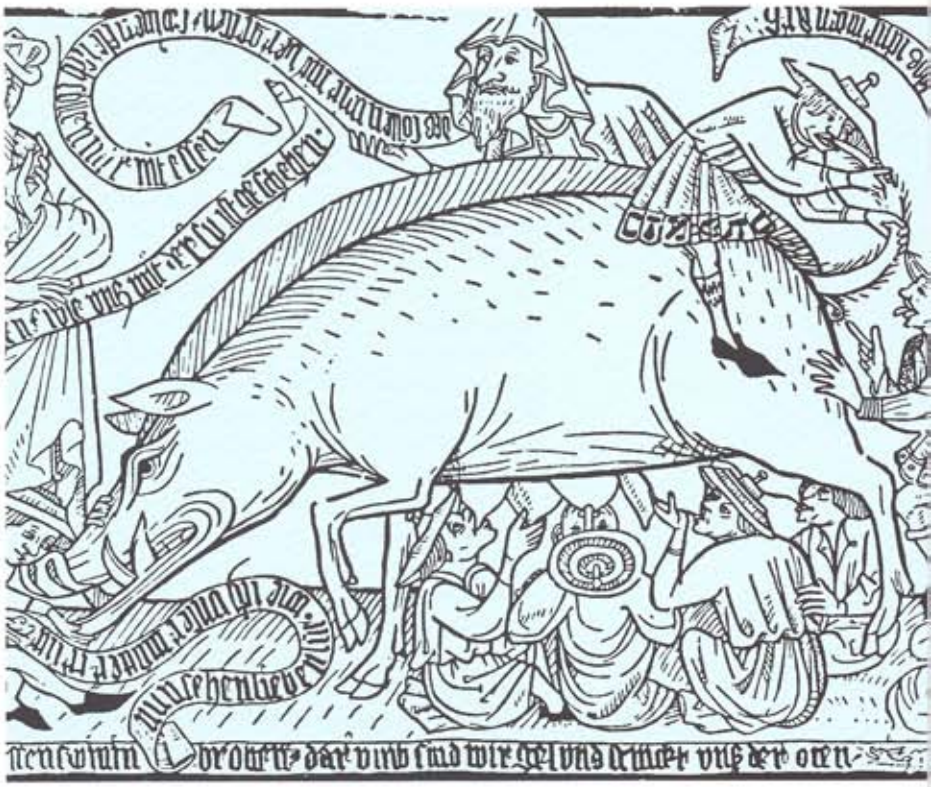
Disgusting Illustrations Distract from Worthy Content

I must say that I was greatly offended by your last issue [No. 51]. The biblical content was worth studying and reading carefully, yet on so many pages there were offensive and horrific pictures which were distracting from the data presented. I would suggest that in the future such material be perhaps grouped together on one or two pages, so as not to make study so difficult. These matters certainly need to be exposed and explored, but the pictures create such an atmosphere of disgust, they certainly detracted from the presentation of your written material.

Dot Olsen
Auburn, California, U.S.A.

Thank you for your compliment regarding the contents of the last issue. I agree that the illustrations accompanying Dr. Notley's article are disgusting and horrifying. I do not agree that they are out of place. Since these anti-Semitic caricatures and church art were produced by Christians who, we can assume, had read the New Testament, Christians of this generation must seek an explanation for the artists' hatred of Jews. We also must resolve to do everything in our power to eliminate Christian anti-Semitism.

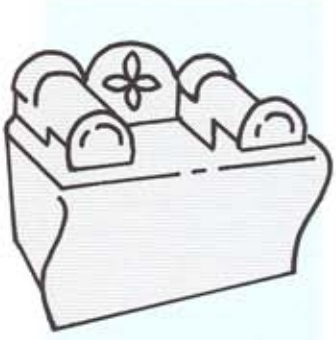
One of the offensive illustrations that accompanied Dr. Steven Notley's article, "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels" (JP 51, pp. 20–35, 38).



*Please note that Dr. Notley had no part in selecting the illustrations that accompanied his article. I am responsible for the anti-Semitic illustrations' inclusion. I also am responsible for the article's "kicker" (p. 21), and for the inclusion of the anti-Semitic statements by Martin Luther, Bailey Smith and several church fathers, which were imbedded in the article as "call-out quotes." – **DB***

The Nature of Jesus' Task

by Joseph Frankovic



When reading Matthew, Mark and Luke both synoptically and carefully, one sees that a gap existed between John the Baptist's perception of the messianic task and Jesus' perception of it. Verses like Luke 3:9 and 3:17 suggest that John anticipated an unfolding of God's judgment with the advent of the Messiah—good fruit trees were to be spared and wheat collected, whereas bad trees and chaff were to be burned. This separation motif is an indicator of judgment.

Jesus, however, did not view the first phase of the messianic task, namely, proclaiming that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand, in such terms. (The Kingdom of Heaven may be thought of as the redemptive movement that Jesus initiated, a movement in which God's supernatural power has manifested itself to heal, restore and empower.) Jesus knew, as is evident from the way he described publicly his agenda in a synagogue in Nazareth (Lk. 4:16–21), that he had been anointed to proclaim release to the captives, set free the downtrodden and announce the favorable year of the LORD. Moreover, quoting Isaiah 61:1–2, he stopped midstream in verse 2.

The abrupt stop before the phrase "to proclaim the day of vengeance of our God" was no mere coincidence. Jesus was making a provocative statement about who he was and the nature of his task, or, to be more specific, the first phase of that task, which continues even in our day.

What generated the disparity between the two perceptions of the messianic task? Incidentally, the disparity distressed John so much that he sent two of his disciples to Jesus to press the issue (Mt. 11:2–6). One factor that contributed to the gap was Malachi 4:5, which says that God would send the prophet Elijah, presumably as a herald, before the coming of the great and terrible Day of the LORD, that is, the day of judgment (cf. Mal. 3:1–2).

When reading Malachi 4:5, John apparently understood that the appearance of this herald and the coming of the Day of the LORD were nearly concurring events. This was not the case for Jesus. He understood the verse to mean that a span of time, potentially lasting thousands of years, would elapse between the herald and the Day of the LORD, the day when he would return to complete his messianic task as the awesome, divinely invested judge called the Son of Man (Mt. 25:31–46 and Jn. 5:27).

John the Baptist's understanding of Malachi 4:5 is the *peshat*, or simple reading of the verse. Jesus' interpretation, on the other hand, can only be achieved by reading the verse as part of a greater complex of verses. Thus, John, an observant, God-fearing Jew, who played an extraordinary part in salvation history, had difficulty grasping aspects of Jesus' teaching and conduct, not because he was dull of heart or spiritually blind, as Christians too often stereotype first-century Jews, but rather because of an ambiguity generated by the biblical text.

Christians read their Bibles through a lens of historical hindsight to illuminate certain features of Jesus' teaching. Jews living in the first century did not have this benefit, and even one as saintly as John the Baptist struggled with aspects of Jesus' messianic conduct. JP

HELEN TWENA

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Center for Judaic-Christian Studies

The Center for Judaic-Christian Studies, directed by Dwight Pryor, is a nonprofit organization that seeks to cultivate among Christians an appreciation of their Hebrew heritage. The Center has produced a 13-part television series, "The Quest: The Jewish Jesus," and published books, such as the award-winning *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (Mazar, Doubleday), and the best-selling *Our Father Abraham: Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith* (Wilson, Eerdmans).

Centre for the Study of Biblical Research

The Centre for the Study of Biblical Research, directed by Dr. William Bean, was founded in 1984 to augment the work of the Jerusalem School. The Centre's initial focus was to generate funds to purchase computer equipment for the School. CSBR is the publisher of *Fluent Biblical and Modern Hebrew*, a home-study Hebrew course, and acts as JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's U.S. subscription office. CSBR has established several synoptic gospel study groups that meet monthly in Southern California.

Christian Friends of Israel – U.S.A.

Christian Friends of Israel is an international organization based in Jerusalem that seeks to educate Christians about the Jewish roots of their faith and about modern Israel. CFI works to counter anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism embedded in Christian preaching. CFI-USA, directed by Hannele Sorensen, is the U.S. office of Christian Friends of Israel. It publishes a monthly newsletter and digest of current events in Israel and the Middle East, and offers a large selection of Israel-related audio and video cassettes. Learn more about CFI-USA through a visit to its site on the Internet (http://www.cfi-usa.org).

HaKesher

HaKesher (Hebrew for "the Connection") is directed by Ken and Lenore Mullican. Lenore, the daughter of Jerusalem School pioneer Dr. Robert Lindsey, grew up in Israel and is fluent in Hebrew. HaKesher's principal objectives are to foster awareness of the Jewish roots of the Christian faith, promote teaching of the Hebrew language and culture in the local church as an aid to in-depth Bible study, and serve as a clearinghouse of information for people and organizations interested in a Hebraic perspective on the New Testament. To learn more about the work of HaKesher, visit its Web site at http://www.hakesher.org.

CSBR New England

CSBR New England, a branch of the Centre for the Study of Biblical Research, is directed by Jeanne Miterko. Jeanne is a member of the Connecticut Bar Association and practiced law until 1993 when she decided to focus all her attention on her two young sons, ages three and one. Jeanne's husband, Ron, is an investment portfolio manager for Peoples Bank in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Jeanette and Dwight Pryor, in New Zealand for their annual speaking tour, stand outside the studios of Radio Rhema in Auckland.

CFI Communications

CFI Communications, directed by Derek White, is the U.K. office of Christian Friends of Israel. CFI seeks to express friendship and solidarity with Israel and the Jewish people, and stimulate Christians to pray for Israel. CFI directs much of its energies towards educating Christians about the Jewish roots of their faith and about modern Israel, publishing a bimonthly newsletter and a monthly digest of current events in and around Israel, and producing video and audio cassettes. CFI has also developed a wide range of practical assistance projects in Israel.

Hendiadys in the Synoptic Gospels

by David Bivin

Hebraisms are as ubiquitous in the synoptic gospels as cats in Jerusalem. One of my friends says that there are more cats in Jerusalem than any other city in the world. You finds cats everywhere in this city. If you pass a rubbish bin, you may be startled as several cats fly out. You may also be startled by the number of Hebrew idioms in the synoptic gospels.

Mark each Hebraism that is presented in this new column in your Bible, perhaps using a highlighter. In time, as you identify more and more Hebraisms in the texts of Matthew, Mark and Luke, you will see the gravity of the evidence for assuming a Hebrew tradition behind the synoptic gospels.

Scarcity of Hebrew Adjectives

Adjectives are relatively rare in Hebrew. One way Hebrew overcomes its scarcity of adjectives is by using two nouns linked together by the conjunction "and." Grammarians call this usage "hendiadys," two terms connected by "and" that form a unit in which one member is used to qualify the other.

Hendiadys, common in Greek, is no stranger to English either: "nice and warm" means "nicely warm." "I am good and mad" does not mean "I am good and I am mad," but "I am very mad." The order of the two terms is irrelevant.

Hendiadys in the Hebrew Scriptures

In Genesis 12:1 God commands Abraham to leave "your land and your birthplace." The *King James Version*'s translation is: "Get thee out of *thy country, and* from *thy kindred*." To achieve idiomatic English, however, one should understand "birthplace" as modifying "land" and translate, "Leave your native land."

In Genesis 13:13 the *King James Version* has the mechanical "wicked and sinners" instead of the more idiomatic "wicked sinners."

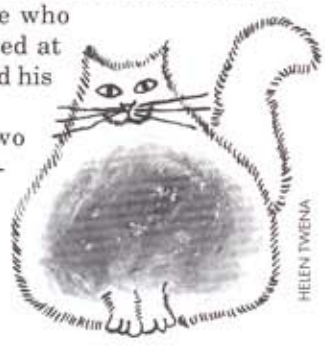
Genesis 23:4 contains a classic example of hendiadys. The *King James Version* translates the two-noun expression woodenly as "a stranger and a sojourner." So, too, the *New International Version*: "an alien and a stranger." The translation of the Jewish Publication Society, *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures*, recognizes the hendiadys and renders it, "a resident alien."

According to the *New International Version*'s translation of Genesis 32:28, Jacob struggled "with God [lit., gods] and with men." If this is hendiadys, then Jacob did not wrestle with God, nor with humans, but with godly or divine beings.

Hendiadys in the Gospels

If it is true, as a majority of scholars in Israel suppose, that much of the synoptic gospels' Greek is "translation Greek," that is, Greek that has been translated quite literally from Hebrew, then one would expect to find examples of hendiadys in the synoptic gospels. And indeed one does.

At twelve years of age Jesus was in the Temple engaged in the give-and-take of rabbinic study and discussion. The text of Luke 2:47 stresses the boy's precocity: "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers," according to the *King James Version*. The modern *New International Version* renders the verse: "Everyone who heard him was amazed at his understanding and his answers."



Luke 2:47's two nouns, "understanding" and "answers," joined by the connective "and," deserve to be translated less

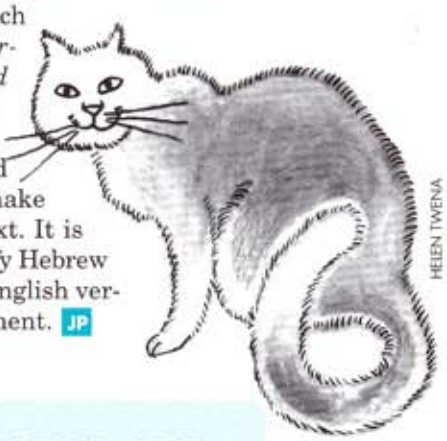
woodenly. An idiomatic translation can be achieved by converting one of the two nouns to an adjective and dropping the word "and." "His understanding answers," that is, "his intelligent answers," is how English speakers would express the Hebraic "his understanding and his answers." "His penetrating answers" is the way Joseph A. Fitzmyer has put it (*The Gospel According to Luke [I–IX], The Anchor Bible* [Doubleday & Co., 1981], p. 442).

Luke 21:15, "I [Jesus] will give you a mouth and wisdom that none of those opposing you will be able to resist or contradict," contains the very unidiomatic "a mouth and wisdom." If this is hendiadys, as seems likely, then we should translate, "I will give you a wise response," or "I will give you convincing speech."

I have suggested another example of hendiadys in "Semitic Background to the Nain Story" (*Jerusalem Perspective* 2 [Nov. 1987], 2). Luke 7:11 reads, "Once he went to a city called Nain, and his disciples and a large crowd went with him." If the phrase "his disciples and a large crowd" is an example of hendiadys, it would mean "a large crowd of his disciples."

Your Challenge

Now that you know what to look for, can you find other instances of hendiadys in the synoptic gospels? (Remember, some instances of hendiadys in the synoptic gospels may be Grecisms since hendiadys is common in Greek.) Using one of the more literal translations of the New Testament, such as the *King James Version*, *Revised Standard Version* or *New American Standard Version*, look for nouns connected by "and" that do not make perfect sense in context. It is often possible to identify Hebrew idioms using only an English version of the New Testament. JP



HELEN TWENA

One Torah Reader, Not Seven!

Every Saturday morning in synagogues throughout the world the Torah is read aloud. Following ancient practice, seven men in turn read the weekly Torah portion. However, Professors Shmuel and Chana Safrai have recently discovered that a different custom prevailed until the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE makes the first announcement of this exciting new discovery.

Rabbinic sources inform us that on the Sabbath the Torah was read aloud in the synagogue by seven persons, a custom that has continued until this day.[1] Scholars have assumed the custom was the same in the time of Jesus.[2]

Now, two Jerusalem School members, the father and daughter team of Shmuel and Chana Safrai have made a remarkable discovery: Only around 100 A.D. did it become the custom to have the weekly Torah portion read by seven persons. Until at least the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., a single reader performed this task.[3] The Safrais have described their discovery in a forthcoming article written in Hebrew.[4]

The lone Torah reader also read an accompanying passage from the Prophets, the *haftarah* (conclusion; i.e., the reading from the Prophets that concluded the public reading of Scripture). Usually, this same reader also commented on the Scriptures he had just read, in effect, delivering a sermon. Thus, just as Luke reports, Jesus read from the Torah in the synagogue of Nazareth,[5] then read from the Prophets,[6] and finally, gave a commentary on what he had read.[7]

New Light on Jesus

The Safrais' discovery throws new light on several gospel stories, for instance, Jesus' visit to his own synagogue in Nazareth. Having become well-known through his healing ministry, when Jesus returned to Nazareth for a visit, leaders of the local synagogue invited him to be the Sabbath Scripture reader. They probably gave him the central role in that week's synagogue service[8] because they hoped to learn from his sermon details of his activities. Since in those days the same person read the Torah, the Prophets and preached the sermon, the leaders literally turned over the service to Jesus.

Jesus' townsmen had received reports of his activities in Capernaum. They may have been skeptical of his ability to work miracles; however, it appears they had no doubts about his ability to read Scripture publicly and teach Torah. They were confident Jesus was capable of reading the sacred text publicly with precision and that he also was able to interpret it.

Reading with Consonants

In Jesus' day reading Hebrew was not an easy task—the language did not include vowel signs. These signs were only invented beginning in the sixth century A.D. A Hebrew word could often be vocalized in more than one way, allowing it to have more than one meaning. The way one vocalized a word affected the meaning of the text. To read correctly, one had to know which vowels to combine with the consonants of each word.

To read Scripture publicly was even more difficult. No errors, no matter how minor, were permitted. If a reader made a mistake, he had to back up and repeat the text correctly. There were myriad ancient traditions concerning how to vocalize the words of the sacred text, and no one dared read publicly without careful preparation.

Let us try to imagine what it was like in the Nazareth synagogue on the Sabbath Jesus read from the Torah. If Jesus successfully accomplished the challenging task of publicly reading the sacred Scriptures, by the time he finished reading and began to preach, he had gone far towards winning over his audience. As Luke 4:20 says, "All eyes were fixed on him." In other words, the congregation waited for Jesus' sermon with eager anticipation. – ***DB***

1. Tosefta, Megillah 3:11; Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 23[a]. Notice that both sources transmit the tannaic halachah that women can be included among the seven Torah readers.

2. Chana and Shmuel Safrai also had made this assumption (cf. *JP* 20 [May 1989], 1–2).

3. According to the Safrais, all traditions dating to the Second Temple period agree there was a single reader of the weekly Torah portion: Mishnah, Sotah 7:7–8; Mishnah, Yoma 7:1; *Antiq.* 4:209; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8:7, 13 (quoting fragments of Philo's *Hypothetica*); Philo, *Every Good Man Is Free* 81–82; cf. *The Contemplative Life* 30–31; Lk. 4:16–20. See also, Shmuel Safrai, "Gathering in the Synagogues on Festivals, Sabbaths and Weekdays," *British Archaeological Reports*, International Series 499 (1989), 7–15.

In *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8:7, 13, Philo tells of the custom of the people "to gather together on Sabbath days in one place, and while sitting together in the sanctity of the place...to listen to the reading of the Torah...and one of those present, a *cohen* [man of priestly descent], or an elder, reads the holy commandments and interprets them."

In *Every Good Man Is Free* 81–82, speaking of the Essenes, Philo states, "...to the holy places, that are called synagogues...one of the men takes out the holy books and reads aloud from them, and another knowledgeable man stands beside him explaining the things that need explanation."

Mishnah, Megillah 4:1 is additional support for the contention that at first there was one, not seven, Torah readers. This tannaic halachah states: "He who reads the *megillah* [scroll; i.e., the Scroll of Esther] may stand or sit. If one reads it, or if two read it, they [the congregation] have fulfilled their obligation." The context deals with the reading of the Torah, not Esther. As J. N. Epstein has already shown (*Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, and Tel Aviv: Dvir Co., 1964], 1:491–492 [Hebrew]), the word "*megillah*" is a latter addition from a time when it was no longer permitted to sit while reading the Torah. As the passage shows, in this early period there may sometimes have been two Torah readers. The Safrais suppose that, at times, the second reader may have been a woman.

4. The article, "הכל עולין למנין שבעה" (*ha-KOL ʿo-LIN le-min-YAN shiv-ʿAH*, All Are Permitted to Be One of the Seven Sabbath Torah Readers), will be published later this year in Issue 66.2 of the Hebrew-language journal *Tarbiz* (ISSN 0334-3650; P.O. Box 7695, 91076 Jerusalem, Israel).

5. Indicated by the words "he stood up to read" in Lk. 4:16 (see Shmuel Safrai, "Naming John the Baptist," *Jerusalem Perspective* 20 [May 1989], 2).

6. In Jesus' time the readings from the Prophets that accompanied the Torah portions had not yet been fixed. Apparently, the Torah reader had a great deal of liberty in choosing the accompanying passage from the Prophets (Safrai, "Naming John the Baptist," p. 2). Jesus read Isa. 61:1–2a, inserting part of Isa. 58:6.

7. Indicated by the words "he sat down" in Lk. 4:20. A teacher always assumed that posture before beginning to teach. The words "the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him" also indicate that Jesus preached a sermon. After Jesus read the Scriptures and seated himself, the congregation waited expectantly for him to begin his sermon.

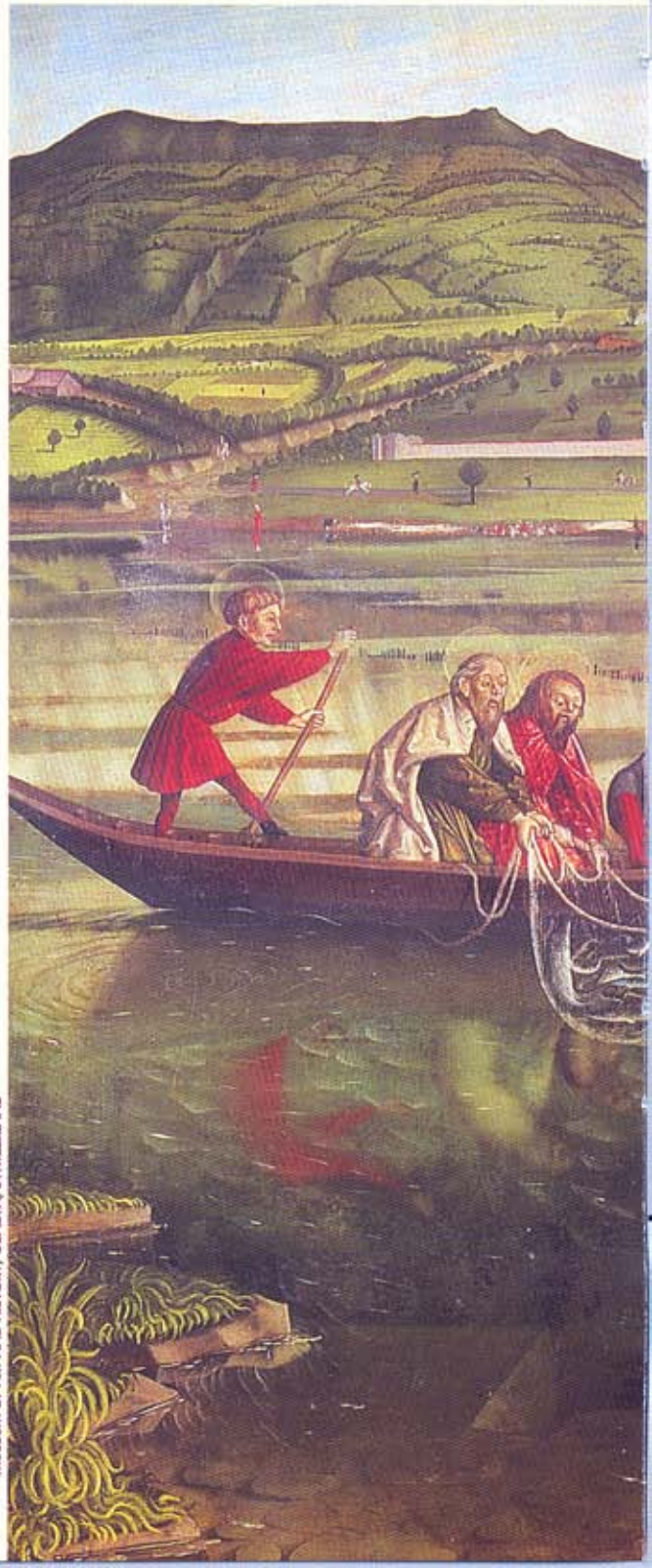
8. In Jesus' day the Saturday morning service was the only service of the week. This can be seen clearly from, for instance, the book of Acts (13:14, 42, 44; 17:1–2; 18:4), a mid-first-century A.D. source.

ISRAEL GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE

An Israeli boy reading from a Torah scroll during his Bar Mitzvah ceremony held in the ruins of the ancient synagogue at Masada (Jan. 1967).

What Was When He Plunged into the Sea?

by Mendel Nun



MUSEUM OF ART AND HISTORY, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Simon Peter Wearing

"The Miraculous Catch of Fish," painted by Conrad Witz in 1444, depicts Jesus and his disciples against the backdrop of Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc. Jesus stands on the shore and Peter, in full robe, attempts to swim to him.
(Photo: Bettina Jacot-Descombes)

VATICAN MUSEUMS, VATICAN CITY

Was Peter actually fishing naked, or was he merely "stripped to the waist," as the *Living Bible* says? And what did he put on before swimming to Jesus?

Renaissance paintings, translation problems, and most of all, insufficient knowledge of fishing techniques before our modern age—all these have led to considerable confusion as to how fishermen were once clothed (or unclothed!).

Naked Fishermen

Depictions of early fishermen in Egypt, Rome, and elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, show them in their boats entirely nude, or else working on the shore wearing only brief loincloths.

An intriguing and famous example is the vignette we read about in the gospel of John (21:7). Simon Peter,

after hearing from his fellow fishermen in the boat that Jesus was standing on the beach, "girded himself, for he was naked, and threw himself into the sea" (literal translation). Different versions of the New Testament vary widely in their translation of the phrase that suggests nudity: *King James Version*—"he was naked"; *Revised Standard Version*, *New American Standard Bible* and *New English Bible*—"he was (*NEB*: 'had') stripped"; *Living Bible*—"he was stripped to the waist"; *New International Version*—"he had taken it [his outer garment] off"; *Jerusalem Bible*—"[he] had practically nothing on."

How Peter Fished

To understand this scene, we must be familiar with the rather complex fishing technique being used by Peter and his friends that day on the Sea of Galilee.

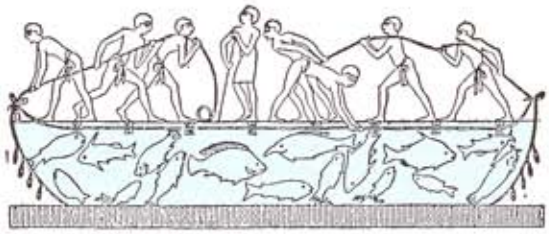
Peter was working with a group of fishermen, and they were operating the "veranda" net. This net is used to catch schools of leaping fish—and in the Sea of Galilee, these can only be the (appropriately named) St. Peter's fish. The veranda method, which is still in use in many parts of the world, employs the trammel net (a three-walled net) together with the cast-net.

The veranda method, a part of everyday life for fishermen for thousands of years, works as follows: A trammel net (or any other long, high net) is used to encircle a school of fish in a barrel of mesh. A second trammel net is spread on the water's surface surrounding the net barrel, and kept afloat with reeds. This creates a kind of ledge around the "barrel."

Most of the fish try to escape by jumping over the barrel's rim and are trapped in the floating trammel net. Those fish remaining in the barrel are caught in cast-nets thrown from a boat; these nets are retrieved immediately by the fishermen, who dive into the water and gather them from the lake bottom, together with the catch of fish.

What Did Peter Put On?

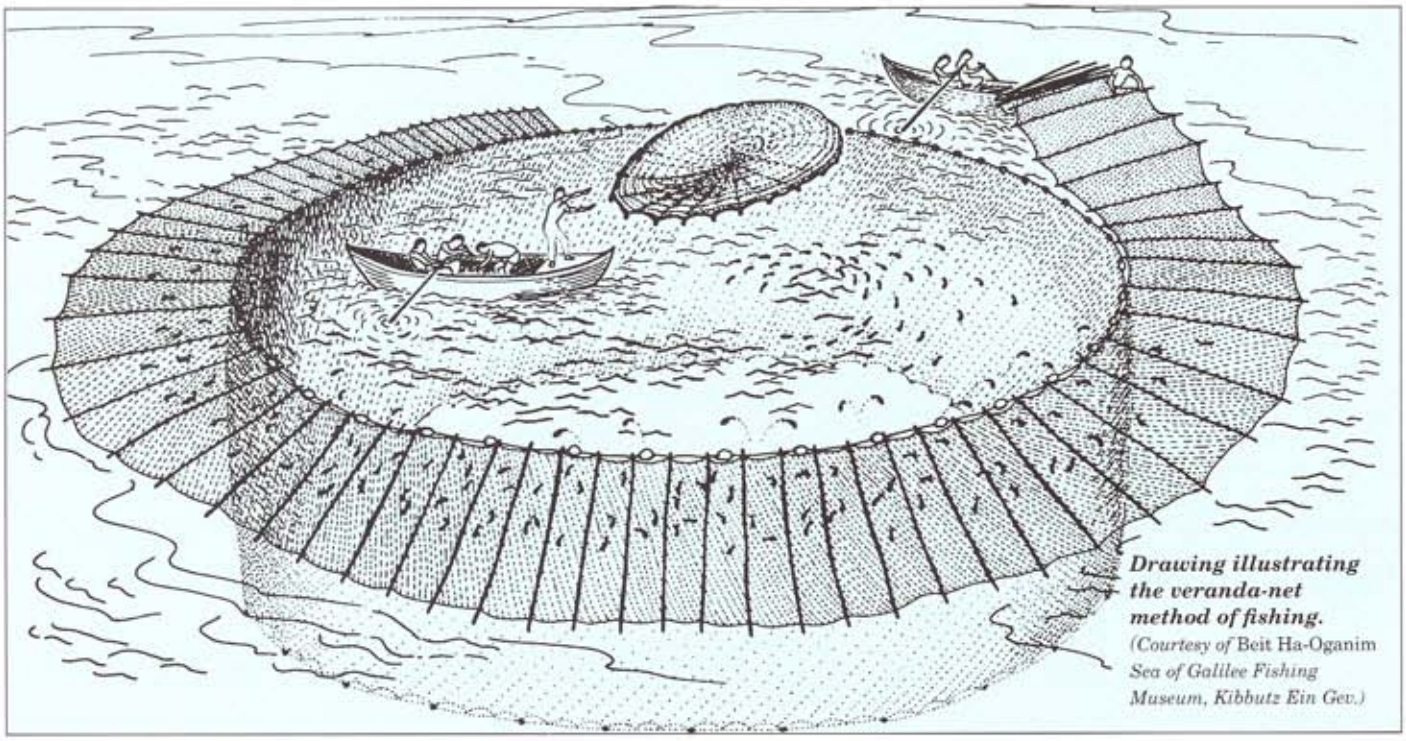
To return to the little band of disciples working their several nets two thousand years ago: When Jesus appeared on the shore, Peter was in his boat, naked, as all cast-net fishermen were when at work. He had just cast his net into the water and was preparing to dive in after it. At that moment his friends told him that Jesus was nearby.



Left:
Crew of seven fishermen hauling in a seine (drag-net) under the direction of a captain who leans on a staff. Wall painting from the tomb of Noamon in Egypt (16th century B.C.E.). Even in Peter's day, fishing was already a very ancient occupation.

Page 20, left:
2nd-century C.E. marble statue of an old fisherman (height: 160 cm.). With his left hand the fisherman grasps the handle of a round basket used for transporting fish. His right hand is extended flagging potential customers, or holding a fishing rod.
(Photo: P. Zigrossi)

Page 20, right:
Naked fisherman with cast-net draped over his right arm in typical ready position. Detail of a Roman mosaic found at Hadrumetum, modern Sousse in Tunisia.
(From Revue Archéologique, *1897, Plate XI.)*



Drawing illustrating the veranda-net method of fishing.
(Courtesy of Beit Ha-Oganim *Sea of Galilee Fishing Museum, Kibbutz Ein Gev.)*

YOCHI

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

DR. BELA GAUL

Left:
Using a large rock as his chair, this angler is hoping the "big one" won't get away. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens" mosaic, Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

Below:
Two fishermen take up a string of lobster traps. Detail of a Roman mosaic, Museum of Archaeology, Sousse, Tunisia.

DR. BELA GAUL

Above:
Young fisherman holding a stringer of fish in each hand. Wall painting dating from about 1500 B.C.E. discovered at Thera (modern Santorin).

Right:
A fisherman's muscles bulge as he strains to push his boat off the beach and out to sea. In the boat are a fishing pole and a basket for the fish he hopes to catch. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens," a 3rd-century C.E. mosaic found in the archaeological excavations at Thugga (modern Dougga, Tunisia) and now displayed in the Bardo National Museum in Tunis.

DR. BELA GAUL

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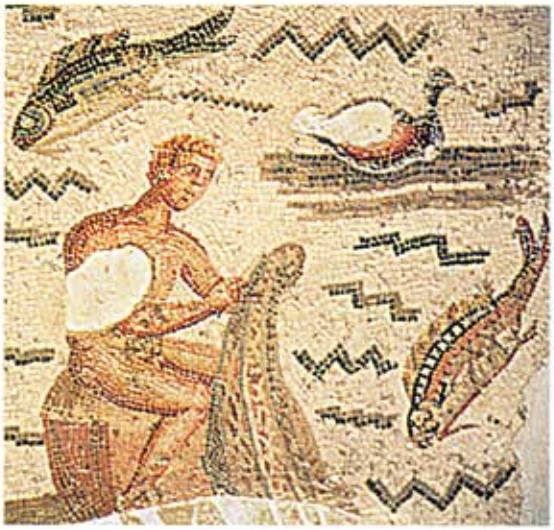

Peter's first reaction was to put on his loincloth, because he could not appear naked before his teacher. But before rowing or swimming to Jesus on the shore, Peter first would have retrieved his cast-net, now resting on the bottom of the lake. If he left the net until later, he might not be able to relocate it.

The Greek text does not specify the garment—ἐπενδύτης (ependytēs) is a general term for an outer garment—and there are many suggested translations for the clothing Peter put on. The *NEB* calls it "a coat," the *KJV* "a fisher's coat," the *JB* "a cloak," the *NIV* and *NASB* "an outer

(continued on page 37)

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Above left:
A fisherman mends his net. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens" mosaic, Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

Above right:
Two men fish with hook and line. The older man baits his hook as the younger (his son, grandson?) nets a fish. Both men wear the diaper-like loincloth that, typically, is knotted in the front. The younger fisherman also wears an Italian, wide-brimmed hat. Detail of a Roman mosaic floor from Leptis Magna (modern Lebda, Libya).

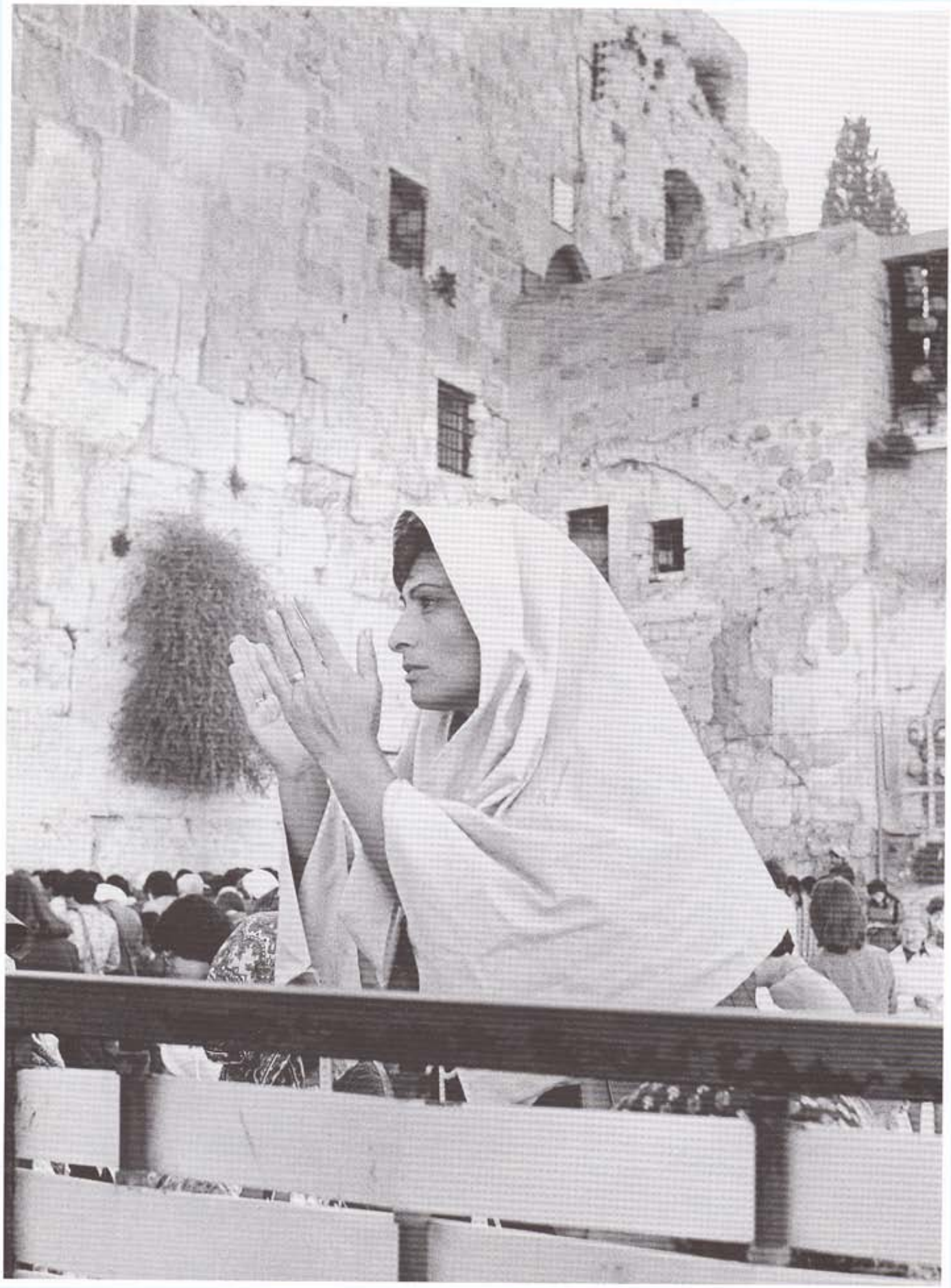
Center:
A crew of fishermen strain to haul in a net brimming with fish. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens" mosaic, Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

Below:
Back from work, a fisherman unloads his anchor and its chain before beaching his boat. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens" mosaic, Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

Were Women SEGREGATED IN THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE?

Did women play a passive role in the synagogue congregations of antiquity? Were they separated from male members of the congregation during prayer and study, as is the case today? According to Professor Shmuel Safrai, the answer to both questions is a resounding "No."

by Shmuel Safrai



JOEL S. FISHMAN

Page 25:
Israeli woman in fervent prayer beside the* mehitsah *separating men and women at the Temple Mount's Western Wall in Jerusalem's Old City (1982).

Below:
Israel's victory in the Six Day War (June 1967) made Jewish access to the Western Wall again possible. A temporary barrier (in the foreground) and* mehitsah *(upon which the boy's hand rests), running from the barrier to the Wall, were hastily erected soon after the war. The signs in Hebrew attached to the barrier read: (right) "Women"; (left) "Men."

When discussing the form and character of the synagogue, one should consider data from the land of Israel along with data from the Diaspora; there is no justification for treating them separately. The sources we will consider here pertain to synagogues in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Second Temple, throughout the land of Israel during the period of the Mishnah and Talmud, and in the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, Syria and Greece.

The sources reveal that women regularly attended the synagogue and took part in its services, listening to sermons and to the reading of the Torah. Women also studied in the *bet midrash* (study hall).

A Woman's Obligation

Prayer was a religious obligation not just of men, but also of women:

> Women, slaves and minors are exempt from recitation of the Shema and from putting on phylacteries, but are not exempt from praying [the Eighteen Benedictions], affixing a mezuzah [to the doorpost of their house], or saying the blessing after meals.[1]

Women, like men, were obligated to pray the "Eighteen Benedictions" prayer daily. Rabban Gamaliel said: "One must say the 'Eighteen' every day."[2] Although it was usual to pray the Eighteen Benedictions in an assembly of the congregation, women—and men—were permitted to pray them privately.

When this prayer was recited publicly—in the synagogue, for instance—ten individuals were necessary to create a religious quorum. It is important to note that *women could be counted as part of the ten*. The idea that ten *males* are required for this quorum is not found in Jewish sources until at least 500 C.E.[3]

Women Frequented the Synagogue

There are many stories in rabbinic literature about women going to synagogue. Note, for instance, this halachah, which implies that it was as natural for women to go to the synagogue as to the bathhouse:

WERNER BRAUN

> An Israelite may put meat on the coals [to cook] and let a Gentile come and turn it until he [the Israelite] returns from the synagogue or study hall without having to worry [that the meat will become prohibited]. An [Israelite] woman may put a pot on a stove and let a Gentile woman come and stir it until she [the Israelite woman] returns from the bathhouse or the synagogue without having to worry [that the contents of the pot will become prohibited].[4]

Another relevant halachah is transmitted in the name of Rabbi Simlai:

> In a village, all of whose residents are priests, when they pronounce the priestly blessing [in the synagogue], whom do they bless? Their brothers in the north, their brothers in the south, their brothers in the east, their brothers in the west. And who responds "Amen"? The women and children.[5]

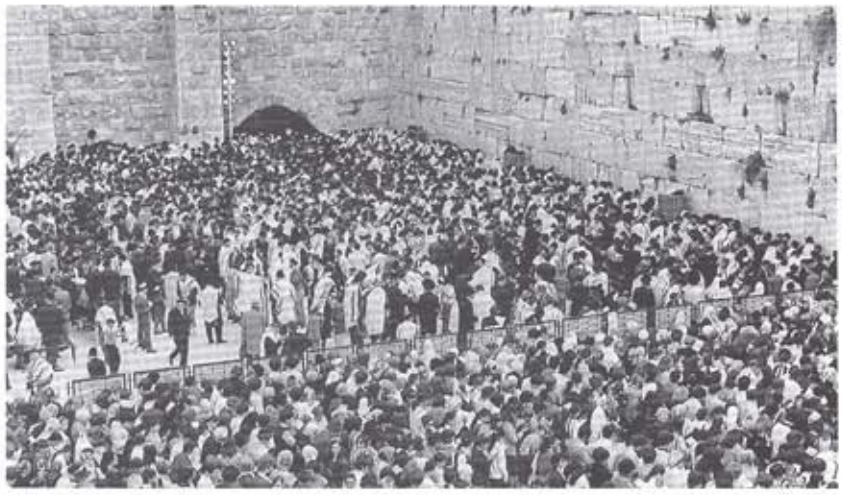
In ruling that in the synagogue of a village of priests, women and children are permitted to say "Amen" in response to the priestly blessing, Rabbi Simlai obviously was making the assumption that the women were in attendance.

Greater Attendance on the Sabbath

Especially on the Sabbath, women and children went to synagogue:

> It is right to translate for the general public and the women and children every Torah portion and the reading from the Prophets. That is why it was ruled: "On the Sabbath the people come [to the synagogue] early and leave late." They come early in order to recite the Shema at sunrise like the strictly observant, and leave late in order to hear the commentary on the Torah portion. On festivals, however, the people come late because they [the women] have to prepare the festive meal [eaten after families return home from the synagogue].[6]

For testimony from the Jewish Diaspora, one could mention the journeys of Paul as related in the book of Acts. Luke informs us that on a number of occasions Paul met women in synagogues. When Paul reached Philippi on the Macedonian border, he went out of the town on the Sabbath to "a [Jewish] place of prayer" by the river and there spoke to the women (Acts 16:13). Here the writer emphasizes the presence of women because he intends to tell later about the Christian baptism of Lydia the God-fearer. Similarly, when Paul came to Thessalonica, important women were drawn to his teaching (17:4).



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***April 3, 1972. Passover pilgrims gather for morning prayers at the Western Wall plaza. Women (in the foreground) are separated from men by a* mehitsah.**

According to one source, even young girls attended synagogue services:

"Young Israelite girls would go to the synagogues to gain a reward for those who brought them and to gain a reward for themselves."[7]

Daily Attendance

Some traditions depict women attending the synagogue every day.

> It is told of one woman who grew very old and came before Rabbi Yose ben Halafta and said to him: "Rabbi I have grown too old, and now my life is one of disgrace since I cannot taste any food or drink, and I wish to be relieved of this world."
>
> He said to her: "What commandment do you take care to observe every day?"
>
> She said to him: "I take care that, every day, even if I have something very important to do, I leave it until later and get up early to go to the synagogue."[8]

Elsewhere, we read about a widow who had a synagogue in her neighborhood, but who walked some distance every day to pray in Rabbi Yohanan's study hall [where services were conducted]:

> He [Rabbi Yohanan] said to her: "My daughter, don't you have a synagogue in your own neighborhood?"
>
> She said to him: "Teacher, don't I receive a reward for my steps [i.e., for the extra distance I walk]?"[9]

Rabbi Yohanan is surprised that the woman attends a synagogue outside her own neighborhood; he is not surprised by her synagogue attendance.

Women Came to Learn

There is a story[10] about a woman who went to synagogue every Friday night to hear Rabbi Meir teach Torah: "Rabbi Meir would go to teach in the synagogue of Hammath [near Tiberias] every Sabbath eve, and [there][11] one woman would go to hear his teaching."[12]

The Midrash to Deuteronomy 29:10–11 informs us that women customarily went to the *bet midrash* (lit., "house of study," but used here in its wider sense as a synonym for "synagogue") even though they did not always understand the words of the teacher. On the text, "You stand here today...your children and your wives," Midrash ha-Gadol comments: "Even though they may not be thoroughly trained [thus not able to argue halachic points], your wives come to receive a reward." From this comment we may assume that men *and women* participated in synagogue study sessions and synagogue services, which also included teaching.

On the text, "More blessed than the women in the tent" (Jdg. 5:24), the Targum adds: "She [Jael] will be blessed like one of the women who serve [i.e., study] in the study halls."[13] This statement indicates that women were present in synagogue study halls. It is significant that "service in the study hall" is one of the conditions for acceptance as a *ḥaver* (member) [see Glossary, p. 39].[14]

Halachah Assumes Women's Attendance

A *baraita* in Tractate Niddah presupposes that women were present with men in the synagogue: "She may not come to the Temple [in her days of menstruation]; likewise, it is not permitted for her to enter the study hall or synagogue."[15] Elsewhere, this prohibition is repeated: "She is not permitted to enter the synagogue until she immerses herself [following the end of her menstrual period]."[16]

Although this halachah is especially strict;[17] apparently, its observance was widespread. For example, the author of the Syriac Didascalia (sixth cent. C.E.) chastened the Jewish-Christian women of his community because they did not go to church during their menstrual period.[18] My point is this: Though Jewish women did not attend synagogue services or study sessions while they were menstruating; ordinarily, they participated just as fully as the men.

The Geonim, heads of the talmudic academies in Babylonia from the seventh to eleventh centuries C.E., received many queries about women's attendance at synagogue. Their view, with few exceptions, was that women should attend synagogue.[19] The language of the *responsa* (see Glossary, p. 39) suggests that women went to the synagogue. Here, for example, are the words of the Gaon Sherira (tenth cent. C.E.):

> There are women who refrain from going to the synagogue [during their menses], but they should not refrain because there is no valid reason for doing so. If [they refrain] because they think the synagogue is like the Temple, then why, after immersing themselves, do they not go? If [they refrain] because they have not made atonement [by offering a sacrifice in the Temple]...then they would never be able to go until, in some future day, they brought a sacrifice to the rebuilt Temple. If, on the other hand, they [the synagogues] are not like the Temple, then they should go. After all, we are all ritually unclean due to contact with the dead, contact with creeping things, or to pollution [through contact with semen as a result of sexual intercourse or nocturnal emissions], yet we go.[20]

There is another halachic source that takes for granted the presence of women in the synagogue. The source discusses the case of a jealous husband (see Num. 5:14) who forbids his wife to go to synagogue.

> Rabbi Yose [320–350 C.E.] asked: "Can a husband be jealous of a hundred men?" Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Bun said: "If he [the husband] ordered her not to go to the synagogue, then she goes with him."[21]

This discussion is an attempt to clarify to what degree a man may limit his wife's synagogue attendance. Rabbi Yose argues that it would be ridiculous for a husband to claim that his wife is giving or receiving affection from every male in the congregation; therefore, the husband is not permitted to limit his wife's synagogue attendance. Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Bun agrees, but he rules that a husband *can* forbid his wife to go alone to the synagogue. If women did not attend synagogue, or, if they attended but were secluded and kept from the gaze of men, the husband would have no cause for apprehension and this discussion would be pointless.

A Special Section for Women?

Where did women sit in the synagogue and study hall? Did they sit in a special women's section (*ezrat nashim*), separated from the men by a partition (*mehitsah*)? Or was the women's section a gallery such as we find in synagogues built in recent centuries?

In 1884 Leopold Loew published an article in which he argued that there is no evidence for the separation of the sexes in ancient synagogues of the land of Israel.[22] He claimed that the first reference to a *mehitsah* is connected with the Babylonian amora Abaye (fourth cent. C.E.) in the Babylonian Talmud.[23] Loew pointed out that this is the only literary evidence for the separation of men and women by a divider and it is unrelated to the synagogue. The source relates that at a certain assembly of men and women the sage Abaye set up a row of pitchers and the sage Rava set up a row of reeds. This would seem to refer to a temporary divider—probably a partition erected during a banquet or similar gathering—not to a permanent structure. Rashi (eleventh cent.) expresses hesitancy regarding the meaning of the passage. He comments: "A place for groups of men and women for a sermon or a wedding ceremony."

Loew's suggestion has not been accepted by most scholars. They have rejected it for several reasons.[24] However, there is justification for reexamining Loew's suggestion, not only on the basis of literary sources, but also on the basis of archaeological excavation of synagogues during the last decades, both in the land of Israel and the Jewish Diaspora.

The Women's Court

Scholars have also sought to prove the existence of an *ezrat nashim* in the ancient synagogue from the existence of a court in the Temple called *Ezrat Nashim* (Women's Court), and from the existence of a gallery, along three of the court's sides, built specially for women. From this gallery women watched the annual Water Drawing Celebration that took place in the Women's Court during the nights[25] of Sukkot (the Feast of Tabernacles): the women were separated from the men during these festivities.[26]

Here we need to clarify the question of the Women's Court. The sages viewed Jerusalem as divided into three levels of holiness, and drew a parallel between the Tabernacle and the Temple:

> Just as there were three camps in the wilderness: the camp of the Shechinah, the camp of the Levites and the camp of the Israelites; so there are three camps in Jerusalem: from the entrance to Jerusalem to the entrance to the Temple Mount—the camp of the Israelites; from the entrance to the Temple Mount to Nicanor's Gate—the camp of the Levites; from Nicanor's Gate to the interior [of the Temple]—the camp of the Shechinah.[27]

Note that the Women's Court is given no special status, and no distinction is made between men and women regarding admittance to the camps, or areas, of Jerusalem.[28]

The Mishnah lists ten degrees of sanctity within the land of Israel, the fourth of which is the Women's Court.[29] The sanctity of the Women's Court derived from the regulation that no *tevul yom* (literally, "immersed on that day") was to enter it. *Tevul yom* refers to a person who has incurred one of the uncleannesses for which Scripture ordains "he shall be unclean until evening," has immersed him or herself in a *mikveh*, and now awaits the day's end to be ritually pure.[30] The Torah did not prohibit a *tevul yom* from entering the camp of the Levites; this Temple stricture was a later, further precaution instituted by the sages.[31] Moreover, the Women's Court was one of the Temple's later architectural developments and has no halachic status.[32]

In rabbinic literature we find no distinctions

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Simhat Beit ha-Shoevah ***(Water Drawing Celebration) services at the Bostoner Hassidim synagogue in the Har-Nof neighborhood of Jerusalem. Women and children watch from the women's section of the synagogue, a balcony, as the congregation's men pray below.***

between men and women regarding the areas of the Temple to which they had access such as we find between pure and impure persons, laypersons and priests, blemished and unblemished priests.[33] Like men, women offered their sacrifices at the altar in the Priests' Court, passing through the Israelites' Court (the men's court) to reach the altar. A *baraita* says: "A woman was not seen in the [Priests'] Court unless she was bringing a sacrifice."[34] From this it is evident that when women offered their sacrifices in the Temple, they *did* enter the Priests' Court. If, for instance, a woman offered a wave offering such as first fruits, she went up to the altar, waved the offering, and placed it beside the altar.[35] Similarly, a *Sotah* (a woman suspected of adultery by her husband, Num. 5:11–31), whose sacrifice also required waving, entered the Priests' Court to do so. The Nazirite's sacrifice was also waved in the Priests' Court (Num. 6:1–21), and rabbinic literature discusses theoretical *and actual* cases of women who were Nazirites.[36]

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Reconstructed remains of the 3rd-century C.E. synagogue at Capernaum on the Sea of Galilee's north shore.

Usually, however, women did not enter the Priests' Court and would only approach the gate between the Women's Court and the Israelites' Court. Josephus states explicitly that women were not allowed to enter the Israelites' Court,[37] but it appears that Josephus is describing the ordinary situation, since his statement is confuted by tannaic traditions which report that women did enter the Israelites' Court as they made their way to the Priests' Court.[38]

Nor was the Women's Court used exclusively by women. Laymen and priests who came to the Temple passed through the Women's Court on their way to the interior courts—Josephus relates that those who were ritually clean passed through the Women's Court together with their wives.[39] In the Women's Court's four corners were four chambers that were directly connected with the Temple services and used by those who came to offer sacrifices. For instance, in the southeastern corner was the Nazirites' Chamber, used by both men and women. In another chamber were to be found the musical instruments of the Levites.[40] All the special, public ceremonies that developed in the Second Temple period took place in the Women's Court: it was there on the Day of Atonement that the high priest read the Torah before the people,[41] and there, every seven years, they held the *Hakhel*, the assembly during the Feast of Tabernacles of "men, women, children and aliens" for the public reading of Torah (Deut. 31:10–13).[42]

The Great Enactment

The Water Drawing Celebration deserves special consideration because during these festivities men and women *were* separated. The festivities were held in the Women's Court, which was illuminated by four huge oil lamps. Dancing and singing went on all night, while on the fifteen steps leading from the Women's Court to the Israelites' Court, the Levites played various musical instruments.[43] In the Mishnah we read: "Originally, it [the Women's Court] was smooth, but [later the Court] was surrounded by a gallery so that the women could see from above and the men from below but there would be no intermingling."[44] However, the Mishnah as well as the *baraitot* of Tractate Sukkah make it clear that this separation occurred only during the Water Drawing Celebration: "At the conclusion of the first festival day of Tabernacles, they [the priests and Levites] descended [the fifteen steps that led from the Israelites' Court] to the Women's Court where they made a great enactment."[45] Both Talmuds and Tosefta explain that the "great enactment" was the ruling that men and women were to be separated during the Water Drawing Celebration.[46]

It is difficult to know how this enactment was carried out. Was a temporary structure erected each year—which is hard to imagine—or was a permanent gallery built?[47] At any rate, it is clear that the separation was in force only during the Water Drawing Celebration when dancing continued all night. Both the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud, attempting to find scriptural basis for this custom, deduce it from the verse that commands separation at a future time of mourning:

> If, in the future [the time alluded to in the prooftext, Zech. 12:12], when they will be engaged in mourning and the evil inclination will have no power over them [i.e., at such a time, a lapse in sexual conduct is less likely], the Torah [i.e., Zech. 12:12, in the statement "with their wives by themselves"] nevertheless says, "Men by themselves and women by themselves"; how much more so now [during the Water Drawing Celebration, a time when there is a much greater possibility of sexual misconduct] when they are engaged in celebrating and the evil inclination holds sway over them.[48]

However, as already mentioned, throughout the rest of the year men and women intermingled in the Women's Court.

Massacre in Alexandria

There is another source frequently cited in scholarly literature as proof that in the ancient synagogue there existed an *ezrat nashim*—a *baraita* in the Jerusalem Talmud that recounts the massacre of the Jews of Alexandria by the wicked Roman emperor Trajan: "And the [Roman] legions surrounded them and killed them. He [Trajan] said to their wives: 'If you obey the legions, I will not kill you.' They said to him: 'What you have done below, do [also] above.'"[49]

Scholars have supposed this massacre took place in a synagogue: the men, gathered on the ground floor, were killed first, and then the women in the women's balcony. As proof that the incident took place in a synagogue, they quote the beginning of the story: "He came and found them engaged in studying the Torah verse, 'The LORD will bring a nation upon you from afar, from the ends of the earth... [Deut. 28:49].'"[50] However, there is no need to suppose that the massacre took place in a synagogue. The later addition of Scripture verses to historical accounts is typical of aggadic literature. Here, a verse was added to the massacre story to teach that the massacre was decreed by God.

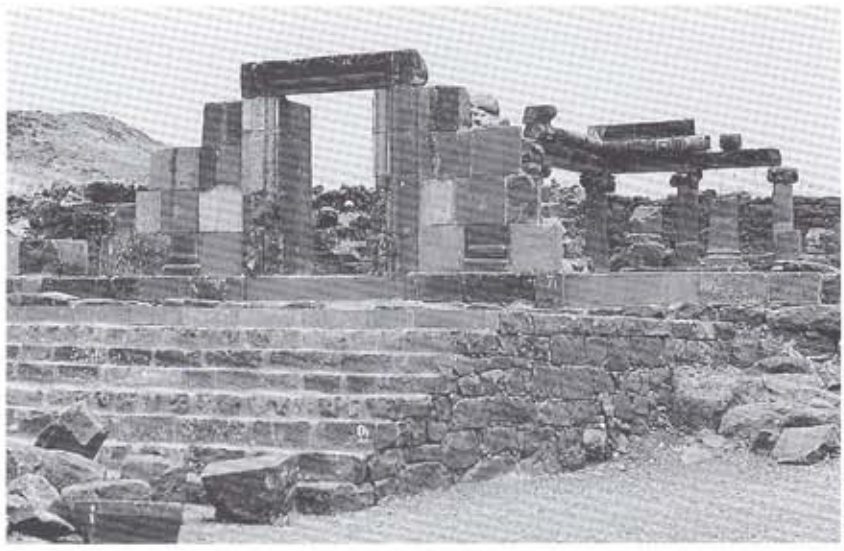
A different version of the Alexandrian massacre tradition appears twice in Lamentations Rabbah: "They said to him: 'Do below what you have done above.'" In other words, Trajan had first killed the men, who were above, and then the women, who were below.[51] Furthermore, at this point, the text of the Jerusalem Talmud may be corrupt: the writer of *Me'or Eynayim* (sixteenth cent. C.E.) quotes the tradition about Trajan from the Jerusalem Talmud, but in the following language: "What you have done above, do below."[52]

Thus, it appears that the reality of the Alexandrian massacre tradition is of fortress walls on which defenders were standing and fighting. First, the Roman forces scaled the walls and killed the defenders. Then they went down inside the fortress and massacred the women.

Philo and the Therapeutae

Scholarly literature often represents Philo as saying that Moses ordered the separation of men and women in the synagogue.[53] No such statement is to be found in extant texts of Philo, although he deals several times with the subject of synagogues, and even discusses the attendance of women at synagogues. His opinion is that women should go to the synagogue when the marketplace is empty so they will not be exposed to the market's carnival-like atmosphere—women had to pass through the marketplace on their way to synagogue—but he never mentions a requirement of separation of the sexes.[54]

In describing the Therapeutae, Philo notes that when they partook of their common meals in their sanctuary, the men sat on the right and the women on the left and there was a partition between them.[55] However, one should not generalize from the Therapeutae sect about the situation in the synagogue. Indeed, one might even infer that Philo's emphasis on the Therapeutae's segregation of men and women implies there was no such segregation in the synagogue.



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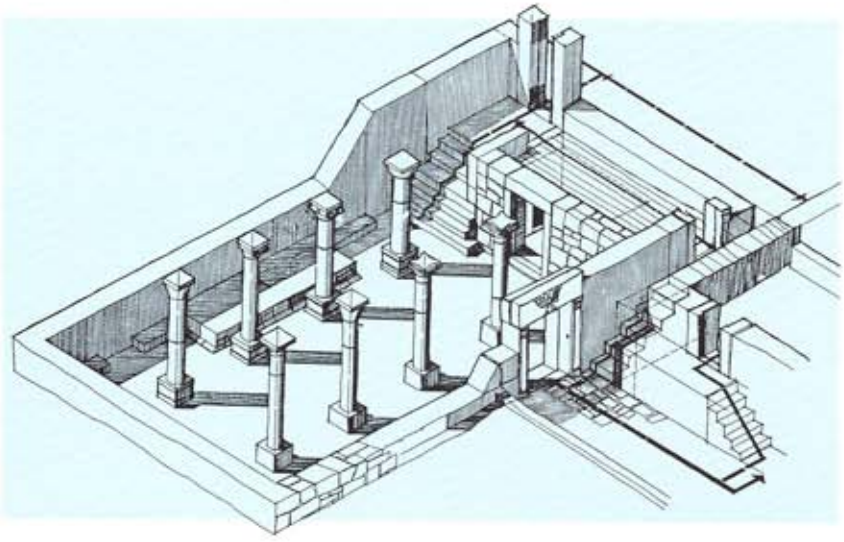
Partially restored 4th-century C.E. synagogue at Chorazin located on the slopes above the Sea of Galilee's north shore.

Synagogue Ruins

Archaeological excavations have revealed that a number of ancient synagogues had

balconies, for example, the synagogues of Capernaum, Chorazin, Hammath and Beth Alpha. Some scholars have concluded that these balconies were used as women's galleries.[56] Scholars, perhaps influenced by modern Jewish custom, drew this conclusion based on the assumption that the balconies fulfilled the same function as the gallery in the Women's Court of the Temple. But the existence of balconies in ancient synagogues does not necessarily mean the balconies were intended for women. Rabbinic sources mention various functions for synagogue balconies and upper rooms, but there is never a connection made between these structures and women.[57] Moreover, in some of the synagogues that have balconies, the stairway leading to the balcony originates in the central hall of the synagogue. (This is true of the Khirbet Shemaʿ synagogue, for instance.) To reach the staircase, a woman would have had to intermingle with the men in the central hall, a contradiction to the theory that men and women did not mix in the synagogue.

Many ancient synagogues did not even have a second room or a balcony where women could be isolated—for example, the mid-third-century C.E. Dura-Europos synagogue. Dura-Europos, located in the Syrian desert on the west bank of the Euphrates River, midway between modern Aleppo and Baghdad, was a caravan stop and military fortress. Astride the ancient highway between the great centers of Jewish culture and population in Babylonia and the land of Israel, it was only natural for Dura-Europos to have a Jewish colony.



JOHN F. THOMPSON

Isometric drawing of the 4th-century C.E. Khirbet Shemaʿ synagogue (showing traffic patterns). Notice the stairs leading from the synagogue's central hall to a balcony, the roof-like structure facing the two rows of columns. The excavators found little evidence for the balcony entrance opposite the stairway.
From Eric M. Meyers, A. Thomas Kraabel and James F. Strange, Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shemaʿ, Upper Galilee, Israel 1970–1972 *(Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1976), p. 59, Figure 3.10.*

The Dura-Europos synagogue was the largest room (interior dimensions: 13.65 m. x 7.68 m.) of a complex of rooms and courtyard. Built into its interior walls and floor was a plastered bench that completely encircled the hall. The bench was interrupted only by the hall's two entrances, both on its eastern side. The main entrance was in the center of the eastern wall, and a smaller entrance was located at the hall's southeastern corner. About a decade before the synagogue was destroyed, a second tier was added above the floor-level bench, increasing the hall's seating capacity from 65 to 124.

There is little to indicate the synagogue had a women's gallery: the hall has no partitions; there are no dividers along the benches; there are no balconies; there were no rooms adjoining the hall. Nevertheless, Carl H. Kraeling, who wrote the synagogue excavation report, concluded that the southern entrance of the synagogue had been the women's entrance and that the benches along the hall's southern wall had been reserved for women.[58] He reached this conclusion because the benches along the southern wall, in contrast to the benches along the other three walls, have intermediate steps to the upper tier—presumably to allow easier access for the women—and because the benches closest to the southern entrance, those along the southern wall and those between the two entrances, have no raised footrests—presumably omitted in the women's section for the sake of modesty.

Beneath the synagogue, remains of an earlier synagogue (165–200 C.E.) were uncovered. Apparently, this earlier synagogue also had no interior divisions. To the left of the main entrance, just outside the earlier synagogue's southern entrance, there is a rectangular room (Room 7).[59] Kraeling designated this room a women's gallery, concluding that at first the Jews of Dura-Europos were conservative like their brethren in the land of Israel, but later when they built the new synagogue, they were more liberal and allowed the women to sit inside the synagogue in a designated area.

There is no basis to assume that Room 7 is a women's gallery. If that room was indeed a women's gallery, why did it disappear when the synagogue was rebuilt? One must assume that this room was only an annex, like those that have been found in other ancient synagogues. Moreover, there is no basis to assume that the southern-wall benches of the new synagogue were reserved for women. Architectural features to facilitate ascent to the upper tier of benches are found throughout the hall, and even next to the ark. In addition, the benches between the two entrances have no raised footrests, yet also have no intermediate steps leading to the upper tier.

One cannot doubt the Jewishness of the Dura-Europos community: the synagogue's

frescoes contain traditional Jewish themes, and the Jewish quarter adjoining the synagogue was built in conformity to the halachot of *eruv ḥatserot* (see Glossary, p. 38), the regulations for creating common courtyards—yet this synagogue has no dividers or partitions.

Synagogue Inscriptions

Much may be learned from the scores of synagogue inscriptions that have come to light. These have been found on synagogue entrances, gates and mosaic floors, and in synagogue courtyards, guest houses and ritual baths. Some inscriptions even list the synagogue's architectural components. If a women's gallery had existed, the writer of a synagogue inscription might easily have mentioned it; however, no inscription has come to light that mentions a women's gallery.

I will mention only three synagogue inscriptions, one from Jerusalem dating from the Second Temple period, and two from the Diaspora dating from a later period.

The Theodotos inscription was found in Jerusalem and dates from the end of the first century B.C.E. The inscription, written in Greek, reads: "Theodotos, son of Vettenus... built this synagogue for the reading of Torah and for instruction in the commandments, and [he also built] the guest house with its rooms and water installations as lodging for needy [pilgrims] from the Diaspora."[60]

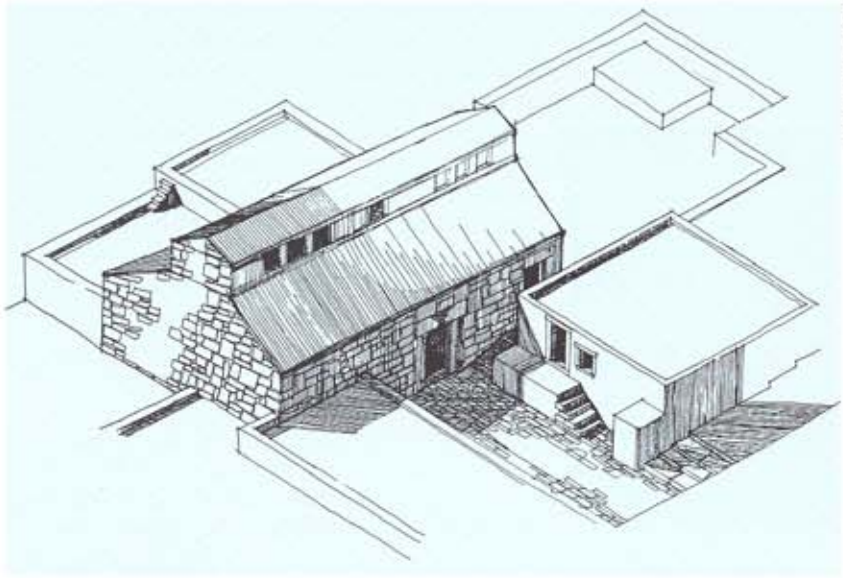
A Greek inscription on a column from the third-century C.E. synagogue at Stobi (on the border between Macedonia and Greece, near the modern town of Bitolj [Monastir], Yugoslavia) reads: "He [Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos] built the rooms of this holy place and the hall with its rectangular portico."[61] In the continuation of the inscription "upper rooms" are mentioned.

A Greek inscription from the fourth-century C.E. synagogue in Sida in Asia Minor mentions a benefactor who "covered the synagogue's benches with marble, and had two pillars and two seven-branched candelabra made."[62]

Ancient Churches

The earliest churches have no structures that indicate a separation between men and women.[63] If women were segregated in the ancient synagogue, it is unlikely that Christians, who received their institution of the church from the Jews, would have eliminated this segregation at such an early stage. In this instance, it is likely that Jewish practice determined Christian practice.

In one of the golden-throated orator John Chrysostom's sermons he disparaged the synagogue as a disgraceful place in which men and women intermingle.[64] Chrysostom's intent was to ridicule the Jews and, no doubt, he exaggerated immensely, but it is difficult to imagine there would have been any point to his attacks if Jewish women had indeed sat in a special gallery or behind a permanent partition?



JOAN E. TAYLOR

Clerestory reconstruction drawing of the 4th-century C.E. Khirbet Shema' synagogue and "North Building" (to the synagogue's right).
From Eric M. Meyers, A. Thomas Kraabel and James F. Strange, Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shema', Upper Galilee, Israel 1970–1972 *(Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1976), p. 66, Figure 3.11.*

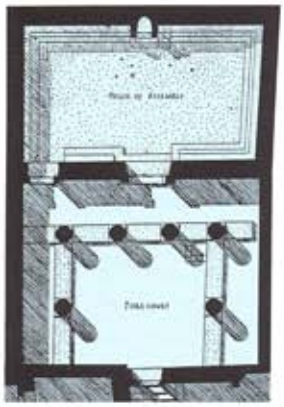
Unconvincing Evidence

The evidence put forward to argue that the sexes were segregated in the ancient synagogue is not convincing. While rabbinic sources spell out regulations down to the smallest details of the synagogue's construction, seating arrangements and order of service, these sources make no mention of a special women's section or a separating partition.[65] That women were obligated to pray and definitely went to the synagogue, yet rabbinic literature never mentions a women's gallery, strongly argues against its existence.

The assumption the balconies found in some ancient synagogues are women's galleries is unsupported. Furthermore, many ancient synagogues had neither a balcony nor a second room. Early churches, patterned after the synagogue model, likewise have no structures that indicate a physical separation of the sexes. Synagogue inscriptions, while sometimes mentioning various architectural elements of synagogues, never refer to a women's gallery.

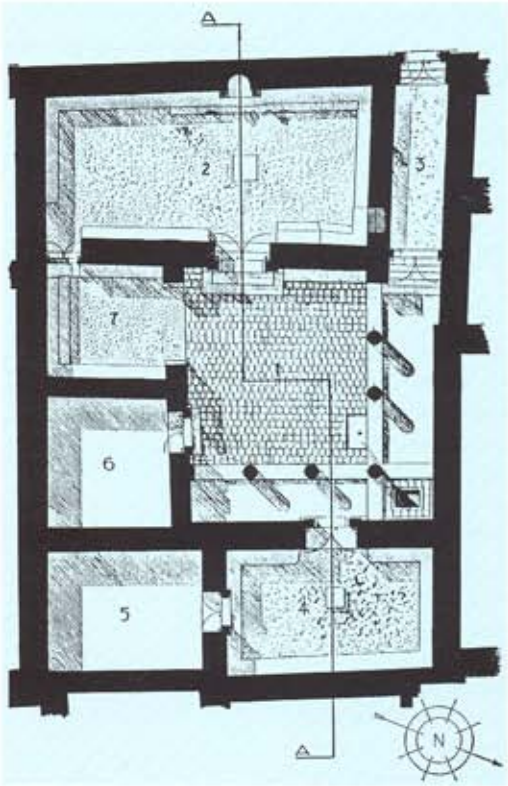
The earliest clear-cut evidence for separation

of men and women in the synagogue and synagogue study hall is found in the midrash *Pirke Mashiah* (Chapters of the Messiah) in its description of the redemption.[66] This midrash, which almost certainly dates from the Arab period, describes the enormous *bet midrash* of the future. While the women stand behind a divider made of reeds, God himself teaches Torah and Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel explains God's teaching to the people. We can assume that this description reflects current practice in the local synagogues and study halls with which the author was acquainted. The author of *Pirke Mashiah* lived in a Muslim land, and local Jewish custom had likely been influenced by its environment: Muslim practice was—and still is—to separate men and women in the mosque.



Conclusion

In the Second Temple period, women were religiously the equals of men: ancient Jewish sources from the land of Israel and from the Diaspora show that women frequented the synagogue and studied in the *bet midrash* (study hall). Women could be members of the quorum of ten needed to pray the "Eighteen Benedictions," a central prayer of the daily synagogue liturgy; and, like men, women were permitted to say "Amen" in response to the priestly blessing.



There is no real evidence for the assumption that the sexes were segregated in the ancient synagogue. Women did not sit, as they do in today's synagogues, in a special women's gallery, or in a special women's section separated from the men by a partition. The balconies found in the ruins of ancient synagogues are not necessarily women's galleries. The existence of a Temple court called the Women's Court also provides no support for the assumption that women were relegated to a balcony or special section of the synagogue. Women were not confined to the Women's Court, nor was it exclusively for women. In it, women and men—both laymen and priests—mingled freely.

It is true that women were eventually required to watch the annual Water Drawing Celebration festivities from a special gallery above the floor of the Women's Court. However, this separation was very brief: it was in force only for five or six nights of the year.[67] Therefore, the separation of men and women during the Water Drawing Celebration cannot be proof that there was a women's section in the early synagogue. JP

1. Mishnah, Berachot 3:3. Women were also obligated to listen to the reading of the scroll of Esther at Purim (Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 4[a]; Arachin 3[a]).

2. Mishnah, Berachot 4:3.

3. See Shmuel Safrai, "The Place of Women in First-century Synagogues," *Jerusalem Perspective* 40 (Sept./Oct. 1993), 3.

4. A *baraita* found in the Babylonian Talmud, Avodah Zarah 38[b]–39[a].

5. Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 9[d] (end of chpt. 5); cf. Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 38[b].

6. Tractate Soferim 18:6.

7. Tractate Soferim, end of chpt. 18.

8. Yalkut Shim'oni, *Ekev*, remez 871 (Midrash Yelamdenu, an early rabbinic collection, is cited as the source); Yalkut Mishle 943; *Sefer ha-Likutim* V, 131[a] (ed. L. Greenhut, 1901). See Buber's introduction to Midrash Proverbs, p. 32.

9. Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 22[a].

10. Jerusalem Talmud, Sotah 16[d] (chpt. 1); Leviticus Rabbah 9:9; Numbers Rabbah 9:20; Deuteronomy Rabbah 5:15.

11. Midrash ha-Gadol on Numbers (ed. Fisch, p. 122) adds *taman* (there).

12. Literally, "go to hear his voice." The Midrash ha-Gadol adds *darish*, i.e., "go to hear his voice *preaching*."

13. Evidently, women were not present in the study halls in Babylonia as they were in the land of Israel and in the Hellenistic Diaspora. See Babylonian Talmud, Moed Katan 18[a].

14. Mishnah, Demai 2:3.

15. Ch. M. Horowitz, *Niddah* (Frankfurt, 1890), pp. 30–33.

16. Ibid., p. 48.

17. This *baraita* seems severe, but many strict halachot no doubt had their origins in ancient traditions, traces of which have survived in tannaic literature. See Saul Lieberman's comments on *Sefer Metivot* pertaining to purification after childbirth in B. M. Lewin's edition (1934), p. 115ff.

18. Achelis-Flemming, *Die Syrische Didascalia* (1908), p. 141; Harnack-Golhardt, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 25 (1904). Cf. Arthur Marmorstein, "Spuren Karäischen Einfluses in der gaonäischen Halacha," Schwartz *Festschrift* (Vienna, 1917), p. 460; idem, "Judaism and Christianity," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 10 (1935), 230.

19. Only the Gaon Zemah forbade menstruating women from entering the synagogue. Cf. *Otsar ha-Geonim*, Berachot, pp. 48–49.

20. *Sefer Kol Bo*, "Laws of the Niddah."

ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

21. Jerusalem Talmud, Sotah 16[c] (chpt. 1).

22. Leopold Loew, "Der Synagogale Ritus," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 33 (1884), 364–374; later republished in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Immanuel Loew (1898), 4:55–71.

23. Babylonian Talmud, Kiddushin 81[a].

24. See Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* II[4] (1901–1911), p. 527; cf. revised English version of Schürer's work, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Matthew Black (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 2:447–448, note 98; Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain* (1914), 1:458; Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), p. 357; idem, *The History of Synagogues in Israel* (1955), p. 339; Solomon Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (1920), 1:313–326; E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (1934), p. 48; but cf. I. L. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst* (1931), pp. 466–469.

25. The festivities of the Water Drawing Celebration took place every night of the Feast of Sukkot excluding Sabbath and festival day itself, six nights if the first day of Sukkot fell on a Sabbath, five nights if it did not (Mishnah, Sukkah 5:1).

26. Tosefta, Sukkah 4:1; Jerusalem Talmud, Sukkah 55[b] (chpt. 5); Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51[b].

27. Tosefta, Kelim Bava Kamma 1:12; Sifre Numbers, *Naso* 1; to 5:2 (ed. Horovitz, p. 4); Babylonian Talmud, Zevahim 116[b]; Numbers Rabbah 7:8.

28. Cf. Shmuel Safrai, "The Role of Women in the Temple," *Jerusalem Perspective* 21 (Jul./Aug. 1989), 5–6.

29. Mishnah, Kelim 1:6–9: "There are ten levels of sanctity: the land of Israel is holier than any other land...the walled cities [of the land of Israel] are even holier...[the area] within the walls [of Jerusalem] is even holier...the Temple Mount is even holier...the rampart [which surrounds the wall of the three inner courts] is even holier...the Women's Court is even holier...the Israelites' Court is even holier...the Priests' Court is even holier...the area between the porch and the altar is even holier...the sanctuary is even holier...the Holy of Holy is even holier.

30. Mishnah, Kelim 1:8.

31. Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim 92[b]; Yevamot 7[b]; Zevahim 32[b]; cf. Jerusalem Talmud, Eruvin 22[c] (chpt. 5).

32. Cf. Adolf Büchler, "The Fore-court of Women and the Brass Gate in the Temple of Jerusalem," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 10 (1898), 667–718. Büchler suggests that the Women's Court was created only in the last days of the Second Temple, but his arguments are unconvincing. Nevertheless, he is surely right in asserting that the Women's Court was not one of the most ancient parts of the Temple.

33. The anonymous sage who is quoted by Rabbi Joseph Ashkenazi (16th cent. C.E.) was right: "I have not found a text that says the Israelites' Court is holier than the Women's Court because women do not enter it. One may conclude, therefore, that women were not prohibited [from entering the Israelites' Court]" (*Melechet Shlomoh* on Mishnah, Kelim 1:8).

34. Tosefta, Arachin 2:1.

35. Mishnah, Bikkurim 1:5; 3:6.

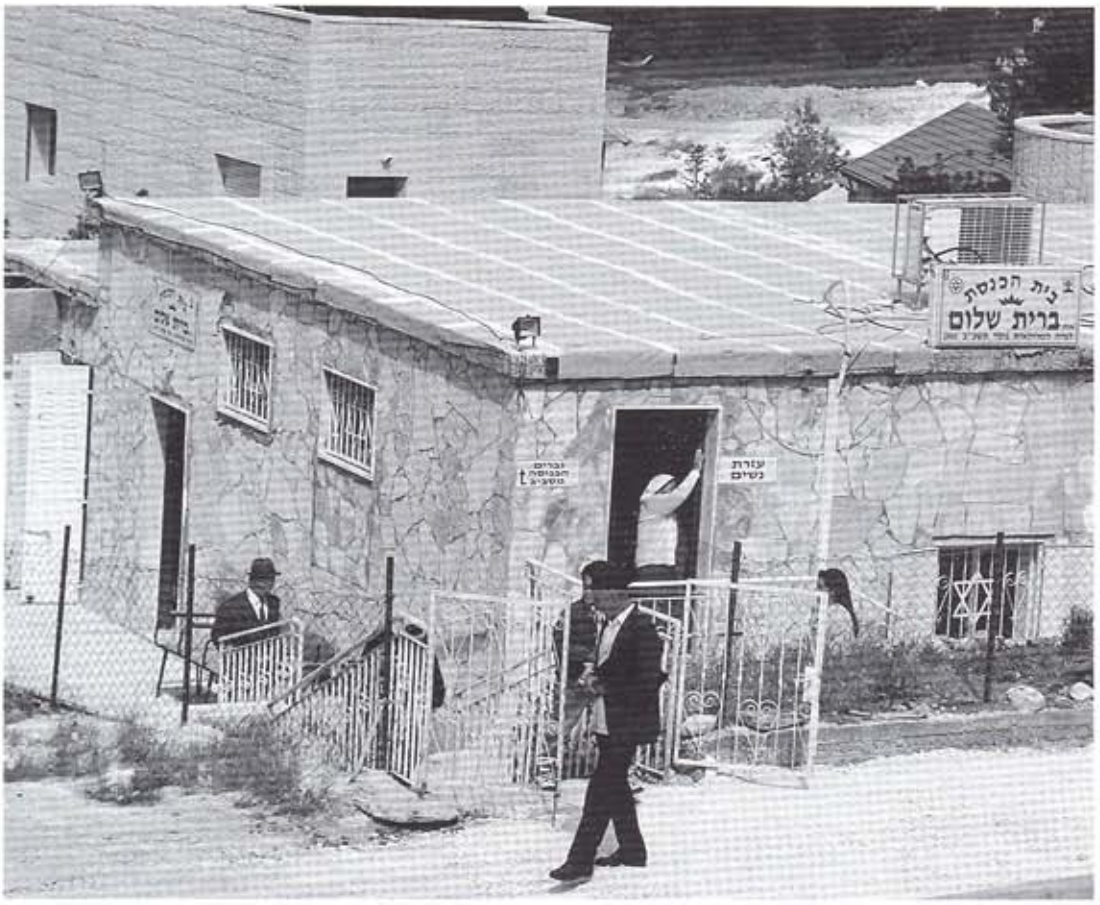
36. Cf. Tosafot on Kiddushin 52[b], to the paragraph, "*Ve-chi ishah ba-'azarah, minayin?*"

37. *Antiquities* 15:419; *War* 5:199, 227.

38. Büchler erred in accepting Josephus' description.

Above:
The Theodotos inscription, a dedication from a 1st-century B.C.E. synagogue in Jerusalem. The inscription mentions the construction by Theodotos of a synagogue for "reading of Torah and instruction in the commandments" and a guest house "as lodging for needy [pilgrims] from the Diaspora."
(Photo: David Harris)

Page 34:
Reconstruction plans of the mid-third-century C.E. synagogue at Dura-Europos (upper drawing) and the earlier synagogue (lower drawing) discovered underneath it.
From Carl H. Kraeling, The Excavations at Dura-Europos; The Synagogue *(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), Plans VI and VIII.2.*



WERNER BRAUN

A woman reaches up to touch the mezuzah (see Glossary, p. 39) as she exits the Brit Shalom Synagogue (of the Moroccan Jewish community) in Mevasseret Zion near Jerusalem. The signs in Hebrew on either side of the women's entrance read: (right)* "Ezrat Nashim"; *(left)* "Men, [your] entrance is around the corner."

Cf. Büchler, op. cit., p. 697, note 1.

39. *Antiquities* 15:418.

40. Mishnah, Middot 2:5–6.

41. Mishnah, Yoma 7:1; Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 69^{b}.

42. Mishnah, Sotah 7:8; Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 41^{b}.

43. Mishnah, Sukkah 5:1–4.

44. Mishnah, Middot 2:5.

45. Mishnah, Sukkah 5:2.

46. Jerusalem Talmud, Sukkah 55^{b} (chpt. 5); Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51^{b}; Tosefta, Sukkah 4:1.

47. Cf. Rashi's commentary on this passage (Sukkah 51^{b}), and Ch. Albeck's commentary on the Mishnah (Sukkah 5:2).

48. Jerusalem Talmud, Sukkah 55^{b} (chpt. 5); Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah 51^{b}.

49. Jerusalem Talmud, Sukkah 55^{b} (chpt. 5).

50. Meir Ish Shalom was the first to make this suggestion (see *Bet Talmud* 4:200; cf. Sukenik, loc. cit.).

51. Lamentations Rabbah, chpt. 1 (ed. Buber, p. 83); chpt. 4 (ed. Buber, p. 152).

52. Ed. D. Kassel, p. 181.

53. Based on Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* 12:8. The source of this misunderstanding is apparently Juster (*Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, 1:458), from whom it has been copied by several other scholars.

54. *The Special Laws* 3:171 (cf. *Against Flaccus* 89). See I. Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* (1932, repr. 1962), p. 234, and F. H. Colson's note to 7:640 in the Loeb Classical Library edition of Philo. Philo also discusses matters pertaining to synagogues in his work *Every Good Man Is Free*, but without mentioning a women's gallery.

55. *The Contemplative Life* 69, 32.

56. Cf. H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916, repr. 1973), p. 35, plate II; Sukenik, loc. cit.; Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Jerusalem, 1932), p. 15.

57. Cf., for example, Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 5^{d} (end of chpt. 2); Shabbat 3^{a} (chpt. 2); Babylonian Talmud, Hullin 92^{a}.

58. Cf. Carl H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: The Synagogue* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 8:16, 23.

59. Ibid., plan VIII and p. 31.

60. This inscription was published several times. See J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (1952), inscription 1404, 2:332–335. Cf. also Moshe Schwabe, *Sefer Yerushalaim* (1956), 1:362–365 (Hebrew).

61. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (1936), inscription 694, 1:504–507. See Frey for a list of articles that discuss this inscription.

62. Frey, inscription 781, 2:38–39. See Frey for a list of articles that discuss this inscription.

63. Michael Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (1938), pp. 100–134; John Winter Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (1941), pp. 1–8.

64. Chrysostom, *Orations against the Jews (Adversus Judaeos)* I, 2.

65. Cf. Tosefta, Megillah, chpt. 3; Tractate Soferim; *Mishneh Torah*, *Tefillah*, chpt. 11.

66. *Bet ha-Midrash* (1855), 3:75.

67. See endnote 25 above.

(continued from page 23)

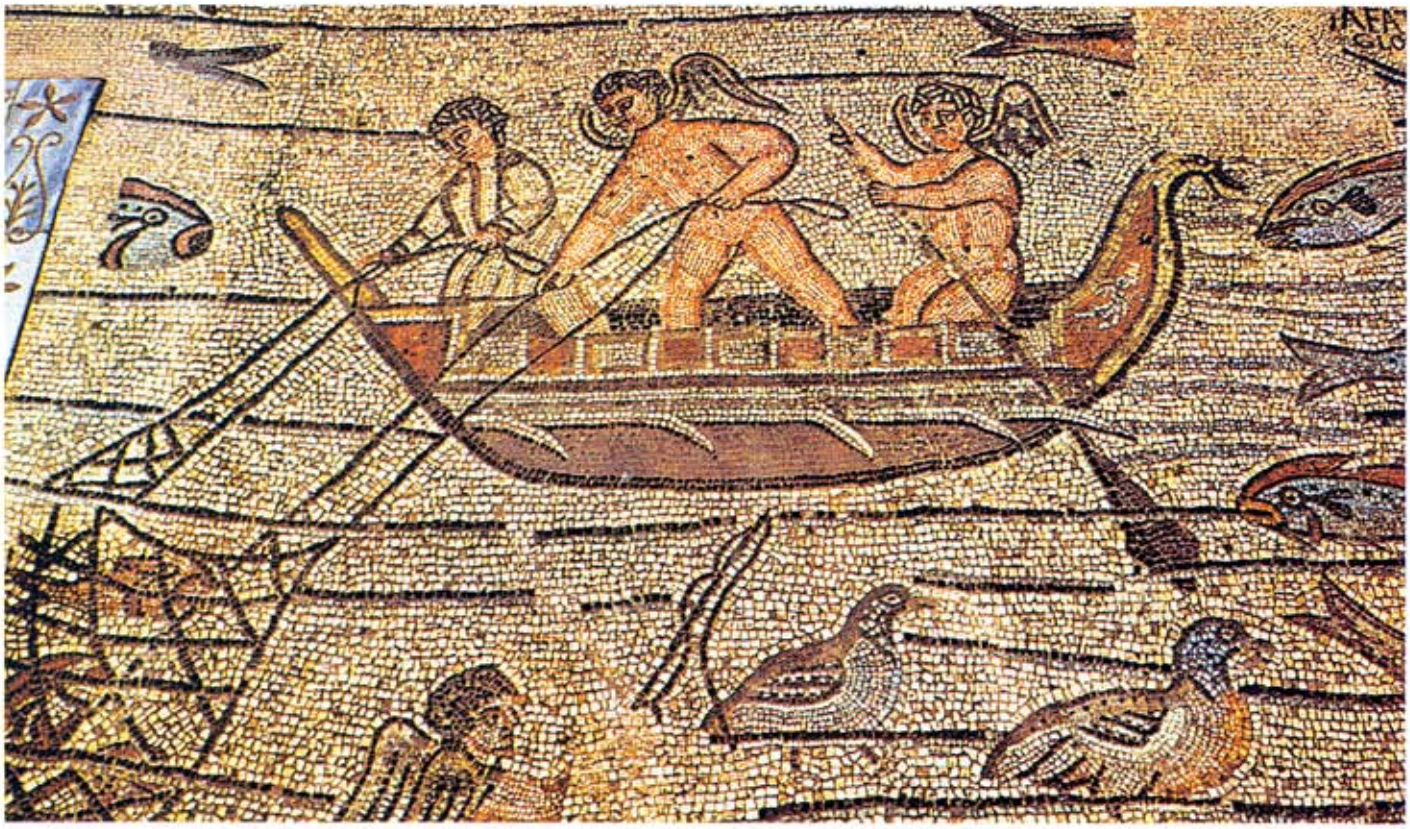
garment," and the *LB* "a tunic." Some European painters of the Renaissance depicted Peter swimming fully dressed (see pp. 18–19).

In light of ancient art and literature, it is probable that Peter only put on a loincloth. This is more than he usually would have worn to retrieve a cast-net, and was the minimum necessary to show respect for his master.

DR. BELA GAUL

Left:
A fisherman leans from his boat to spear with a trident an octopus attempting to hide under a rock ledge. Detail of "Odysseus and the Sirens" mosaic, Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

Below:
Two fishermen haul in a large net with a catch of fish while a third fisherman serves as oarsman. Detail of a 4th-century C.E. mosaic floor in the 11th-century C.E. Poppo Basilica in Aquileia. Located in Italy northeast of Venice at the northern extreme of the Adriatic Sea, Aquileia was an important Roman port city.



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The Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research is a consortium of Jewish and Christian scholars who are examining the synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) within the context of the language, land and culture in which Jesus lived. Their work confirms that Jesus was an organic part of the diverse social and religious landscape of Second Temple-period Judaism. He, like other Jewish sages of his time, taught in Hebrew and used specialized teaching methods to teach foundational Jewish theological concepts such as the kingdom of Heaven, God's abundant grace, loving God and loving one's fellow man.

The Jerusalem School scholars believe Jesus' words and deeds were first transmitted in Hebrew, and that, through careful linguistic and comparative study, much of this earlier stratum of the synoptic tradition can be recovered from the Greek texts of the synoptic gospels. The School's objective is to recover as much as possible of that earlier Hebrew stratum.

Future publishing projects of the School include: 1) a series of academic volumes, the first of which will deal with the Jerusalem School's distinctive methodology; 2) an idiomatic translation of the Gospels and Acts with annotations highlighting the text's Hebraic nuances and briefly explaining the significance of Jesus' words and deeds; 3) the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary*, a detailed commentary on the synoptic gospels. Current research of Jerusalem School members and others is regularly reported in the pages of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

The Jerusalem School was registered in Israel as a non-profit research and educational institute in 1985. Its members are Prof. David Flusser, Prof. Shmuel Safrai, David Bivin, Dr. Randall J. Buth, Dr. Weston W. Fields, Dr. R. Steven Notley, Dwight A. Pryor, Halvor Ronning, Mirja Ronning, Prof. Chana Safrai and Prof. Brad H. Young.

Dr. Robert L. Lindsey (d. May 31, 1995), a founding member of the Jerusalem School, pioneered, together with Prof. Flusser, the methodology upon which the School's synoptic research is based.

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Glossary

aggadah (also **haggadah**) — the ethical sayings and scriptural exposition of the sages, in contrast to their halachic statements; the non-legal part of rabbinic literature in contrast to halachah. **aggadic** (ə-gäd'ik) — pertaining to aggadah.

amoraic — pertaining to the amoraim (אֲמוֹרָאִים, *'a-mo-ra-'IM*; singular: אֲמוֹרָא ['a-mo-RA', amora]), the sages of the talmudic period, as distinguished from the earlier tannaim (תַּנָּאִים, *ta-na-'IM*), the sages of the mishnaic period. Roughly speaking, the tannaim are the sages quoted in the Mishnah and contemporary rabbinic works, while the amoraim are the sages mentioned in the Talmud.

B.C.E. — abbreviation of "Before Common Era," corresponding to B.C. in Christian terminology. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE uses B.C.E. and C.E. in articles by Jewish scholars.

baraita — (literally, "outside"; plural: *baraitot*) a tannaic saying excluded from the Mishnah of Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, that is, teachings that predate 230 A.D. *Baraitot* were incorporated in later rabbinic works such as the Talmud.

bet midrash — (בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ, *bet mid-RASH*, house of study) center for study and teaching of the Torah. In the first century, the *bet mid-RASH* was usually connected to a synagogue, and learning took place in the synagogue's assembly hall or in a room adjoining it.

C.E. — abbreviation of "Common Era," corresponding to A.D. in Christian terminology.

Diaspora (dī-as'pə-rə) — the area outside the land of Israel settled by Jews, or the Jews who settled there.

eruv ḥatserot (עֵרוּב חֲצֵרוֹת, *'e-RUV ḥa-tse-ROT*, mixing or blending of courtyards) the symbolic union of a neighborhood or settlement's private property (private dwellings) and public domain (e.g., common courtyards, alleys and streets)—the new entity is considered private property, jointly owned by the residents. This transformation makes it legal for residents to transport things from one point in the fused neighborhood or settlement to another on the Sabbath. Ancient sources indicate that the practice of *eruv ḥatserot* was already well-established in the Second Temple period.

Geonim — (גְּאוֹנִים, *ge-'o-NIM*; singular: גָּאוֹן [*ga-'ON*, Gaon]) heads of the talmudic academies in Babylonia from the seventh to eleventh centuries A.D.

halachah — (הֲלָכָה, *ha-la-KAH*; plural: הֲלָכוֹת, *ha-la-KOT*, halachot) law, regulation; the legal ruling on a particular issue; the body of Jewish

Jerusalem School Scholar Receives Ben-Zvi Prize

On May 7, Hebrew University professsor Shmuel Safrai was awarded the Ben-Zvi Prize. Safrai, a senior member of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research, received the prize for his life's work in the field of Second Temple-period history. This is not the 78-year-old scholar's first major prize. In 1986 he was awarded the Jerusalem Prize.

The Ben-Zvi Prize is prestigious because it is so rarely given—only once in five years. Past recipients have included archaeologist Yigael Yadin and historian-archaeologist Benjamin Mazar.

The award ceremony took place in Jerusalem at Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, a research institute that continues the work of politician and scholar Izhak Ben-Zvi, who served as Israel's second President (1952–1963). A dramatic part of the ceremony was a lecture by Prof. Safrai in which he paid tribute to Gedaliah Alon, his mentor during his student days at the Hebrew University. Alon, Safrai told the audience, inspired him to make the study of ancient Jewish history his life's work. Safrai, in turn, has inspired and trained a new generation of scholars.

Glossary (cont.)

law, especially the legal part of rabbinic literature, thus often the opposite of aggadah. **halachic** (hä-läk´ik) — pertaining to halachah.

ḥaver — (חָבֵר, *ḥa·VER*, member; plural: חֲבֵרִים, *ḥa·ve·RIM*) member of an order that was meticulous in observing the commandments concerning heave offerings, tithing and purity (e.g., washing ones hands before eating and before touching ritually clean food). These regulations had already been laid down in the time of Hillel and Shammai (last quarter of first century B.C.). Women and slaves could also become *ḥaverim*. In rabbinic sources the term *ḥaver* often stands in contrast to the term עַם הָאָרֶץ (*ʿam ha·ʾA·rets*, person of the land), someone who is not a member of the *ḥaverim* fellowship.

mezuzah — (מְזוּזָה, *me·zu·ZAH*; plural: מְזוּזוֹת, *me·zu·ZOT*) the Hebrew word for doorpost, "mezuzah" also came to mean the encased parchment scroll inscribed with Deuteronomy 6:4–9 and 11:13–21 that is affixed to the gate and right-hand doorjambs of a Jewish home.

responsa — (Latin pl. of *responsum*, answer, reply, opinion) the usual English designation for the rabbinic expression שְׁאֵלוֹת וּתְשׁוּבוֹת (*she·ʾe·LOT u·te·shu·VOT*, questions and answers), the term *responsa* refers to the halachic correspondence of rabbinic authorities, especially the written rulings of Geonim in response to halachic queries written by Jews living outside Babylonia.

Shema — (שְׁמַע, *she·MAʿ*, Hear!) the first word of Deuteronomy 6:4, "Hear (*Shema*), O Israel! The LORD our God, the LORD is one." In Judaism this verse is the supreme affirmation of God's oneness and uniqueness. Since at least the second century A.D. the Shema has consisted of three passages: Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41.

Sotah — (סוֹטָה, *so·TAH*, a straying or errant woman) a wife who is suspected of adultery by her husband and undergoes the ordeal of the "bitter water" (Num. 5:11–31).

tannaic — (tə-nā´ik) — pertaining to the tannaim (תַּנָּאִים, *ta·na·ʾIM*), sages from Hillel's time (died c. 10 B.C.) until the generation (c. 230 A.D.) after Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, the compiler of the Mishnah. Singular: תַּנָּא (*ta·NAʾ*, tanna).

Therapeutae — (healers) a semi-monastic, Jewish sect in Alexandria, Egypt. The Therapeutae were ascetics, but not celibates—they had wives and children. According to Shmuel Safrai, they appear to have been older men who, though not wealthy, had the means to devote their time to Scripture study, pray and contemplation.

Transliteration Key

HEBREW & ARAMAIC

Syllables of transliterated words are separated by dots. Capitalization is used to indicate the accented syllable in words of more than one syllable. See p. 11 of *JP* 23 (Nov./Dec. 1989) for a full description of the transliteration system used in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

Consonants

א – ʾ (silent)
ב – b (like b in bed)
ב – v (like v in very)
ג – g (like g in gold)
ד – d (like d in day)
ה – h (like h in horn, or silent)
ו – v (like v in very)
ז – z (like z in zeal)
ח – ḥ (voiceless guttural [no English equivalent])
ט – t (like t in tip)
י – y (like y in yard, or silent)
כ – k (like k in kite)
כ ך* – k̲ (like ch in Scottish *loch*)
ל – l (like l in let)
מ ם* – m (like m in met)
נ ן* – n (like n in net)
ס – s (like s in sit)
ע – ʿ (voiced guttural [no English equivalent])
פ – p (like p in port)
פ ף* – f (like f in fit)
צ ץ* – ts (like ts in nets)
ק – k (like k in kite)
ר – r (a trilling or gargling r sound)
ש – sh (like sh in shell)
ש – s (like s in sit)
ת – t (like t in tip)

Vowels

(The א is used here as a point of reference.)
א – a (like a in father, rarely like o in oh)
אַ, אָ – a (like a in father)
א – e (like e in net, or e in prey, or somewhere in between)
אֶ, אֵ – e (like e in net)
אִ, אִי – i (like i in ski)
אֹ, אוֹ, אָ – o (like o in oh)
אֻ, אוּ – u (like u in flu)
א – e (silent, or as short as e in happening, or as long as e in net)

Diphthongs

אַי – ai (pronounced áh-ee)
אוֹי – oi (pronounced óh-ee)
אוּי – ui (pronounced oó-ee)

GREEK

Unlike Hebrew, Greek has upper and lower-case letters. The letter h represents the rough-breathing sign (ʽ). The smooth-breathing sign (ʼ) is not transliterated. The *iota* subscript (the letter *iota* [ι] written beneath α, η and ω—ᾳ, ῃ and ῳ) is omitted in our transliterations. The combinations γκ, γγ, γχ and γξ are transliterated "ng," and pronounced like the "ng" in "angle."

Α α – a (like a in father)
Β β – b (like b in bed)
Γ γ – g (like g in gold)
Δ δ – d (like d in day)
Ε ε – e (like e in net)
Ζ ζ – z (like dz in adz)
Η η – ē (like e in prey)
Θ θ – th (like th in thin)
Ι ι – i (like i in ski)
Κ κ – k (like k in kite)
Λ λ – l (like l in let)
Μ μ – m (like m in met)
Ν ν – n (like n in net)
Ξ ξ – x (the ks sound, like x in wax)
Ο ο – o (like o in oh)
Π π – p (like p in port)
Ρ ρ – r (like r in run)
Σ σ ς* – s (like s in sit)
Τ τ – t (like t in tip)
Υ υ – y (like French *u* or German *ü*)
Φ φ – ph (like ph in graphic)
Χ χ – ch (like ch in Scottish *loch* or German *ach*)
Ψ ψ – ps (like ps in dips)
Ω ω – ō (like o in oh)

Diphthongs

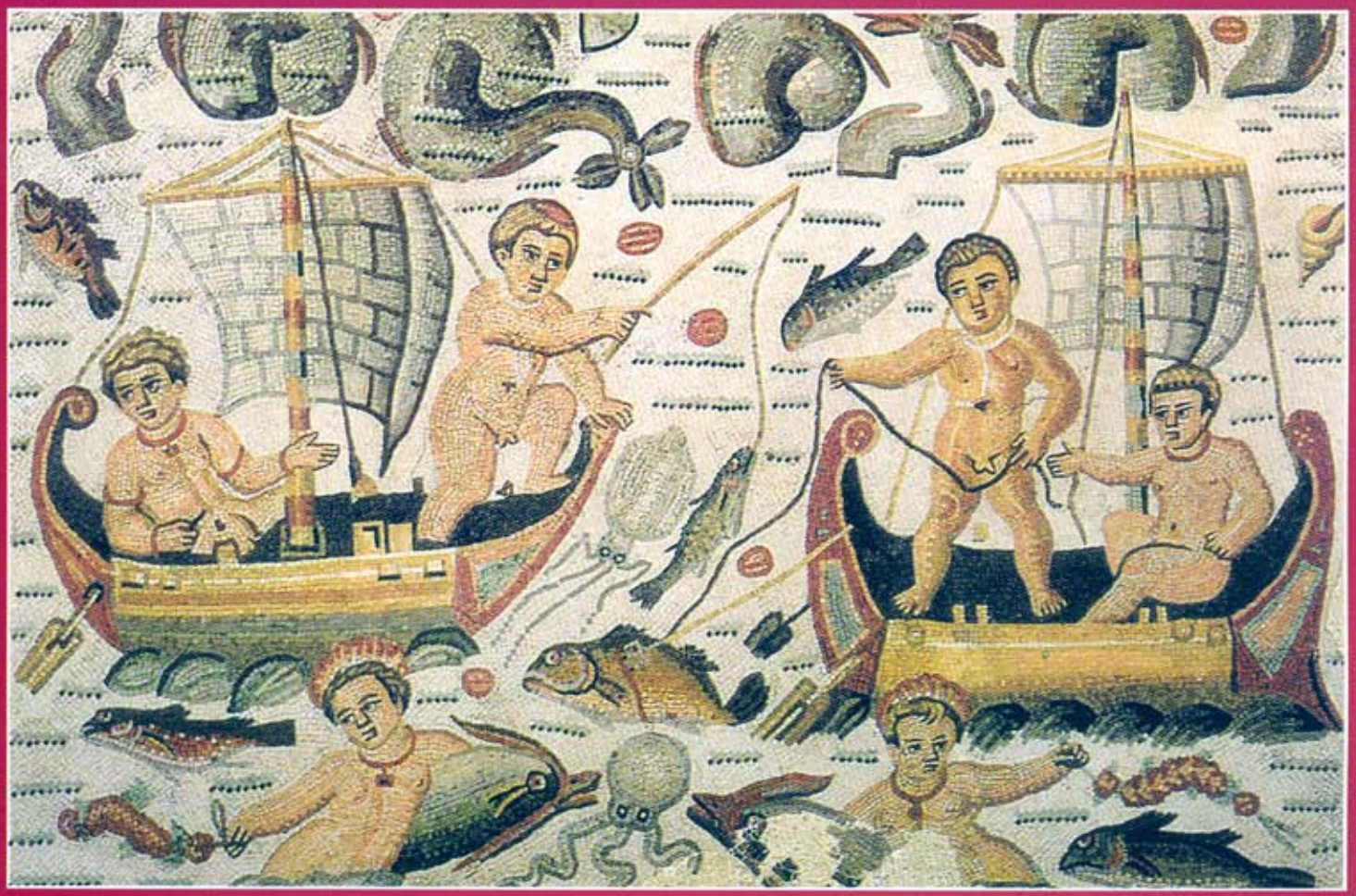
αι – ai (like ai in aisle)
αυ – au (like ou in our)
ει – ei (like ei in feign)
ευ – eu (pronounced ĕh-oo [no exact equivalent in English])
ηυ – ēu (pronounced ēh-oo [no exact equivalent in English])
οι – oi (like oi in oil)
ου – ou (like ou in group)
υι – ui (like ui in quit)

*The form of the letter when it is the last letter of a word.

Right:
A balding fisherman wades in the Nile River. With one hand he casts a net, and with the other holds a pole on which are strung two fish he has caught. Detail of a 5th–6th-century A.D. mosaic floor discovered in 1991 at Sepphoris. Located just 3 miles from Nazareth, Sepphoris was the capital of Galilee in Jesus' time.
(Photo: Gabi Laron)

COURTESY OF EHUD NETZER

Below:
Fishermen, stylized as children, work from their boats. One fisherman angles with a rod, another uses a trident to spear a fish. Detail of "The Triumph of Neptune Over Amphitrite," a 4th-century A.D. mosaic found in Constantine, Algeria.



THE LOUVRE, PARIS