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Melilah: Manchester Journal of Jewish Studies is distributed electronically free of charge at www.melilahjournal.org

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Abstract: Lily Montagu was the founder of Liberal Judaism in England. Because of Montagu’s groundbreaking proto-feminist efforts women in Liberal Judaism can become rabbis, be called up to read the Torah, they are equal in divorce law, they can study the sacred texts, they can form a minyan, and can assume communal and religious positions of authority over men. Montagu was an author, theologian, and social worker; she was the driving force behind the development of Liberal Judaism. However, this biographical overview does not match up with the extant historiography that has instead preferred to focus on the male leaders of the Liberal movement to the extent that Montagu’s intellectual and theological contribution has been marginalized and even completely ignored. In this paper we will see through analysis of rarely seen literary material another aspect of the gendered history of fin-de-siècle Anglo-Jewry that would otherwise be forgotten; even more, we will see in Montagu’s essays, monographs, and novels some of the English foundations of contemporary Jewish feminist theology. In the process, the biography and memory of Lily Montagu will be restored to its rightful place.

Lily Montagu was the founder of Anglo-Liberal Judaism, but the extant scholarship has not been forthcoming in acknowledging the extent of her role in the expansion of the movement. In fact, Montagu’s part in the formation and development of Liberal Judaism into an established denomination, and her contribution to the intellectual, spiritual, and theological underpinnings of the movement, have been marginalized, downplayed, and even ignored, with analyses of her involvement even bordering on the derogatory. However, the historiographical picture does not marry up with the primary sources, including Montagu’s innumerable speeches, lectures, prayers, and services to the Liberal congregation, and her countless monographs, novels, sermons, essays, letters, liturgies, and papers for Liberal Jewish Monthly, the Jewish Quarterly Review, and as part of the Papers for Jewish People series. Instead Anglo-Jewish historiography, with few exceptions, has preferred to focus on Claude Montefiore and the other male leaders of the movement. This is despite the fact that Montagu was overseer, driving force, and spiritual guide to the organization for over fifty years. Importantly, Montagu not only challenged contemporaneous Jewish stereotypes concerning the role and agency of women, she refigured the discriminatory layers of the tradition along proto-feminist lines to develop religious praxis, liturgical, and theological discursive that is more resonant of Second-Wave Jewish feminism than it is of early-twentieth-century, First-Wave feminist discourse.1 This is important as the Montagu corpus

1 By First-Wave feminism I refer to the period of activism between 1792 and 1918 (other scholars will differ) that resulted in women gaining the franchise in 1918 in England. Alternatively, the locus of Second-Wave Jewish feminism...
reveals an Anglo-Jewish forerunner to the Second and Third-Waves of feminist activism. In this paper we will explore the links between the stages. Indeed, by examining the feminist elements of Montagu’s own understanding of Liberal theology, particularly in the immanent experience of the divine presence, we will draw out some of the spiritual and conceptual links with contemporary Jewish feminist theology. In the process, we will see not only another element to the gendered history of Anglo-Jewish emancipation, acculturation, and religious reform at the fin-de-siècle that might otherwise have been overlooked or forgotten, but, through the analysis of rarely seen literary works by Lily Montagu, some of the precursory and theoretical foundations of current feminist exposition on the divine.

Lily Montagu was born December 22, 1873 into the upper-class, Anglo-Jewish Montagu family. Despite the family’s wealth, and their acculturation, Lily’s father, Samuel Montagu, was intent that the household remain strictly Orthodox. But Lily was never convinced; although she enjoyed the observances and the festivals she was concerned that attention to ritual, or ritual for ritual’s sake, was usurping spiritual intention (kavanah). Montagu could not relate any type of spiritual experience with these festivals; they seemed vacuous. Years later, she confessed in retrospect:

I was not conscious of any personal spiritual experience stimulated by the Sabbaths and festivals, but I could become very enthusiastic over the symbols, and if asked, should have unhesitatingly said that their preservation was required by God. . . .

I can trace my first questioning of the utility of observances if pursued as ends in themselves to experiences connected with Passover . . . I remember rushing up to my eldest brother . . . and expostulating, ‘‘I feel ashamed,’’ I said, ‘‘at the behavior of many of the people. How dare they think they are praying? If that is religion, I hate it.’’

But this is not to say that Montagu did not appreciate the importance of rituals and observances; she would later recall: ‘‘I adhered to my Liberal Jewish point of view that ceremonies which are aids to holiness, which, in fact, assist ordinary people to render ordinary life holy, were worth preserving even at the cost of personal sacrifice. Legalism, which, alas, has usurped the place of life-giving religion, I felt to be acceptable.’’

Montagu complained that the Orthodox services were inadequate as the prayers were in Hebrew and incomprehensible and she felt peripheral as a woman being sequestered to the gallery.

feminism was in the United States and began in the 1970s. The multi-denominational emphasis of the loosely defined movement encompassed numerous feminist concerns with the central focus emanating from the Conservative movement. Jewish feminists were seeking women’s equal access to all aspects of Jewish communal and religious life, including leadership, though specifically, Conservative feminists were seeking an end to gender inequality in family halakhot (laws), the removal of the mehitza curtain that separates the sexes in the synagogue, and the inclusion of women in the all male minyan (prayer group). Reform feminists complained that women were not being called up to read the Torah, while Orthodox feminists questioned the exclusion of women from the study of the sacred texts as well as the legal restrictions on women initiating divorce. With regard to theology, the Reconstructionist movement was integral, and continues to be, particularly in its rejection of classical theology, halakha (law), hierarchy, and Jewish particularity, and in its humanism (Luke Devine, Second-Wave Jewish Feminism, 1971–1991: Foundational Theology and Sacral Discourse (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), 19–20). In general, the Second-Wave was a drive for gender inclusionism, in one way or another, across the Jewish denominations.

2 See Luke Devine, From Anglo-First-Wave Towards American Second-Wave Jewish Feminism: Negotiating with Jewish Feminist Theology and its Communities in the Writing of Amy Levy (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2010) and Ann Heilmann, New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First Wave Feminism (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) to explore the conceptual links between First and Second-Wave feminisms.

3 Lily Montagu, The Faith of a Jewish Woman (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1943), 8–9.

4 Lily Montagu, My Club and I: The Story of the West Central Jewish Club (London: Herbert Joseph Limited, 1941), 43.
among other discriminatory gender differentiations. Believing that Orthodoxy was denying both her intellectual self-expression and the development of her inner-spirituality, Montagu went into spiritual “crisis” at the age of fifteen. She was unable to negotiate the link between the authority of her father and his uncompromising Orthodoxy and the restrictions on her personal liberty.\(^5\) As a young adult, Montagu was troubled by her family’s unthinking acceptance of halakhah: “We did not rebel. We believed that we were acting as Jews must, and there was no court of appeal against the strict laws. There was no question of degree. All the regulations were part of the fence, built up to defend the Divine laws as given to Moses, and we accepted them.”\(^6\) It was the Reverend Simeon Singer, the Minister of the New West End Synagogue, who Montagu credited with awakening her to the Hebrew prophets and to the importance of religion.\(^7\) Singer encouraged her to ask questions that would not have been countenanced by her father. According to Montagu they discussed the prophets at length and she gradually became infused with prophetic concerns for social justice. Nellie Levy describes the sense of moral mission that became central to Montagu’s life:

A young girl dreamed and behold a vision appeared and she saw her sisters, and they lacked much that had been bestowed on her, some needed guidance and friendship, some to be lighted out of squalor and shown the light; some seemed mere children forced to become breadwinners; some ran to and fro to snatch at pleasures that were transitory and left bitterness and disillusionment; some cried “Give us opportunities denied us, we too need light, space, knowledge”; others sat and waited to enter the world of literature and art, and again, others feared to tread, for the path seemed strewn with giants, who could be overcome only by strength which they lacked, and still others groped towards those frailest than themselves and longed to hold out a helping hand but knew not how. . . . “To this vision I [Montagu] consecrate myself, and its fruition I will labor unceasingly. I will break down barriers, establish friendships and give opportunities. I will share, bind up those who are broken, and I will set before them light and good through a Faith in Judaism, so that they have strength wherewith to live.”\(^8\)

Between the ages of fifteen and nineteen Montagu read up on philosophy, history, and religion. She became convinced that her role was to bring social “amelioration”; she was determined to help those less fortunate than herself, particularly in London’s socially disadvantaged East End Jewish community.\(^9\) For Montagu, it was God’s will that social justice would prevail over inequality:

I was deeply shocked by the inequalities which prevailed in large cities, the terrible injustice which allowed me to have such an easy, happy, protected girlhood while there was, in some districts, a monotony of misery. But I felt convinced that God did not desire such injustice to continue. My faith in His righteousness was never affected, but I was worried by the apparent inability of God to stem the tide of injustice. I was convinced that man, with God’s help, could set things right if he wished to, but how was he to be made to realise his obligations?\(^10\)

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\(^5\) Eric Conrad, *Lily H. Montagu: Prophet of A Living Judaism* (New York: National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, 1953), 35–36. See *In Memory of Lily H. Montagu: Some Extracts from Her Letters and Addresses*, ed. by Conrad, Eric (Amsterdam: Polak and Van Gennep, 1967).

\(^6\) Montagu, *The Faith*, 2–3.

\(^7\) Conrad, *Lily H. Montagu*, 36–37.

\(^8\) Nellie Levy, *The West Central Story and Its Founders the Hon. Lily H. Montagu CBE, JP, DD and the Hon. Marian Montagu 1893–1968*, club pamphlet (London: Leeway Business Services), 1.

\(^9\) Montagu, *The Faith*, 11, 13.

\(^10\) Montagu, *The Faith*, 14.
A similarly pressing issue was the growing tide of secularization in the Jewish community. Montagu was concerned that Orthodoxy’s inability to accommodate Anglo-Jewish modernity was the cause of the exodus. At the same time, Claude Montefiore was developing theories of Liberal Judaism that would re-inspire and reengage both immigrant and assimilated Jews with the tradition. Montagu was inspired by Montefiore, and by the Reform Judaism that had become prevalent in Germany and in the United States (Anglo-Reformism was far more conservative; a factor in the necessity of Liberal Judaism), but she was mindful that Montefiore was too much of a scholar to initiate and lead a religious movement, though when she received encouraging replies from letters that she had sent out in early 1899 seeking support for a Liberal movement, Montefiore was inclined to join Montagu in her venture. The formal leadership of the newly established Jewish Religious Union, which held its first formal meeting in February 1902, was given to Montefiore. The movement’s aim was to gather congregants in the formation of a new denomination based on the “eternal elements in Judaism.”

In the letter that Lily Montagu circulated she outlined a number of practical and religious issues that would need to be resolved by the fledgling Liberal Jewish movement in order that they be a radical, while at the same time acceptable, alternative to Orthodoxy with an authoritative basis in the tradition:

I. What are the vital principles of the old Judaism that must be preserved in the new?
II. If these “vital principles” do not include belief in the miraculous Divine Revelation heretofore accepted, what is the Authority on which we are to rely in judging of right and wrong?
III. What forms and ceremonies should be retained on account of their historical or ethical or sanitary value? (Special reference to the seventh day Sabbath and to festivals commemorating alleged miraculous events.)
IV. What is to be the special function of the Jew under the new Judaism?

It was in 1902 that services independent of the United Synagogue were established, along with lectures, and publications to endorse the new Liberal Judaism; as Montagu noted: “The cry was no longer for changed externalities such as were secured by the Reform Synagogue already established for seventy years, but for a re-statement of Jewish doctrine in the light of scientific truth.” Montagu was only too aware that assimilated religionists had become bored with the traditional services. Moreover, modern employment conditions and the working week did not allow for regular observance and daily visits to the synagogue; instead, Montagu saw it as her mission to create an essential and “living” Judaism that was compatible with everyday life. In The Faith of a Jewish Woman she notes:

11 The failures of late nineteenth-century Anglo-Reformism are well documented. For Daniel Langton the movement was paralyzed by its meager response to biblical criticism (Claude Montefiore: His Life and Thought [London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002], 72). Moreover, as an enclave of upper-middle-class Anglo-Jewry it held no appeal to the eastern European Jewish immigrants arriving in the 1880s, its Sabbath attendances were the lowest for all synagogues in the period, and most members attended only once a year, normally on Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). Unsurprisingly a number of Reformers were dissatisfied with the movement’s limitations, and by the late 1880s they began looking for alternatives (see Michael Hilton, The Christian Effect on Jewish Life [London: SCM Press Ltd, 1994]; Devine, From Anglo-First-Wave). More so, Reform Judaism’s conservative approach to the “Woman Question” and its failure to effect proto-feminist reform became a source of alienation for Anglo-Jewish women.

12 Montagu, The Faith, 28.
13 Lily Montagu, “Private Letter” (March 24, 1899), in Lily Montagu: Sermons, Addresses, Letters, and Papers, ed. Ellen Umansky (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985), 289.
14 Montagu, The Faith, 28.
Those people, however, who had the leisure to attend services, were unwilling to do so because they were sure of being bored. Their knowledge of Hebrew was scanty, and they needed to pray in the language in which they were accustomed to think. Certainly, Hebrew had great beauty as well as historical interest, and it was a bond between different communities that they should have the same liturgy. But the religious bond could only be of real use if it expressed a living faith. There was no use in peoples meeting in various lands and going through identical services, in order to endure identical sense of boredom. Life was essential, and the bond of religion must be the bond of life.\textsuperscript{15}

The Jewish Religious Union offered services that were predominantly in the vernacular and at times when those with employment commitments, such as on Saturday mornings, could attend in the afternoon or evening instead. Indeed, the “letter of the law” was no longer considered important,\textsuperscript{16} and services maintained little resonant of their Orthodox counterparts (the inability to provide an alternative to the traditional synagogues was a failure of Anglo-Reformism). Montagu was duly aware that modern lifestyles did not allow for meticulous attention to \textit{halakhah} and the observance of the \textit{mitzvot} (commandments):

There is a large body of Jews who require the construction, at any rate in outline, of a definite theory of their faith. They are anxious to realise and to transmit Judaism as a living faith, but have no time or inclination to work out the principles and deductions of such a faith for themselves. This class includes busy men and women who “have enough to do already without thinking very much about their religion.” There are others who think Judaism all right in its proper place, but do not believe it affects them more often, perhaps, than two or three times a year.\textsuperscript{17}

The purpose of the new denomination was to accommodate acculturated Anglo-Jewry’s busy lifestyles and the personal aspirations of religiousists, but even more, the JRU was born out of necessity to prevent the perceived social absorption of the assimilated elements of Anglo-Jewry into the host culture. Indeed, in “Spiritual Possibilities of Judaism To-day” (1899) Montagu argues that “For many years self-consciousness has been growing among English Jews, and they have expressed, in whispers to one another, dissatisfaction with their spiritual state”; she concluded that the majority of Jews were “either devoted to ceremonialism at the expense of religion, or indifferent both to ceremonialism and to religion.”\textsuperscript{18} The article was intended to be a call to action: “Surely we English Jews can have no excuse for continued indifference and waiting. To us the call is clear and unmistakable. For our own sakes we must revive Judaism, and having reconciled its dogma with our highest conception of truth and beauty, allow it again to bind us to the God who cares for us.”\textsuperscript{19}

In the early years the JRU was not confined to single premises and services were held in rented halls. But in 1909 the JRU was rebranded as the Jewish Religious Union for the Advancement of Liberal Judaism and a synagogue was opened in Hill Street, Marylebone (London). The first minister was Israel Mattuck, a Reform rabbi from the United States. Indeed, Anglo-Liberal Judaism had its roots in classical Reform Judaism. Claude Montefiore was intent on maintaining monotheism and the moral and spiritual teaching of the prophets; even more, the focus on interpretive liberty, as in Reformism, allowed Liberal Judaism to

\textsuperscript{15}Montagu, \textit{The Faith}, 29.
\textsuperscript{16}Montagu, \textit{The Faith}, 29.
\textsuperscript{17}Lily Montagu, \textit{Thoughts on Judaism} (London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1904), 2.
\textsuperscript{18}Lily Montagu, “Spiritual Possibilities of Judaism To-Day,” \textit{Jewish Quarterly Review} 11 (1899), 216.
\textsuperscript{19}Montagu, “Spiritual Possibilities,” 229.
“pick and choose” those elements of the biblical and rabbinic traditions, and the halakhah, considered salvageable while the discriminatory and retrogressive aspects could be marginalized or ignored. It was not Montefiore’s intention to replace or do away with the major festivals, but the critique of ritual and rabbinics central to the Christian Evangelical tradition is evident, particularly in Liberal Judaism’s focus on the individual, the necessity of inner-spirituality over and above legal and ritualistic observance, and the word of the Bible over the rabbis and the Talmud. Montefiore was concerned to develop a theology devoid of nationalistic and Zionistic (advocating return to the Holy Land) tendency that was instead universal as opposed to particularistic. Even the Torah was not considered the direct word of God and was open to subjective interpretation. In the new Liberal Judaism religionists were first and foremost citizens; merely Jews by the cultural feature of religion. Ritual, and the extent of observance, was dependent on the individual and their subjective reality, while freedom of conscience and moral conduct were central. In a shift from rabbinic theology that figures the Jewish people as a collective before the divine presence and that insists on a radical separation between the individual and the Holy One, blessed be He that can at its closest only be experienced through Shechinah (the presence of God in the world), Liberal theology encourages direct personal and spiritual communion with the divine. Moreover, the kosher dietary laws were no longer considered justified. Indeed, the nascent leadership, Lily Montagu included, was concerned that passages in the Bible exhibited “cruelty” and “revenge”, that certain “barbaric” laws brought humiliation on women, and that laws incompatible with human conduct had to be altered, particularly those in connection with sacrifice. But perhaps the biggest break with the tradition was in Liberal Judaism’s equalization of the sexes and its radical approach to the “Woman Question.” The androcentrism of the biblical and rabbinic traditions qua the “Woman Question” is well documented: women are excluded from the study and authoritative interpretation of the sacred texts; they are exempted from all positive time-bound mitzvot excluding nerot: the lighting of candles on Shabbat; challah: separating a portion of dough, and niddah: ritual immersion following menstruation; women are excluded from the minyan; they are inadmissible as legal witnesses, they cannot be called up to read the Torah, and they are not allowed to take communal or religious positions that place them in authority over men. As we will see, the reengagement of women with the tradition, and with the divine, was integral to Montagu’s conception of Liberal Judaism.

Short, uncritical biographies of Lily Montagu have been published by those close to her in the Liberal movement. Indeed, Nellie Levy, a member of Montagu’s West Central Jewish Girls’ Club (established in 1893) published a brief overview of Montagu’s involvement at the social club in a pamphlet, while Eric Conrad, Montagu’s nephew, published Lily H. Montagu: Prophet of a Living Judaism. These biographers were perhaps too close to Montagu, who was a universally popular and admired figure, to be anything but praiseworthy; nonetheless these expositions are still valuable as they tell us what club members and congregants thought of Montagu and how she is remembered. Similarly, Lawrence Rigal and Rosita Rosenberg’s more recent study of Liberal Judaism: The First Hundred Years (2004) equally praises Montagu’s contribution, even though Claude Montefiore’s role as philosopher and theologian is

20 Conrad, Lily H. Montagu, 41–2.
21 Luke Devine, Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), 60–1.
polarized with Montagu’s spiritual and organizational role. Indeed, Montagu is rightly revered as central to the movement’s foundation and administration, but again, Rosenberg was on the movement’s professional staff and was a member of the Liberal Jewish Youth Movement, while Rigal is a youth leader and minister. Chaim Bermant was one of the first Anglo-Jewish historians to analyse Montagu’s role in the foundation of Liberal Judaism; he describes her as “less intelligent than [Claude] Montefiore . . . She played Sister Clare to his St Francis.” As we have seen, it was Montagu who initiated the movement; she recalled that it was Montefiore who agreed to help her in the pursuit of her “big adventure,” and that “he was glad to help.” More recently, Geoffrey Alderman, who has written extensively on the Anglo-Jewish community, described Montagu as “excessively plain” and emotionally attached to Montefiore. These descriptions by respected scholars are symptomatic of androcentric stereotyping that is thankfully becoming less prevalent in Anglo-Jewish historiography. We have the Jewish feminist author and theologian Ellen Umansky to thank for reviving interest in Montagu’s biography and role in the foundation of Liberal Judaism. Umansky’s path-breaking Lily Montagu and the Advancement of Liberal Judaism (1983), along with the publication of Montagu’s Sermons, Addresses, Letters, and Papers (1985) was necessary, long overdue, and intended to reintroduce Montagu to a new generation of Jewish women. The book’s conclusions, however, are perhaps surprising given Umansky’s Jewish feminist background. Indeed, while she acknowledges Montagu’s contribution to Liberal Judaism in England, and her central role in the organization’s administration and leadership, Umansky downplays Montagu’s intellectual and theological contribution; she argues:

Lily Montagu made little if any attempt to present her thoughts systematically. In most of her writings, she focused on specific topics (e.g., the relation of conduct to belief, the significance of ceremonialism, human and divine justice, the power of personality), while in others she randomly moved from one idea to the next. Her intention was not to offer clear-cut theological statements, but simply to share her faith with others.

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22 See Lawrence Rigal, A Brief History of the West Central Liberal Synagogue (London: West Central Synagogue, 1978); Lawrence Rigal and Rosita Rosenberg, Liberal Judaism: The First Hundred Years (London: Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, 2004).
23 Chaim Bermant, The Cousinhood: The Anglo-Jewish Gentry (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971), 210. See Linda Gordon Kuzma, Woman’s Cause: The Jewish Woman’s Movement in England and the United States, 1881–1933 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990) for an overview of Montagu’s activism in the wider context of Jewish women’s movements and First-Wave feminism in Britain and America.
24 Montagu, The Faith, 24, 28. See Steven Bayme, “Claude Montefiore, Lily Montagu and the Origins of the Jewish Religious Union,” Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England 27 (1982), 61–71; Edward Kessler, An English Jew: The Life and Writings of Claude Montefiore (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1989); Langton, Claude Montefiore, 77.
25 Geoffrey Alderman, “Montagu, Lilian Helen,” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 38: Meyrick – Montrose, eds. H. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 753. For more complimentary examinations of Montagu’s career see Margaret Yacobi, “Lily Montagu – A Pioneer in Religious Leadership: A Personal Appreciation,” in Hear Our Voice: Women in the British Rabbinate, ed. Sybil Sheridan (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 9–15, and Jean Spence who focuses on Montagu’s social work, “Lily Montagu: A Short Biography,” Youth and Policy 60 (1998), 73–83. See also A Reader of Early Liberal Judaism: The Writings of Israel Abrahams, Claude Montefiore, Lily Montagu and Israel Matzuck, ed. by Kessler, Edward (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2004).
26 Ellen Umansky, Lily Montagu and the Advancement of Liberal Judaism: From Vision to Vocation, Studies in Women and Religion, vol. 12 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 181. See Ellen Umansky, “Lily H. Montagu: Religious Leader, Organizer and Prophet,” Conservative Judaism 34, no. 6 (July/August 1981), 17–27; Ellen Umansky, “The Origins of Liberal Judaism in England: The Contribution of Lily H. Montagu,” Hebrew Union College Annual 35 (1984), 309–22.
According to Umansky “The most striking feature of Lily Montagu’s religious thought is that it never seemed to develop. Though she described Liberal Judaism as evolving from one age to the next, her own ideas remained static.”

For Umansky, Montagu was reliant on Israel Mattuck and Montefiore to the extent that she maintained exaggerated respect for them and had to write to them on a daily basis. Even more, Umansky concludes that Montagu, who was “naive,” was intellectually and emotionally dependent on them, as well as on her father. It is therefore ironic that it was Daniel Langton, in his study of Claude Montefiore, who raised the issue that a “much needed corrective” is required to combat “the traditional downplaying of Lily Montagu’s role in the Jewish Religious Union.” What is more, Langton argues that Montagu’s “revolutionary fervour” left her frustrated by Montefiore’s cautious approach. It is hardly surprising then that Judith Romney Wegner in her study of women in the Mishnah should ask rhetorically that if Montagu was the founder of Liberal Judaism in England, why did nobody write about her sooner. Indeed, the picture of Montagu and the biography that is generated by the extant historiography does not match up with the personal reflections of her closest colleagues, relatives, and even Montefiore himself, as Eric Conrad reminds:

When it is said she came under his influence, the reverse is equally true. Claude Montefiore used jokingly to call her his gadfly. It is to be doubted whether he would have been spurred to leadership without her stimulus and energy. Today it is not uncommon to think of him not only as the leader but as the founder of the Liberal Jewish Movement in England. But he himself continually referred to Miss Montagu as the real founder of the Liberal Jewish Movement in his country. Claude Montefiore had all the intellectual and spiritual qualities needed for leadership, but he was too scholarly a nature to face the limelight of publicity. He did not, like Miss Montagu, feel the urge and vocation to take the initiative.

What is revolutionary about Montagu’s role in the foundation and development of Liberal Judaism is that, at least in England, she was the first woman to minister to a synagogue and on June 15, 1918 she became the first to preach a sermon. More so, she was the driving force behind the movement: theologian, spiritual leader, social worker; she was all these things.

Lily Montagu was adamant that the Jewish women of both her social club and religious congregation be introduced to art, culture, and educational training in order that their natural gifts could be utilized in the service of the divine. Indeed, motherhood and wifehood were an ideal, but not the only options available to single women. Certainly, for Montagu individuality was integral to women who “hold the keys of a future destiny.” First-Wave feminists had escaped the earlier confinements of separate-spheres ideology that assumed

27 Umansky, Lily Montagu, 191.
28 Umansky, Lily Montagu, 189, 196. See Lily Montagu, Samuel Montagu, First Baron Swaythling: A Character Sketch (London: Truslove and Hansom Limited, no date of publication).
29 Langton, Claude Montefiore, 35.
30 Langton, Claude Montefiore, 77.
31 Judith Romney Wegner, Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 187-8. Mishnah: code of Jewish law compiled by the early rabbis (tannaim).
32 Conrad, Lily H. Montagu, 46.
33 Conrad, Lily H. Montagu, 49–50.
34 Lily Montagu, “Women’s Contribution to the Spiritual Life of Humanity,” in Lily Montagu: Sermons, 159; Lily Montagu, “The Girl in the Background,” in Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities, ed. E. Urwick (1904; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1980), 247.
their natural talents for the domestic setting without having to deny the doctrine of a particularistic feminine nature that was best expressed in motherly and homely roles; rather, the cult of domesticity had been transformed into the ideal of women’s moral and spiritual superiority. In biblical terms, Eve the “temptress” had become Eve the “victim.” The feminization of religion in all denominations ensured that the concept of female superiority became women’s mission to redeem society. The focus on religious mission and philanthropy became the drive for social reform. Thus, the role assigned by Montagu to Jewish women, while radical in the Jewish community, was virtually the norm in Christian society. According to Montagu, therefore, gender inclusionism (in response to Christian Evangelical claims that traditional Judaism was denying women education and spiritual agency) would be the benchmark of Liberal Judaism:

From the beginning it was determined that in our Synagogue men and women must be absolutely equal in their congregational privileges. Boys and girls were confirmed together, and men and women sat together as they chose in any part of the Synagogue. There was no women’s gallery, such as we find in Orthodox Synagogues. Women had, as a matter of course, their seats on the Council, and took their share as voters in the shaping of Synagogue policy and in the responsibility of maintaining and developing its religious influence.

Of course, proto-feminist transformation was not wholesale; that would have been unrealistic in such a short space of time. Montagu and the other leaders were concerned that immediate and radical change would be a “shock to the community” that might “prove injurious to our cause.” But from the outset Liberal theology was to reflect “the divine in its inclusiveness.” The theological emphasis of the movement was on personal and immediate experience of the divine. Montagu was inspired by the prophet Isaiah and particularly Is. 55, which was her favourite biblical passage:

I have regarded [Is. 55] as my favourite [passage] throughout my life. This chapter seems to me to carry within itself the essence of pure religion. It contains a call to man to seek God, and assurance that if that search is undertaken with sincerity and faith, all other of life’s activities will fit in accordingly to a correct measure of values. The chapter gives glorious assurance that God will cause goodness to triumph, and that, ruling as He does by law, we can count on His law to lead to the establishment of righteousness. Moreover, we find in these verses the wonderful comfort for all seekers after truth, who, in spite of their love and faith, must ever remain to some degree perplexed and bewildered. “God’s thoughts are not our thoughts, and His ways are not our ways.” We have no power to explain God. If we could, we should be God ourselves.

It was the gender inclusivist theological aspects of Isaiah that Montagu was interested in; the feminine/maternal imagery of the divine. Quoting Is. 66:13, Montagu noted that “Throughout the Old Testament God the Ruler is also God the Father [and Mother]. ‘As a father pitieth his children, so does the Lord pity them who fear Him.’ God’s extreme tenderness is further expressed [Is. 66:13]: ‘As one who his Mother comforteth so will I comfort thee.’” In Isaiah there are several references to female God-imagery.

35 Olive Banks, Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 85-6, 90-1, 95.
36 Montagu, The Faith, 38; Devine, Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah, 111–12.
37 Montagu, The Faith, 38.
38 Lily Montagu, “Kinship with God,” in Lily Montagu: Sermons, 115.
39 Montagu, The Faith, 41.
40 Montagu, “Kinship with God,” 116.
have long time holden my peace; I have been still, and refrained myself; now will I cry like a
travailing woman,” and in 55:1 God is also a provider of water: “Ho, every one that thirsteth,
come ye to the waters.” Moreover, there are theological allusions and metaphors, such as to
thrones and robes, which are associated with the Shechinah, the grammatically feminine
attribute of divine presence in the world: “I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and
lifted up, and his train filled the Temple” (6:1). Certainly, these references to the maternal
intimacy of the divine were central to Montagu’s understanding of theology. This is not to
say that Montagu envisaged God, who is supposed to transcend gender, as either male or
female, or both; instead, the divine is merely imaged in masculine/feminine and maternal/
paternal terms that are accessible to a diverse range of religionists. For Montagu it is this
subjective immanence that is vital: “I feel the reality of God. Believing in God as the God of
Love, I believe that His presence in our midst gives us the power to love, which is of supreme
importance in every individual life.”

If we consider then the central and sustaining elements of Lily Montagu’s theology: first,
subjectivity is vital as everyone experiences the divine in a different way, even the early rabbis
were aware of this plurality, although in the rabbinic tradition God is experienced through
the presence of Shechinah; retrospectively then, there were rabbis who assumed that even in
the Bible it is not the unknowable Holy One, blessed be He who is experienced, but the
immanent Shechinah. This is how the rabbis explained God’s aloofness. Montagu’s concept of
direct communion with God, which was the very foundation of her religion; in fact,
according to Eric Conrad, “She had a fervent desire for personal communion with God and
an irrepressible urge to impart a similar desire to others,” was inspired by Isaiah, and the
other prophets, experiencing of the divine. The quest for immanence was present throughout
the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. Indeed, in Reform Judaism it is incumbent on
the individual to “construct” their own theology. What is more, Montagu’s novel, Naomi’s
Exodus, which was published in 1901, provides some of the best evidence of her understanding
of divine immanence. The book is semi-autobiographical and tells the story of Naomi Saul
who is a young Jewish girl alienated by the traditional ritual experienced in the home of her
staunchly Orthodox aunt. Indicative of the Evangelical cult of true womanhood that invests
women with spiritual and redemptive qualities, Naomi is a moral exemplar; more so, she is

41 Lily Montagu, “Club Letter No. 3,” in Lily Montagu: Sermons, 51.
42 Devine, Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah, 131–3.
43 Montagu, The Faith, 64.
44 Conrad, Lily H. Montagu, 37, 42.
45 Jonathan Romain, Reform Judaism and Modernity: A Reader (London: SCM, 2004), 145. There is not the space or
the necessity to study the classical Jewish theologians in this paper, see Franz Rosenzweig, The Star of Redemption (New
York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971); Martin Buber, Hasidism and Modern Man (New York: Horizon Press, 1958).
46 It is perhaps surprising that Montagu did not engage with earlier and contemporaneous Anglo-Jewish women
novelists. Indeed, there is no evidence that she ever read, for example, Grace Aguilar, Charlotte Montefiore, or Amy
Levy. According to Ellen Umansky the only Jewish novelist Montagu ever discussed was Edna Ferber (Lily Montagu,
62), although Montagu was affiliated with Emily Harris through her social work. See Emily Harris, Estelle, 2 vols.
(London: George Bell, 1878); Benedictus, 2 vols. (London: George Bell, 1887).
47 The cult of true womanhood was based on the eighteenth-century Evangelical theology of Christian femininity outlined by William Wilberforce. The cult developed in tune with the concept of separate spheres: men were deemed the stronger and harder sex, less emotional, and ordained with the physical ability to survive the ruth less world of the market-place. Alternatively, women required the protective walls of the home. They possessed maternal qualities and superior moral purity making them the ethical inspiration for their husbands and the moral
guardians of children. Thus, the cult of domesticity became the ideal of female superiority that invested women
with the spiritual qualities to redeem wider society (Banks, Faces of Feminism, 86, 90).
regenerative. In the novel, Naomi embarks on a spiritual journey and in the process learns of the nature of universal religion. In response to her aunt’s charge that she has become a convert to Christianity Naomi is furious, though she is equally impassioned by her spiritual connection with the ancestral faith and the bonds of inherited memory:

Naomi had behind her the racial pride of her ancestors. The persistent, dogged tenacity with which they [Jews] had clung to their religious inheritance, even deifying its casings in their passionate zeal; the fiery jealousy with which they had cherished their isolation among all the peoples of the earth; these seemed suddenly to make their influence felt on the girl. She had been born a Jewess, and no spiritual yearnings, no discontent, no remorse could rob her of this birthright. Even though she had no understanding of the ancient religion, in spite of all her recent self-questionings and misgivings, a passionate devotion to Judaism was indelibly stamped in her blood. It only required her aunt’s question, expressed as it was with suspicion and apprehension, to fill her heart with intense anger that her loyalty had been challenged. Yet mingled with this anger was a feeling of acute pain, for Naomi had suddenly become conscious that in this home, which was so dear to her, she could never again be happy.48

Having gone into self-imposed exile as a result of her aunt’s accusation, and as a product of her spiritual alienation, Naomi leaves home and within several months of independence, and through friendship with a Christian religionist, learns about social justice and the nature of “true” faith. She later returns to the house of her staunchly Orthodox aunt and is able once again to join in and appreciate the Shabbat celebrations. One of the moral parables of the story is that the legalistic, unthinking nature of contemporaneous religion requires invigorating with renewed spiritual impetus. Indeed, Naomi, through communion with God, is imbued with fresh understanding and appreciation of her faith and its application for daily living. It is in Naomi’s Exodus that we catch glimpses of Montagu’s own experience of the divine presence.49 Naomi, in the midst of a spiritual crisis, is resolved to develop an immanent and personally immediate relationship with the divine. The communing begins with her calling out to the divine:

“Oh God, what shall I do? Oh, God, help me”!
That was the first prayer Naomi Saul had ever made.
Almost immediately her troubled spirit seemed somewhat soothed. The tension on her feelings was relieved as she gave herself up to the Power not herself of which she was becoming conscious.
She lay for a whole hour, half waking, half-sleeping, in communion with her God.50

Naomi is not used to the idea of personal and private prayer; this is a direct address to the deity and a call on the divine for assistance in the form of engaged communion. Later in the novel, Naomi makes the plea again, begging the Almighty for advice:

After a time her head leaned up against the iron leg of the bedstead, and her lips murmured, “God! God! What shall I do – God”?
The prayer was spoken in utter exhaustion of spirit; the soul realized its weakness, and could no longer find rest within itself. It threw itself on the God without for help in its sore need. And the help was given. Naomi was much too tired to know how she reasoned, or whether she reasoned at

48 Lily Montagu, Naomi’s Exodus (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901), 40–1. Montagu’s only other novel was Broken Stalks (London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1902). See also Lily Montagu, A Little Book of Comfort: For Jewish People in Times of Sorrow (London: Wightman and Co, 1948); Lily Montagu, Letters to Anne and Peter (London: Mamelok Press, 1944); Lily Montagu, What Can A Mother Do? And Other Stories (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926).
49 Devine, Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah, 82.
50 Montagu, Naomi’s Exodus, 26.
all. It seemed as if she snatched from the inmost depths of her being the love, faith and hope which she had planted there for Clement, and with that cry to God threw them at His feet. And He accepted them.\(^{31}\)

Naomi is upset at the breakdown of her relationship with Clement Marks: “She dared to love this great clever man, and since his indifference could not stifle her feeling, it should, at least, not disgrace him.”\(^ {32}\) But it is “the God of love Who gave this girl the power of loving, even while He withdrew the human object of her love, came into her heart and gave her courage.”\(^{33}\) As we can see, Montagu’s theological understanding is necessarily immediate; it is a type of human-divine dialogue. Moreover, in *Naomi’s Exodus* we can see the influence of Christian Evangelicalism, particularly in the theology of divine immanence, the spiritual vitalization of ritual, and in Montagu’s reverence for the Hebrew Bible.\(^ {34}\) Naomi is redemptive and regenerative, morally and spiritually superior, though at the same time she is dutiful; she heeds the (Evangelical) call to service and becomes a nurse.\(^ {35}\)

For Lily Montagu it was necessary that religionists speak to God in the synagogue and in the home.\(^ {36}\) This relationship is not intended to be hierarchical. Indeed, Montagu was concerned that the idea of God instilling fear rather than love could be transmitted through the reading of the traditional liturgy.\(^ {37}\) According to Montagu: “God must become so real so that we can live under His guidance, working for Him and with Him, and trusting that this kinship is for ever.”\(^ {38}\) Montagu was convinced that through Judaism “a religious man must seek and discover God for himself. I believe that in Judaism will be found the methods by which God can be most surely approached, and that these methods are certainly ultimately to prevail universally.”\(^ {39}\) The relationship with God is essentially about “kinship.” The divine is omnipresent to the extent that personal loneliness need never be experienced.\(^ {40}\) Indeed, God is not “other” in the traditional sense of “holiness” (*kedushah*) which implies separation. David Blumenthal argues that in the sacred texts God has personality and talks, walks, laughs, feels anger, joy, and conveys “moral judgment”: “God is what God is.” But the divine is also a source of awe, the numinous, and otherness. “Wholly otherness,” or holiness, is comprehensible in moments, texts, and places. Indeed, it is through the concept of holiness that God is somehow near yet at the same time distant. According to Blumenthal holiness is our experience of the sacred. Thus, God possesses two characteristic attributes: “personality and holiness”; they are “relation and relatedness”. The “theology of image” is central to the Jewish tradition; knowledge of humanity, God, piety, and redemption stems from this source.

\(^{31}\) Montagu, *Naomi’s Exodus*, 162.

\(^{32}\) Montagu, *Naomi’s Exodus*, 189. It is possible that Clement Marks is based on Claude Montefiore.

\(^{33}\) Montagu, *Naomi’s Exodus*, 165.

\(^{34}\) Naomi Saul is probably based on Naomi of the biblical book of Ruth.

\(^{35}\) Devine, *Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah*, 103–04. According to David Bebbington, Evangelicalism is based on four themes: “conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and what might be called crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism” (*Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2–3).

\(^{36}\) Montagu, *My Club and I*, 47.

\(^{37}\) Conrad, *Lily H. Montagu*, 42. Montagu’s *Prayers for Jewish Working Girls* (London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co., 1895) was the first Liberal Jewish prayer book.

\(^{38}\) Montagu, *My Club and I*, 50.

\(^{39}\) Montagu, “Spiritual Possibilities,” 231.

\(^{40}\) Montagu, “Kinship with God,” 117.
In this theological process there is dialogue, empathy, demand, and claim. God’s image is reflected both individually and collectively in humanity. To do traditional theology, Blumenthal argues, is to understand and muse over the image of the divine. The attributes of holiness and personality visualize the image of deity and embody the otherness of God. Certainly, “holiness” is an integral component of God in the tradition. For Blumenthal:

**HOLINESS IS A QUALITY.** One senses it in objects, in moments, in texts, and in certain people. It is not a feeling like joy and anger. It is not a commitment like love or loyalty. It is not a state of mind like happiness or gloom. It is not a thought or concept. It is an awareness of the sacred, a consciousness of the spiritual. It is an experience of the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, a contact with the numinous. It is a perception of otherness, an intimation of the beyond.

Blumenthal suggests that there are two aspects of holiness: **hierarchical**: the “mystical quality of certain objects, days and persons”; and **non-hierarchical**: personal acts of will through which one declares an object consecrated to the divine. Holiness is a product of *kavanah*; it is the experience of numinous otherness in the “mundane.” Montagu’s theology of immanence, then, and the idea of communion, is a departure from the traditional concept of holiness; but for that matter, the universal underpinnings of Liberal theology are equally a departure from the particularistic emphasis on the Jewish people inherent to the rabbinic/Orthodox tradition. Claude Montefiore’s theology of Liberal Judaism that Montagu appropriated in her own work was centred on the relationship between the religionist and the divine. Both he and Montagu frequently quoted from non-Jewish sources, even the New Testament. The radical separation of the individual and the divine is, for Montefiore, unsustainable. He rejected the traditional notion that God is so mysterious and unapproachable that men and woman cannot communicate with the deity. Instead, Montefiore argued that “the communion of man with God, and the action of influence of God upon man, are essential elements of true religion.” Indeed, communion is possible because of the kinship between humankind and God.

The Liberal theology that is evident throughout the Lily Montagu corpus, and in her many sermons and addresses, is characterized by its pluralistic subjectivity, immediacy, non-hierarchical nature, universality, and rejection of the traditional concept of holiness. These elements of Liberal theology have become standard to Second and Third-Wave liberal Jewish feminist spiritualities/theologies. Of course, Jewish feminist theology has gone further and has marginalized and even abandoned the central theological components that have been present since Genesis including not only the concepts of transcendence, revelation, and supernaturalism, but the eschatological aspects such as Jewish destiny, messianic redemption, afterlife, the Davidic line, and chosenness. It is only Judith Plaskow, Rachel Adler, Melissa Raphael, and Tamar Ross who have so far published full-length feminist theologies. Indeed, Judith Plaskow’s classic *Standing Again At Sinai* (1990) develops a feminist theology of community that is expressed through historiography, prayer, ritual, and midrash around the central categories of Torah, Israel, and God, speculating what these concepts

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61 David Blumenthal, *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest* (London: John Knox Press, 1993), 6–8, 23. See T. Drorah Setel, “Feminist Reflections on Separation and Unity in Jewish Theology,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2 (Spring 1986), 113–18.
62 Blumenthal, *Facing the Abusing God*, 23.
63 Blumenthal, *Facing the Abusing God*, 25–6; Devine, *Second-Wave Jewish Feminism*, 55–6.
64 Claude Montefiore, *Liberal Judaism: An Essay* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 25–7.
will look like in an inclusivist Judaism. Adler, who was originally Orthodox but turned to Reform Judaism, is perhaps most notable for her groundbreaking article, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There,” that helped launch Second-Wave Jewish feminism in America, along with Trude Weiss-Rosmarin’s “The Unfreedom of Jewish Women.” In Engendering Judaism (1998) Adler examines gender issues relating to halakhah, prayer, textual interpretation, sexual imagery, and marriage to visualize an engendered Judaism through which the gender exclusionary and patriarchal values of the tradition and its sacred texts are not regarded as intrinsic. Alternatively, Raphael’s The Female Face of God in Auschwitz (2003) is not intended to be a prescriptive theology; rather, Raphael, who is an Anglo-Jewish theologian, asks the question “Who was God in Auschwitz”? She is concerned with restoring women’s voices to our understanding of the Holocaust and reclaiming the feminine Shechinah as a maternal presence amid the horrors of Auschwitz. Ross’ Expanding the Palace of Torah is not a feminist theology per se; rather, she develops ideas of cumulative revelation that draw on the influence Abraham Isaac Kook. Orthodox Israeli feminist Ross develops a process of accumulating beyond the Sinaitic foundations of the tradition that allows feminist interpreters to build upon extant revelation while accepting that Judaism’s patriarchal foundations, although incompatible with contemporary feminist values, were necessary at the time. The Second-Wave of Jewish feminism, which arguably began in the 1970s and continued until the early 1990s, inevitably focused on the key issues at the time, including the exclusion of women from ritual, liturgy, legal processes, and in the synagogue; the focus was on praxis rather than theology. This was evidently vital to religious and communal reform, if at the expense of practical, prescriptive, and normative theology. In the Third-Wave of Jewish feminism (if it is even possible to apply such a label) that followed Plaskow’s Standing Again at Sinai, on the other hand, Jewish feminists have become their own authorities often in the absence of traditional Judaism. The daughters of the Second-Wave have grown up with a “full range of opportunities” in communal and religious life and have been offered more or less equal chances for study, employment, and meaningful spiritual existence. But the Third-Wave has not identified any single issue or unified cause, manifesto, or underlying goal as indicative of its aims. Donna Berman, looking back on the last forty years of feminist activism, argues that:

There has been very little, if any, experimentation with expanding the canon or introducing new texts that specifically reflect the experiences of women and lesbians. Feminism, to a large extent,

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65 Judith Plaskow, “Calling All Theologians,” in New Jewish Feminism: Probing the Past, Forging the Future, ed. Elyse Goldstein (Woodstock: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2009), 4; Judith Plaskow, Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective (1990; rpt. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991).

66 See Rachel Adler, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There: Halacha and the Jewish Woman,” Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review (1971; rpt. Summer 1973), 77–82; Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, “The Unfreedom of Jewish Women,” Jewish Spectator (October 1970), 2–6; Rachel Adler, Engendering Judaism: An Inclusive Theology and Ethics (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1998).

67 See Melissa Raphael, The Female Face of God in Auschwitz: A Jewish Feminist Theology of the Holocaust (London: Routledge, 2003).

68 For Kook, God is not an-other being as the Almighty transcends all anthropomorphisms. See Tamar Ross, Expanding the Palace of Torah: Orthodoxy and Feminism (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2004).

69 Susannah Heschel, “Foreword: It’s Not About Equality – It’s About Who’s in Charge,” in Yentl’s Revenge: The Next Wave of Jewish Feminism, ed. Danya Ruttenberg (New York: Seal Press, 2001), xvi–xvii.

70 Susannah Heschel, preface to On Being A Jewish Feminist: A Reader, ed. Susannah Heschel (1983; rpt. New York: Schocken Books, 1995), xxiii.

71 Devine, Second-Wave Jewish Feminism, 47, 210.
remains something that is “tacked on” to Judaism. It is still on the margins, still too often relegated
to a specific Shabbat or a special adult education session or Women’s History Month. Feminist
theology and feminist discourse generally have not made their way into the center. The “problem,” if that is the right word, is with the feminist propensity, which has become a
feature of Third-Wave Jewish feminism, to discourse on subjective, personal, and immediate
experience over and above the tradition. This form of self-projection might have little to do
with the tradition and is regarded as Jewish simply because the interpreter is Jewish.

The potential abyss between “women’s experience” and “authentic” Judaism has been an
impediment to Jewish women doing theology. According to Melissa Raphael Jewish feminists, whether partially or wholly alienated by the tradition, have focused, more or less, on the historical Jewish woman who can through her personal experience and immediate context image alternative theological models and unconditioned interpretations of the sacred texts. The postmodernist refusal of normativity, Raphael argues, has rendered a prescriptive, or normative, Jewish feminist theology “impossible.” Historically, Raphael notes, feminist theology is a post-Holocaust exercise that assumes, given Auschwitz, that Judaism can no longer be justified through traditional faith in the Holy One, blessed be He. What is more, the tradition cannot be sustained by the Reform assumption that Judaism underpins the ethical and moral structures of Western civilization. For Raphael, Jewish feminist theology can only justify Judaism to women on the basis of its prophetic concerns, its being a connector between the generations of the movement, and its ritual and imaginal focus for communal identity. This is endemic, however, given that generally all types of Jewish feminism have taken on the “quest of liberal modernity” and have centered on securing women’s religious liberation, equality of access, and their ability to orientate the tradition toward the conditions and experiences of their own immediate context. In sum, Raphael suggests that the problem is that “Jewish feminist theology’s origin in modern egalitarianism and the postmodern pluralization of truth, together with its focus upon the immediacies of women’s experience . . . has left women religio-intellectually marginalized, and experience of the heteronomous, nonordinary dimension of Jewish revelation has been all but precluded.”

Contemporary liberal Jewish feminism, the Third-Wave and beyond, is characterized by
its rejection of hierarchy in all its forms. According to Judith Plaskow the concept of
chosenness in traditional Judaism is a statement of hierarchical privilege in relation to those
who are denied this right. Feminists have been troubled by the idea of chosenness that seems
to be in contrast with the drive for civic equality. The assumption of a unique and separate
destiny assigned to the Jewish people is in “tension” with the history of emancipation that

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72 Donna Berman, “Major Trends in Jewish Feminist Theology,” in New Jewish Feminism, 21.
73 Melissa Raphael, “Standing at a Demythologized Sinai? Reading Jewish Feminist Theology Through the Critical Lens of Radical Orthodoxy,” in Interpreting the Postmodern: Responses to “Radical Orthodoxy,” eds. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Marion Grau (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 209–10 n.39.
74 The categories are taken from Adler’s Engendering Judaism, xix.
75 Raphael, “Standing at a Demythologized Sinai,” 198–201, 207 n27, 209–10, 214.
76 The Third-Wave is characterized by its efforts to challenge the essentialist assumptions of the Second-Wave, the notion of universal women’s experience, and the focus on white upper-middle-class women’s experience. The Third-Wave appropriates theories of anti-racism, transgender, queer theory, and eco-feminism, and is about self-definition and the broadening of biological and cultural identities through alternative lifestyles (Devine, From Anglo-First-Wave, 199–200).
made Jews into citizens. Thus, Plaskow notes, Jewish thinkers for nearly two-hundred years have sought to refashion the notion of chosenness in order to either discard it completely or to retain it. Indeed, chosenness has been reinterpreted through the language of universality and “mission to the nations”; Jewish superiority has even been rejected outright. For Plaskow, however, the implication of chosenness and its sense of privilege is yet to be eliminated. Jewish feminism, therefore, is in a position to rethink not only the concept of election in relation to wider non-Jewish society, but also to refigure the hierarchical differentiations present in the Jewish community. Plaskow argues that God’s dominance and power means that the relationship between the deity and humankind is “asymmetrical”. God’s maleness denotes power that is infinite and Other over human authority. Indeed, this God who is totally Other is over and against the world in such a way that “inhibits human growth and responsibility”. For Plaskow, God enforces obedience through punishments, benevolence, and domination, which discourages human activity. This dominating Other is intrinsic to the biblical texts, particularly in images of God as “holy warrior.” Moreover, prophetic demands for social justice are in direct contrast with the impending threat of divine punishment and destruction. Plaskow suggests that:

Metaphors of sovereignty, lordship, kingship, and judicial and military power evoke images of arbitrary and autocratic rule that have been rejected in the human political sphere at the same time they live on in religious language. If the image of god as male provides religious support for male dominance in society, the image of God as supreme Other would seem to legitimate dominance of any kind. God as ruler and king of the universe is the pinnacle of a vast hierarchy that extends from God “himself” to angels/men/women/children/animals and finally the earth. As hierarchical ruler, God is a model for the many schemes of dominance that human beings create for themselves.  

Plaskow contends that the images of God’s dominance that have become the symbols and ways that Jews have used to discuss the divine have helped perpetuate and even justify the evils that we hope God will redeem us from. The theological image of “dominating Other” acts as an “authorizing symbol” in an entire system of hierarchical dualisms that includes the relationship between Israel and other peoples and the male God-language of the androcentric tradition. As we have seen, Lily Montagu, along with the Liberal Jewish leadership, was concerned not only with the alienating image of a domineering and aloof deity (she instead preferred to visualize the immanent God of “love”), but also with the concepts of Jewish particularly, messianism, and national identity (Zionism) that were an impediment to wholesale emancipation, assimilation, and acceptance for religious Anglo-Jews in wider Christian society. Certainly, Liberal Judaism’s aim was to counter the secularizing and estranging aspects of the tradition and to assimilate societal norms that would allow Jews to accommodate their Anglicized lifestyles to the Liberal Synagogue without having to exile themselves from the community for all time. But while the legacy of Anglo-Liberal Judaism in relation to the “Woman Question” is that women can lead the services and become rabbis, be called up, hold positions of religious and communal leadership over men, study and interpret the sacred texts, have a Bat Mitzvah, and are equal in divorce law, what are the long term consequences for Jewish feminist theology?

77 Plaskow, Standing Again at Sinai, 100–1, 130–2.
78 Plaskow, Standing Again at Sinai, 132.
In Lily Montagu’s theology of Liberal Judaism it is the personal and immediate nature of experiencing the divine which will be necessarily reduced to the individual and social context, and the subjectivity of this moment that is integral to, along with the non-hierarchical and non-domineering imagery of deity in contrast to traditional eschatological and theological notions of holiness, particularity, and hierarchical otherness. But as we have seen, it is this legacy that began with Reform Judaism and was continued with the progressive underpinnings of Liberal Judaism that has been taken on by contemporary Jewish feminism. What began as an impetus in Reform Judaism for individuals to construct theology, and was extenuated by the failure of Anglo-Reformism to develop any type of uniquely Reformist theology of its own, became in Liberal Judaism’s subjective and personal communing with the divine, and then in the Second-Wave of Jewish feminism, “theology” rooted in the individual experience of the religionist and based on their personal aspirations. The focus on personal spirituality, which can have little, if anything, to do with God, was at the expense of the eschatological (the area of theology that deals with last things) elements of traditional Judaism including divine judgment, Messianic redemption, belief in the Messianic Age, afterlife, resurrection, anticipation of the Coming Age, the continuation of the Davidic line, the restoration and deliverance of Israel, holiness, and Jewish destiny in general, as well as the theological elements present in the biblical and rabbinic traditions, including concepts of supernaturalism, transcendence, hierarchy, and numinous otherness. Thus, the development of any prescriptive or normative Jewish feminist theology is made impossible by the diversity, non-sacral, and pluralistic nature of contemporary (Third-Wave) Jewish feminism. Indeed, even Judith Plaskow admits that:

I had hoped that Jewish feminists would give the lie to the notion that theology is not a Jewish mode of expression by eagerly embracing it and producing a wide range of theologies that would open up new conversations within the Jewish community. But it turns out that most Jewish feminists haven’t done formal theology either, and that if there is going to be a blossoming of Jewish feminist theologies, it belongs to the future.

This is not to devalue the extant theological discourse; Jewish feminism is still only forty-years old and is continually redefining itself and responding to contemporary challenges and trends. But at some point or another, as Orthodox feminist theorists and theologians continue to point out, there will have to be reengagement with the tradition and its theological elements.

By the time of her passing in 1963, Lily Montagu, through her role in the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (formerly the JRU), and her presidency of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, had spread the Liberal Jewish message throughout the world. Montagu’s legacy is one of gender equalization in the Liberal Jewish community in England and beyond. But she is also a foremother of Second-Wave Jewish feminism. Contemporary liberal Jewish feminist theology has its basis in the Haskalah (Jewish

79 See Devine, Second-Wave Jewish Feminism; Raphael, “Standing at a Demythologized Sinai.”
80 Plaskow, “Calling All theologians,” 3.
81 See Tova Hartman, Feminism Encounters Traditional Judaism: Resistance and Accommodation (New England: UPNE, 2007); Tamar Ross, “Modern Orthodoxy and the Challenge of Feminism,” in Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy, Studies in Contemporary Jewry, ed. Jonathan Frankel (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 3–38.
82 See Lily Montagu, The World Union for Progressive Judaism: The Story of its First 25 Years – 1926 until 1951 (World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1951).
83 See Devine, Lily Montagu’s Shekhinah, 147–8.
Enlightenment), in Reform Judaism, in the age of emancipation and secularization, and in Montagu’s efforts to reengage and accommodate modern Jewish women, and their employment commitments, busy lifestyles, and their boredom with the Orthodox services, with the tradition. But in the process of countering secularization and reversing the gender alienation of acculturated Anglo-Jewish women, the complex and estranging aspects of traditional theology were jettisoned. The impact of the Reformers, and the progressive Liberalizers, has been that in the post-Holocaust period, Second and Third-Wave Jewish feminisms have displayed only limited interest in classical theology, and there has been little will towards creating anything prescriptive, so far.84 The contemporary importance of Montagu’s work then, is that while she was able to instigate and develop far reaching reforms, particularly with regard to the “Woman Question,” in contrast to contemporary post-Holocaust feminist theology, she was also able to maintain a dialogue with the theological tradition: the fundamental theology, radical monotheism, was essentially unchanged; it was just that the Anglo-Liberal reformers believed the ability to commune with the divine would encourage those alienated by the tradition to reengage. The aim was to allow religionists too busy to attend services the chance to explore the human-divine relationship. Indeed, in liberal Jewish feminism also, the tradition has given way to the individual feminist and her ability to pick and choose those elements that are relevant, empowering, and egalitarian, and that speak to her own experience; this process began in late-Victorian England when a young girl of fifteen – Lily Montagu – emerged from a spiritual crisis determined to orientate the tradition towards the practical needs and necessities of everyday life. Current Jewish feminist theologians might well revere this past, as well as its engagement with classical theology.

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84 Contemporary Jewish feminists have been little interested in theology; see Danya Ruttenberg, Yentl’s Revenge. Even New Jewish Feminism (2010) is only able to review, and re-review, the few feminist theological expositions of the Second-Wave. Of course, theology can take a variety of forms, including through midrash (imaginative biblical exegesis) and personal spiritual reflections.
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LATINO-ROMANIOTES: THE CONTINUITY OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE WESTERN DIASPORA, 400–700 CE

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ABSTRACT: The fate of Jewish communities in the western Diaspora in the period between the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century and the efflorescence of Jewish learning and culture in ninth-century Spain and tenth-century France and Germany has been neglected by both Jewish and generalist historians. It has been assumed that late antique communities outside ancient centres like the city of Rome and the south of Italy were relatively recent and the period saw a contraction and withdrawal of Jewish communities to the Mediterranean littoral until they were revitalised by Jews from the Islamic south and east. More recently it has been suggested that western Jews were cut off from Hebrew language and *Halakhah* and therefore developed as purely ‘biblical’ Jews, an easy prey to Christian proselytism. However, the late antique and early medieval periods have recently been reassessed and are now seen as a period of continuity. There is evidence that Jewish communities were more extensive and longer established than previously assumed, and that Jews in the west continued to maintain a vital contact with the east and had access to Hebrew learning, Hebrew scrolls and oral tradition. The identification of a previously unknown Latin Jewish manuscript (the Letter of Annas to Seneca) and the discovery of Jewish settlements in Roman Gaul suggest that evidence from this period has been neglected or overlooked and that the period needs reassessment as a period that provided the demographic and cultural continuity that the later medieval community built upon; an indigenous Latin-speaking ‘Romaniote’ community that underlay the later communities of Sepharad, Tzarfat and Ashkenaz.

1. SYNESIUS AND AMARANTUS

At the turn of the fifth century Synesius of Cyrene composed a letter to his brother,¹ a tragicomic tale of a shipwreck he had had the misfortune to experience while travelling homewards to Cyrenaica from the city of Alexandria. Synesius, a philosopher who wrote an elegant Attic Greek but composed his hymns to the ‘One God, Creator of all’ in good Doric, was a devoted friend of the celebrated female philosopher Hypatia of Alexandria with whom he had studied. He had travelled to Constantinople as a representative of his home province of Cyrenaica to the court of the young emperor Arcadius who in 395 had become sole ruler of the eastern half of the Roman Empire (now definitively and permanently divided between Latin West and Greek East). Returning to his estate in Cyrene, he looked forward to a quiet life of ‘books and hunting’, but was called like a true Roman gentleman to serve his city. However, in the late empire the only non-military institution that held any power locally was the church and Synesius’ fellow-citizens accordingly elected him to the

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¹ Epistle 5 in *Opere di Sinesio di Cirene*, edited by A. Garzya in 1989, 74–90. (All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.)
bishops of Ptolemäis. Despite his Christian wife, Synesius had many doctrinal and philosophical qualms about accepting the bishopric and only a sense of duty, along with generous concessions to his philosophical positions (and an agreement that allowed him to keep his wife and not put her away as other more properly ascetic bishops were forced to do) convinced him to accept. He spent the rest of his life as Kingsley’s ‘squire bishop’\(^2\) defending his case against marauding, local tribesmen and incompetent, rapacious governors, and composing hymns in the same elegant Greek, but now with convenient references to the ‘Son’ as a concession to the faith of his flock. The date of his death is unknown but it is assumed that he died before 415 because his works show no awareness of the dreadful death of Hypatia in that year, viciously torn apart and burnt by a Christian mob.\(^3\)

Synesius, standing as he does between the old world of Hellenic Neoplatonism and Roman civic order on the one hand, and the new Christian world on the other, between Augustine’s two civitates, seems to personify the late Roman Empire itself as it transformed from pagan Antiquity to the Christian Middle Ages and as such Synesius has been the subject of fascinated study.\(^4\) The captain and crew of Synesius’ vessel, however, have received less note.

The boat in which Synesius had taken ship was only a small one with twelve hands and the captain and half the crew were Jews. Synesius expresses the usual Helleno-Roman prejudice of Jews as haters of Greeks; ‘a graceless race and fully convinced of the piety of sending to Hades as many Greeks as possible’.\(^5\) The captain, Amaranthus, was heavily in debt and had sold all the spare gear, leaving only the one sail and a single anchor, and the crew were apparently all crippled in one way or another. Nevertheless he carried fifty passengers, including some Arab soldiers and about a dozen women; part of the deck was screened off with an old sail for their accommodation. Having left Alexandria, Amaranthus tacked far out to seaward beyond sight of land much to Synesius’ consternation who complained to the captain. The disgruntled Amaranthus seems to have tried to explain basic navigation to Synesius but with little success. In the afternoon a gale blew up from the North and Amaranthus tacked back towards land, much to the travellers’ relief:

Now it so happened that this was the day on which the Jews make what they term the ‘Preparation’ [paraskeue], and they reckon the night, together with the day following this, as a time during which it is not lawful to work with one’s hands. They keep this day holy and apart from the others, and they pass it in rest from labour of all kinds. Our captain accordingly let go the rudder from his hands the moment he guessed that the sun’s rays had left the earth, and throwing himself prostrate, Allowed to trample upon him what sailor so desired.\(^6\)

Synesius and the other travellers, seemingly not understanding Amaranthus’ action, believed he had given up in despair and imploro him not to give up:

\(^2\) See the novel by Charles Kingsley, Hypatia (London: 1853).
\(^3\) Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History, Book VI, Chapter 15.
\(^4\) J. Bregman, Synesius of Cyrene (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); C. Lacombrade, Synesios de Cyrène: Hellène et chrétien (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951); H.-J. Marrou, “Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism” in A. Momigliano, ed., The Conflict of Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 126–50; A. Cameron, J. Long, and L. Sherry, Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
\(^5\) Ibid., Epistle 5, lines 19–21, 74.
\(^6\) Ibid., lines 74–80, 78.
for if our skipper proved at such a moment to be an orthodox observer [nomoediskalos] of the Mosaic law what was life worth in the future? Indeed we soon understood why he had abandoned the helm, for when we begged him to do his best to save the ship, he stolidly continued reading his roll [biblion]. Despairing of persuasion, we finally attempted force, and one staunch soldier - for many Arabs of the cavalry were of our company – one staunch soldier, I say, drew his sword and threatened to behead the fellow on the spot if he did not resume control of the vessel. But the Maccabaean in very deed was determined to persist in his observances. However, in the middle of the night he voluntarily returned to the helm. “For now,” he said, “We are clearly in danger of death, and the law commands.”

In the morning they put in on a desert shore and, after waiting two days for the storm to abate, put out to sea again, only to be becalmed two days later. They then ran into another storm that broke the mast, and ran aground in a desolate spot, whence a local piloted them to a sheltered but almost equally deserted harbour. From this point we hear nothing more of Amarantus and his crew.

What sort of Jews were these? Synesius’ account raises as many questions as it answers. From Amarantus’ name and the Greek nicknames of his crew, and from the easy conversation with the travellers they are evidently Hellenized Jews, probably residents of Alexandria. Clearly the ship set sail on the Friday and Amarantus would have known that he would be sailing on the Sabbath and yet he is evidently a pious Jew, dropping all work with the coming of the Sabbath. No doubt he had calculated on an easy passage that would not be beyond the capacities of the non-Jewish crew members, but interestingly Amarantus’ Sabbath observation is not rigorously strict, it is tempered by an idea that can only be ‘rabbinic’, the principle of *piquah nefes,* that the Sabbath may be broken if there is even a doubt of danger to life. We can be sure that this had been voiced by Amarantus himself for it would be extremely unlikely that Synesius would be *au fait* with rabbinic reasoning, and (unfamiliar with the Scriptures as he might have been) would have been more likely to reinforce his low opinion of the Jew and, ascribing the Gospel implacability of the Pharisees against breaking the Sabbath, condemn Amarantus’ piety with a self-serving breaking of the Sabbath. But what was the nature of the roll that Amarantus was reading? And in what language was it written? Was the Hellenized Amarantus reading Hebrew or Greek? It is suggestive that Synesius does not say what Amarantus was reading. Is this because he himself could not read it? What was the meaning of his prostration? Was this in prayer or simply reclining to read? Whichever it was, it evidently was not standing for the Amida prayer. Or maybe Synesius has simply not observed this. The whole scene is fraught with so many questions and yet Amarantus’ is the last (relatively) clear portrait we get of a Jew in the Western Diaspora for almost half a millennium. What became of the Jews like Amarantus in this time? Is there any connection and continuity between Amarantus in the fifth century and Rashi in the eleventh century?

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1. *Ibid.,* lines 91–103, 80.
2. Synesius does refer to Amarantus as ‘Syrian’, but this is probably no more than a reference to his ultimately non-Greek ethnic origin. Judging from Synesius’ description of the ship and crew, it is unlikely that Amarantus could have sailed all the way from the port of Antioch.
3. *Mekhilta Exodus* 31:12; *Babylonian Talmud* *Tov.,* 83b.
4. In his homilies Synesius quotes the Septuagint perfectly, whereas he frequently misquotes Plato. He doubtless had to check the former but thought himself an expert with the latter.
5. Cf. *Mk.* 3:6; *Mt.* 12:14; *Lk.* 6:11.
2. JEWISH IN THE ‘DARK AGES’: A RADICALLY SPLIT DIASPORA?

The period between the ‘fall of Rome’ and the later Middle Ages was once characterised as the ‘Dark Ages’, a period of cultural decline and societal collapse with a lack of contemporary written history, demographic decline, limited building activity and material cultural achievements in general. Nevertheless this half millennium saw classical, pagan Rome centred on the Mediterranean replaced by medieval Catholic Europe centred on the North-West and opposed to a hostile and alien ‘East’ – whether it be the East of Orthodox Byzantium or the Islamic East (that rather curiously lay mainly to the South in Spain and Africa). The image of invading hordes of barbarians, pillaging their way across Europe, driving out the native population, destroying the glories of Antiquity remains a potent one. Indeed the name of one German tribe, the Vandals, has become synonymous with such wholesale destruction. However in the last couple of decades there has been a radical re-evaluation of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages and the fifth to tenth centuries are now recognised not only as a transitional period in European history but one of continuity.12 More sophisticated scientific research in archaeology and population genetics have contributed to a new understanding of the period. It has been recognised that ancient cities like Rome did not necessarily decline and others, like the frontier towns of Cologne and Regensburg, continued to be occupied and local trades and crafts flourished, albeit on a smaller and more local scale.13

The fifth to tenth centuries were also a crucial period in Jewish history for this is the period that saw the establishment of Rabbinic Judaism. But this receives scant, if any, attention in the generalist histories of the period. Roger Collins, for example, in his Early Medieval Europe indexes ‘Jews’ only three times; once in an aside to a comment on Christian ideas of truth, the other two references being to Jewish ‘complicity’ in the Arab invasions of Palestine and Spain respectively. Histories that have taken the later, predominantly urban and mercantile, medieval Jewish communities as paradigmatic and that have assumed that most Jewish communities outside the longer established communities in Rome and South Italy were newcomers have naturally concluded that the few Jews who were in the West in the late Roman Empire retreated to the more urban south in the face of the barbarian inroads until, reinvigorated and augmented by immigrants from the south and east, they once more began to colonise western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.14

With the ninth century we do in fact see an amazing efflorescence of Jewish culture in Europe. In Spain there is the ‘Golden Age’ of Jewish learning largely initiated by Chisdai ibn Shaprut (882–942), councillor to Caliph Abd ar-Rahman III. In Germany Gershon ben Yehuda (c. 960–1040?) “the light of the exile” whom Rashi credited with being the teacher

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12 For the new revisionist history of the Early Middle Ages see R. Collins, Early Medieval Europe 300–1000 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 19992); C. Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); T. Noble, ed., From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms (London: Routledge, 2006); G. Halsall, Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 375–568 (Cambridge: Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, 2007).

13 For the continuity of urban life see B. Härthi and L. Larsson, eds., Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods (Lund: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2002).

14 A notable exception to the neglect of Jewish history in the period is the excellent collection of papers in the two volumes of Gli Ebrei nell’Alto Medioevo (1980) – an exception that somewhat proves the rule. However even this collection deals in the main with the better known communities of Italy and the wider Mediterranean region and hardly touches on the provinces of Spain, Gaul and the Germans.
of all Ashkenaz, established his yeshiva in Mainz. In Italy the “Chronicle of Abinaaz” testifies to the work of liturgical poets and halakhists in the ninth century. And in the South of France the letters of Bishop Agobard of Lyons (779–840) reveal that the Jews there had knowledge of heikhalot mystical works such as the Otot de R. Aqivah (‘Alphabet of R. Akiva’) and the S’ur Qomah (‘Divine Dimensions’). This period also sees the beginning of a dramatic demographic shift in the world Jewish population. Within a few centuries Europe, particularly Spain and Germany will have surpassed the long-established centres in the Middle East, both intellectually and demographically. Is it really possible to explain this all by the movement into Europe of a surely limited number of merchants? Could Jews have emigrated to the (particularly inhospitable) Christian north in sufficient numbers to account for all this?

The assumption of decline also underlies the work of Jewish historians. Graetz could not be plainer; in his brief chapter on the Jews in Europe in the early Middle Ages he states that ‘The Jews in Europe had no history in the proper sense of the word . . . there are only chronicles of martyrdom at the hands of the victorious Church monotonously repeated but with little variation in all countries.’ Salo Wittmayer Baron writing nearly a century later is equally dismal in his assessment of the period;

Withdrawing behind the rampart of talmudic law and religion, the Jewish people of the sixth century continued to pursue its historic career quietly, almost inarticulately. After the brilliant light – and shadows – emerging from the talmudic letters in both Palestine and Babylon, Jewish life was now suddenly enveloped in a deep mist. . . . When the downfall finally came, the Jews recoiled to await in their sheltered corner those better times which, they still confidently hoped, were soon to come.

Cecil Roth in the introduction to the eleventh volume of the projected World History of the Jewish People acknowledged the problems in arguing e silentio on the extent and character of the Jewish population of Europe prior to the ninth century and concedes that the example of Rashi, ‘or even of Rabbenu Gershom of Mainz two generations before him, seem to suggest a lengthy intellectual genealogy in this same environment [Dark Age Europe] – but we have only slender evidence for its existence.’ More recently still, Robert Chazan introducing his study of medieval Jewry in the eleventh to fifteenth centuries describes ‘the small Jewish settlements in western Christendom, huddled along the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, in Italy, southern France, and northern Spain; [a putative observer] might not even bothered to mention them, for they would hardly seem worthy of serious attention.’ Presumably, as Chazan begins his study in 1000 CE, he himself would concur with his observer’s estimation. Indeed, speaking of the Jewries of Northern Europe he says:

All the Jewries of northern Europe were new, much newer than the Jewish communities of the south. The Jewries of northern Europe did not have roots in the Roman world; . . . Northern-European Jewish life was a tabula rasa, a blank slate to be shaped by the interaction of Christian majority and Jewish immigrant minority during our period.

13 H. Graetz, History of the Jews, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895), 24.
16 S.W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 5–6.
17 C. Roth, ed., The World History of the Jewish People, vol. 9: The Dark Ages: Jews in Christian Europe 711–1096, rev. ed. I.H. Levine (London: W.H. Allen, 1966) 7.
18 R. Chazan, The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000–1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.
19 Ibid., 129.
Two Israeli academics have recently taken this thesis even further. In their two-part paper “A Split Jewish Diaspora: Its Dramatic Consequences”, Arye Edrei, a lawyer, and Doron Mendels, a historian of ancient Jewish ‘nationalism’, maintain that there existed a fatal language divide between the western (Roman) and eastern (Persian) Jewish Diasporas. This divide led to the western Greek (sic) speaking Jews losing touch with both the oral Halakhah and the rabbis. According to Edrei and Mendels, the rabbis paid a high price for maintaining the ‘Jewish law’ in an oral form, because, as it was not translated into Greek, the West did not develop a Halakhah and contributed nothing to the oral law in the East. Isolated from the rabbinic network western Jews were a receptive base for Christianity. Hence Jews in the west either converted to Christianity or remained ‘biblical Jews’ until the arrival of the ‘Rabbinic revolution’ in the ninth century.

Such an assertion, (and their papers rarely amount to more than that), could only really be made by one, to quote Peter Brown, ‘green in matters Merovingian’, – and one might add Visigothic and Late Roman. Edrei and Mendels base their argument largely on the absence of the Diaspora from the text of the Mishnah and Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds and whilst this is a remarkable characteristic of the rabbinic texts it tells us more about the rabbis than it does about the western Diaspora.

Despite the fact that the evidence is pretty meagre there is, however, sufficient in the archeological, linguistic, and toponymic traces and in what sources survive to suggest a very different picture in the West. We are, as yet, largely ignorant of the processes that led from ‘nomodidaskalos’ Amarantus to Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki (Rashi), but I suggest that a significant native Jewish community remained dispersed throughout the West which I will name ‘Romaniote.’ The term ‘Romaniote’ has been widely used for the native Jewish communities of Greece, prior to the arrival of the Sephardic Jews from Spain in the 15th century, but I wish to extend its use here to those communities in the area of the Western Roman Empire that pre-date the later divisions into Ashkenaz, Tzarfat, Canaan (Slavic eastern Europe), etc. and that underlay the later Islamic period communities of Sepharad. Given the already existent linguistic divide between Latin west and Greek east, exacerbated further by cultural and theological divisions in the Middle Ages, the Jewish communities in West and East can be characterised as ‘Greco-Romaniote’ and ‘Latino-Romaniote’ respectively.

3. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE WEST

It is pretty vain to attempt to gauge the total number of Jews in the world in the fifth to eighth centuries. Estimates have ranged between two and five million. Naturally the main concentration of the Jewish population was in the east, particularly in northern Palestine

20 A. Edrei, and D. Mendels, “A Split Jewish Diaspora: Its Dramatic Consequences II”, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha 17:3 (2008), 163–87; A. Edrei, and D. Mendels, “A Split Jewish Diaspora: Its Dramatic Consequences”, Journal for the Study of Pseudography 16:2 (2007), 91–137.
21 D. Mendels, The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism (The Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1996).
22 P. Brown, Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
23 B. McGing, “Population and Proselytism: How Many Jews Were There in the Ancient World?” in J.R. Bartlett, ed., Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities (London: Routledge, 2002), 88–106.
24 Baron, Social and Religious History of the Jews, vol. I (1956), 167–71, 369–72.
and Syria, and beyond the empire in Mesopotamia, but Jewish settlements were scattered throughout the Empire. The Sibylline Oracle had declared to the Jews in the second century *pasa de gaià sethen plères kai pasa thalassa* (‘the whole world is full of you, and also the seas’).\(^{25}\) Jerome, commenting on Isaiah 66:20, stated that the Jews believed that at the time of the Messiah, Jews of senatorial rank would come from Britain, Spain and Gaul, ‘*qui . . . senatoriae fuerint dignitatis et locum principum obtinerient, de Britannis, Hispanis Gallisque extremis hominum Morinis, et ubi bicornis finitur Rhenus, in carrucis veniant*’ (‘. . . who would be of senatorial dignity and have obtained high places will come in carriages from Britain, Spain and the Gauls, from the more distant tribe of the Morini (in present day Belgium; quoting Vergil) and from where the Rhine terminates its double horns’).\(^{26}\) Even later in the seventh century Cassiodorus commented on Psalm 70: ‘*De Judaeis hoc dictum testatur eorum facta dispersio, ut pene per totum mundum divisi dispersique declaretur*’ (‘Of the Jews this saying is witnessed of their dispersion, that they are said to be divided and dispersed through almost all the world.’).\(^{27}\)

Evidently it was a fact for Romans as informed as Cassiodorus and Jerome that Jews were present throughout the Empire, in particular in the west. Jewish legend also told of the coming of Jews to the west. After the destruction of the Temple, according to one version of a Jewish legend, many Jews were placed on three ships by Vespasian, without captain or crew and the wind drove them ashore; at Lyons (sic), Arles, and Bordeaux. The exiles left their ships and lived peacefully on land given them by prefects of the respective towns. However, a new ruler arose who subjected them to many hardships. During this period the Jews recited the prayer *vehu rahum* (ירושה אתAnime) composed by two brothers, Joseph and Benjamin, and their uncle Samuel. Delivered from their tribulations by the prayer, they sent it to their brethren throughout the world, asking that it be offered every Monday and Thursday.\(^{28}\) A second version of the legend recounts that the Jews landed in Italy, Spain and Africa. There seems to be here some memory of deportations of Jews, probably as slaves, to the west after the destruction of the Temple. Ahimaaz ben Paltiel, author of the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, states that his family was among the captives brought to Italy by Titus after the destruction of the Temple,\(^{29}\) and in *Midrash Leviticus Rabbah*, Rabbi Meir who lived in the second century, refers to Spain and Gaul as the land of imprisonment.\(^{30}\) Archaeological evidence clusters mainly around the Mediterranean littoral, though there are isolated finds on the Rhine and Danube. However, combined with references to Jewish communities in the early law codes, in Gregory of Tours and the acts of church synods, we see that there was a fairly wide distribution of Jewish communities in the period in Western Europe (see fig. 1).

By Late Antiquity Jewish communities were common throughout the western Mediterranean. Some of these were old and well established, others appear to have emerged only after the third and fourth centuries CE. These communities were not confined to the large towns, such as Naples, Rome, Carthage or Narbonne. There were also well-organised communities in smaller centres and villages and various islands; there is abundant evidence

\(^{25}\) A. Rzach, ed., *Oracula Sibyllina* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), III, 27.

\(^{26}\) Jerome, *In Isaiah*, 66:20, PL 24, 672.

\(^{27}\) Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, Ps 58 (PL LXX, 415).

\(^{28}\) S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937), 6.

\(^{29}\) M. Salaman, *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz* (New York: Columbia University Oriental Studies, 1966).

\(^{30}\) J. Israelstam and J. J. Slotki, *Midrash Rabbah: Leviticus*, vol. 4 (London: Soncino, 1939, 3rd ed. 1961), 69.
Fig. 1. Jewish Communities in the Western Diaspora 4th–8th Century

ITALY
M Milan
R Rome
1 Milan (2)
2 Brescia (2)
3 Concordia, Aquileia, Grado (3)
4 Pula
5 Civitavecchia
6 Ostia, Porto (6)
7 Fondi
8 Venosa
9 Pompeii, Herculanum (4)
10 Naples, Capua, Brusciano (15)
11 Taranto (16)
12 Otranto, Oria
13 Bari
14 Reggio
15 Bova Marina
SICILY
16 Catania (6)
17 Syracuse (3)
18 Sofiana (3)
19 Agrigento
20 Termini Imerese
21 Lipari
22 Malta (5)
SARDINIA
23 Sant’ Antioco, Cagliari (6)
24 Porto Torres (2)
SPAIN
M Mérida
S Seville
T Toledo
T Tarragona
Majorca
Ibiza
Adra
Elche (3)
Tortosa (2)
Tarragona (3)
Villamesias
Marseille
N Narbonne
32 Narbonne
Avignon
Marseille
Gaul
B Bourges
C-F Clermont-Ferrand
Lyons
Mâcon
Orléans
Paris
Reims
Vannes
Auch
Bordeaux
AFRICA
C Carthage
Hammam Lif (Naro)
GERMANY AND RAETIA
C Cologne
Trier
Kaiseraugst
Augsburg
ILLYRICUM
S Split
Esztergom
Osijek
Sirmium
in Sicily and Sardinia as well as Malta and Lipari and the Balearics for a strong Jewish presence.\textsuperscript{31}

The archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that during Late Antiquity the Jewish community began to flourish in an unprecedented way. The way in which new archaeological discoveries help transform the understanding of the nature of Jewish settlement is illustrated by the recent discoveries at Bova Marina, not far from Reggio di Calabria in the extreme south of Italy.\textsuperscript{32} For most of its history Bova was an inconspicuous little town. In Late Antiquity, however, it began to prosper and Jews apparently shared in the settlement’s sudden rise to prominence. In the course of the fourth century, the Jewish community of Bova erected a synagogue, of which some walls and an elegant mosaic floor remain. The building was remodeled several times, but maintained its original function until well into the sixth century. It is not known when or why the building fell into disuse, but whatever the reason, it is clear that here, as in other parts, Jews were able and willing to settle in areas where they had been absent previously. The abundance of Jewish archaeological and epigraphic evidence has been interpreted as indicating a growth in the community due to Jewish proselytism,\textsuperscript{33} but we must be careful of such easy interpretations of the evidence as new evidence on the demography of the Jewish community of Rome strongly suggests that population movement rather than growth better explains the data.\textsuperscript{34}

The Jewish community of Rome was among the oldest Jewish communities in Italy and throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages remained the most numerous one. Practically all we know about it in Late Antiquity derives from a number of Jewish catacombs and hypogaea located outside the city. These provide a wealth of material evidence of the Jewish community in the period from the late second to the early fifth centuries CE. Greek and Latin dominate the epigraphic record, and it is the type of \textit{koiné} Greek and vulgar Latin that is encountered in non-Jewish inscriptions dating to the same general period. The onomastic evidence similarly points to a high degree of integration of the Jewish community into the surrounding society. Although names of near-eastern derivation do occur, Greek and Latin names predominate. Nevertheless the inscriptions frequently contain evidence of a strong allegiance to Judaism. Many carry renderings of Jewish symbols, in particular the menorah, but such allegiance could also be expressed in words; there is a significant portion of the inscriptions which carry words (including neologisms) referring to the person’s position or role within the Jewish community. The evidence from Rome seemingly shows a distinct but integrated community, but if we turn to the evidence from the slightly later catacombs in Venosa in Basilicata we see a very different picture.

It is not certain when the community in Venosa was founded, but it is certain that, once it was created, Jews continued to live in Venosa for several centuries. The evidence indicates that even after the Jewish catacombs had gone out of use, Jews continued to bury their dead

\begin{itemize}
\item See the epigraphic evidence in D. Nov, \textit{Jewish Inscriptions in Western Europe} vol. 1, \textit{Italy (excluding Rome), Spain and Gaul}; vol. 2, \textit{The City of Rome} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1995).
\item L. Costamagna, “La sinagoga di Bova Marina nel quadro degli incedimenti tardoantichi della costa Ionica meridionale della Calabria”, \textit{MEFR} 103 (1991), 611–30.
\item L.H. Feldman, \textit{Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
\item See the work of L.V Rutgers, \textit{The Jews in Late Ancient Rome} (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995); and \textit{The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism} (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1998).
\end{itemize}
on top of the hill inside which their ancestors had previously entombed their dead. At Venosa, however, there is a move from Greek to Latin inscriptions; indeed the number of Latin inscriptions increases deeper inside the catacombs in areas datable from the fifth to sixth centuries CE. It is also notable that one inscription refers to *maiores civilatis*, that is to Jews as public officials who served not only their own community but the entire town in which they lived.

Further north and west and away from Italy we must rely on the Christian chronicles and law codes. This material has long been admirably and comprehensively treated by both Solomon Katz and Bernhard Blumenkrantz. What is most surprising in this material is the degree of interaction between Jews and Gentiles that it reveals. The law codes and church canons are all very keen to keep separate the two communities to an extent that can only be explained if the behaviour being regulated was actually fairly common, whether it be intermarriage, dining together, gentiles attending Jewish sermons (in the vernacular), or involvement in civil and military affairs. What is less surprising, but more relevant to our argument, is the evidence for Jewish involvement in the long distance trade in luxury items and slaves, as this provides evidence that Jews in the west would have had the means to maintain cultural contacts with the Land of Israel. From the fifth century more and more Jews were attracted into commercial pursuits, largely from necessity as other activities (the professions and public office) were being closed to them.

That Jewish merchants often went to the east for trade is shown by an amusing anecdote related by Notker Balbulus. Charlemagne ordered a certain Jewish merchant, who often went to Palestine and brought back with him rare and costly articles, to deceive the vainglorious bishop of Mainz. The merchant sold the bishop a common mouse under the pretence that it was a very unusual and precious animal from Judaea. These Jewish commercial contacts with the Middle East maintained throughout the period provided the means by which Hebrew literature and learning could reach the distant communities of the west.

The law codes also reveal that Jews were much more involved in agriculture than was to be the case in the later Middle Ages. For example, a decree of the Council of Elvira (306) shows that the Jews of Spain were accustomed to offer prayers for their crops and for those of their Christian neighbours, a practice the council forbade. Recent work by Norman Golb, however, has indicated more clearly how extensive this involvement in agriculture might have been in the west. Whilst researching the early history of the medieval Jewish community of Rouen, Golb turned his attention to local toponymics that clearly referred to Jews in the Norman countryside. Golb found numerous ‘*Rues des Juifs*’ that indicated relatively heavy Jewish settlement in the region in early centuries. No documentation exists to show precisely when these settlements may have occurred and studies of Norman history

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35 There are many medieval Jewish gravestones datable to the years 808-48 incorporated into the walls of the nearby abbey church of the Holy Trinity.
36 JITE, 86 vide infra, 10.
37 Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1997); B. Blumenkrantz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 439–1696* (Paris: Mouton et Co, 1960).
38 G. Meyer von Knonau, *Monachus Sangallensis (Noterus Balbulus) de Caroli Magni* (St Gall: Fehr’sche Buchhandlung, 1926), I, 16.
39 A. Linder, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 483.
40 N. Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
had assumed that it betokens only the presence of small numbers of Jewish merchants or moneylenders in those streets during the Middle Ages. Golb’s evidence, however, argues against this assumption. If the Jews formed only a late accretion to the original population, the ‘Streets of the Jews’ would not be so centrally located within the towns as they often are, notably in Rouen and Rheims. Similarly the presence of so significant a number of such streets in the countryside indicates land-cultivating settlements granted agricultural estates in the provinces in the heyday of Roman colonisation. The use of the designation “Rue des Juifs” not only for a street but also for a hamlet, such as is found in Quincampoix, Préaux and Norrey-en-Auge is rendered understandable on the basis of the older Latin meaning of *vicus* (> Fr. *voie*) as a place of settlement. Similarly, such designations of hamlets as “Les Juifs,” “La Juiverie,” and “Hamel (or Hameau) aux Juifs,” also appear to be vestiges of the Latin expression *Vicus Judaeorum*. A further indication that these many ‘Streets of the Jews’ had their origin not in the Middle Ages but in a far earlier period is the fact that the Jews of Normandy are never mentioned in the sources as newcomers. The evidence from Golb’s chosen region of Normandy with Rothomagus (Rouen) as its capital is doubtless a paradigm of the situation elsewhere lying as yet unexamined in the topographic evidence.

4. HEBREW CULTURE IN THE WEST

   a. Hebrew Language

On 4 July 585 Guntram, King of the Franks in Neustria (north-west France), visited Orléans on his way to a meeting with his newly baptised nephew Lothar. On his arrival he was greeted by the populace with the ritual *acclamations* usual for a visiting Roman *imperator*. Gregory of Tours recounts;

> A vast crowd of citizens came out to meet him, carrying flags and banners, and singing songs in his praise. The speech of the Syrians contrasted sharply with that of those using Latin and again with that of the Jews, as they each sang his praises in their own tongue. . . . The Jews played a full part in those acclamations. “Let all peoples reverence you and bow the knee before you and submit to your rule!” they kept shouting. 41

The Jewish community of Orléans was evidently of some importance in the city and well-established for they hoped that Guntram would offer them restitution for a synagogue in the city that had been destroyed some time previously by Christians. In this they were to be disappointed. 42 However, the incident does indicate three distinctive ethnic groups, with three distinct languages; the undoubtedly Greek-speaking Byzantine Syrian merchants, the

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41 Procesritique in obviam eius immensa populi turba cum signis adque vexillis canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Judaeorum in diversis laudibus variae concrepabant, dicens: ‘Vivat rex, regnumque eius in populis annis innumeris dilatetur’. Iudaei vero, qui in his laudibus videbantur esse particeps, dicebant: ‘Omnes gentes te adorenque ibiique genu flectant adque tibi sint subditi.’ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, VIII, 1. MGH I, 326.

42 That the Jews did not place too much faith in Guntram must be deduced from the reference in their acclamation to *Esther* 3:2; ‘and all the servants of the King who were in the King’s gate bowed the knee and reverenced Haman’ (Vulgate: *Canticum versi regis, qui in foribus palatii versabantur, flectebant genua, et adorabant Aman*), a reference Gregory seems to have missed.
(Vulgar?) Latin-speaking Gallo-Romans, and the Jews using ‘lingua Judæorum’, i.e. Hebrew. This is a rare reference to the use of Hebrew by Jews in Western Europe in the period, but we can also find evidence that the use of Hebrew was current and widespread from the linguistic and epigraphic record.

Table 1 charts the use of Latin, Greek and Hebrew in Jewish epigraphy of the fourth to seventh centuries. If we compare this with the Jewish epigraphic record from the Roman catacombs, which is overwhelmingly Greek (vide supra), we can see two distinct trends. Firstly, there is an increase in the use of Latin. 38% of the total epigraphic record uses Latin as opposed to 46% with Greek; and this even with the large number of Greek inscriptions from the Venosa catacombs. Secondly, there is a dramatic increase in the use of Hebrew; over 50% of the inscriptions have some Hebrew. By the eighth century all-Hebrew inscriptions have become the norm.43

|        | Greek only | Greek and Hebrew | Hebrew only | Hebrew and Latin | Latin only | Trilingual |
|--------|------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| Gaul   | 0          | 0                | 0           | 2                | 2          | 0          |
| N. Italy | 3          | 1                | 2           | 10               | 7          | 2          |
| S. Italy and Sicily | 13          | 3                | 4           | 12               | 2          | 0          |
| Venosa | 31         | 12               | 10          | 9                | 10         | 0          |
| Sardinia and Malta | 6          | 0                | 4           | 4                | 0          | 0          |
| Spain  | 3          | 1                | 0           | 1                | 2          | 2          |
| Western Europe | 36         | 17               | 20          | 38               | 22         | 4          |

| % main language | Greek only | Greek and Hebrew | Hebrew only | Hebrew and Latin | Latin only | Trilingual |
|-----------------|------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| % with Hebrew   | 35%        | 48%              | 48%         | 38%              | 44%        | 30%        |

Table 1. Languages Used in Jewish Epigraphy, 4th–7th Centuries (compiled from JIWE I and 2).

In many cases the Hebrew is nothing more than the simple formula ŠLWM ‘L YŠR’L (שלום על ישראל ‘peace be on Israel’). Nevertheless it is noteworthy that in the majority of cases it is grammatically and orthographically correct. In contrast the Latin shows an increasing tendency to Vulgar Latin. The early sixth century epitaph44 from the catacombs at Venosa referred to earlier illustrates this:

hic ciscued Faustina | filia Faustini patris, annorum | quattuordecim mensurum | quinque, que
duet unica paren | turum, quei dixerunt trūnum | duo apostuli et duo rebites et | satis grandem
dolorem fecet pa | rentebeus et lagremas cibita | ti. |

משה של פומטיננה
הו נפש שלם

que duet pronepus Faustini | patris et nepus Biti et Acellii, | qui fuerunt maiores cibi | tati.45

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43 JIWE I, 196, 198–200.
44 JIWE I, 86, 114.
45 ‘Here rests Faustina, daughter of Faustinus the father, aged fourteen years five months. She was her parents’ only child. Two apostles and two rabbis spoke the dirges for her, and she made great enough grief for her parents and tears for the community.
Resting place of Faustina. May her soul rest. Peace.
She was the great-granddaughter of Faustinus the father, granddaughter of Vitus and Acellus who were leaders of the community.’
The Latin shows the Vulgar Latin confusion of ē and ū (dolorem, nepus for dolorem, nepos), and è and i fuer, lagrems, fecet for fuie, lagrimes, fecit); Greek letters (η and probably a lunate sigma in Acelli for Asellus); the substitution of the second declension plural in parentorum for third declension parentum; ‘e’ for ‘qu’ in ciscued for quiesquit and the confusion of ‘b’ and ‘v’ in cibitati (civitas). The Latin is not learned and this is indicative of the way the Jewish community was being excluded from Latin learning despite the fact that this is the epitaph of a member of a notable local family. Clearly the Jews of Venosa were integrated enough to be speaking the vernacular but the community was also, as we see from its greater use of Hebrew in the inscriptions, increasingly falling back on its Jewish identity, learning and culture represented by Hebrew.

David Blondheim in his Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina published in 1925 claimed that ‘Jewish Romance vernaculars’ were descendants of a ‘Judeo-Latin’ specific to the Jewish communities that evolved parallel to Vulgar Latin. This theory has now been largely rejected in favour of the idea that Jews shared the vernaculars of the surrounding communities. Umberto Cassuto, however, whilst rejecting Blondheim’s theory, did postulate a common Jewish koiné (at least for Judeo-Italian).6 What is clear is that the Judeo-Romance vernaculars had a lexical register for specifically Jewish items or practices. This can be observed in the very early Romance borrowings into Yiddish: Yid. orn < orare ‘pray’, bentshu < benedicere, ‘to say the blessing’, leyn < legere ‘to read the Torah’, shul < schola ‘synagogue’, tetshen < tocare ‘to blow the shofar’, isholt < calentum (?) ‘Sabbath stew’ (cf. Old French chalt ‘warn’). Similarly we have the Latin names Shmeyer < Senior(em) ‘Elder’, Faivel < Vitalis, Faivish < Vetus (both clearly calques for Hebrew Hayyim). We also have Romance versions of the names of the more important Rhenish cities preserved in medieval Jewish documents; ŠPYR’, שפיר (Speyer, Late Latin Spira), GRMÛYS’, גרמ共青 (Worms < Gallo-Roman *Gormaicus < Late Latin Vormatia), TRBRS, טבריס (Trier, < *Treveres, L. Augusta Treverorum), MGNZ’, מונטץ (Mainz, < *Magonico < Moguntiacum), QWLWNÌ, קולוניה (Cologne < L. Colonia). These borrowings into Yiddish reflect early developments in Gallo-Romance and must have been taken into proto-Yiddish early in the formation of Ashkenaz in the area of Lotharingia in the eighth to ninth centuries.10

One lexical item in particular, common to all the Jewish languages of Europe, points to a distinct common ‘Romaniote’ substrate. This is the verb that appears as miauder, meltare, meldar (et alia). These local forms all evolve ultimately from the Greek verb meletan, ‘to meditate’ used in the Septuagint as the translation of the Hebrew root HGH (דה). From its use in the Bible the word came to mean ‘study’ and this meaning was attached to the cognate Late Latin borrowing from Greek, meletare. This verb came to be used by Jews to mean specifically

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6 U. Cassuto, “Un’antichissima elegia in dialetto giudeo-italiano”, Archivio glottologico italiano 22–3 (1929), 349–408.
7 Cf. French guerre < Old High German werna.
8 M. Weinreich, History of the Yiddish Language (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1980), 328–47. Weinreich attempts to differentiate influences from ‘Western Lo ez’ (Gallo-Romance) and ‘Southern Lo ez’ (Italo-Romance) as due to ninth- to tenth-century immigrants from France (Tzfat) and Italy respectively. He does not seem to consider that the Romance forms with /e/ instead of /e/ may be derived from an earlier Rhaeto-Romance substrate in the area that is now Switzerland. Rhaeto-Romance languages exist today in Romansch, Ladin and Friulian but historically extended much further north.
‘study of the Torah’ and was consequently used by Jews in preference to the verb meditari, the Latin word used by Jerome in the Vulgate to translate הנדָּה.[49]

The various traditional pronunciations of ‘whole Hebrew’ (i.e. the written Hebrew text as opposed to Hebrew words taken over as loan-words into the vernacular) may also tell us something about the influences on Romaniote Jews. The pronunciation of Hebrew was assimilated to the pronunciation of the surrounding language.[50] Thus only in Yemen all the phonemic distinctions of Hebrew are maintained: 1 = /w/; the emphatics remain /s/, /t/, /q/; as do the gutturals /’/, /’/, /h/, as all of these sounds appear in Classical Arabic. However, the double realisation of the ‘BeGaDKePaT’ (בִּגְדַּקְסַפָּט) letters is maintained with /b/~v/1/, /d/~d’/, /t’/~t/, /p/~/ν/, and /χ/~/θ/, but the voiced velar stop /g/ does not appear in Classical Arabic where it is replaced by /dz/ and the realisation of 7 is thus /dz/~/γ/. Likewise in Europe the emphatics and the gutturals are assimilated to the sounds available in the dominant language; the emphatics /s/, /t/, /q/, and pharyngeal /h/ become /s/, /t/, /q/, and /χ/ respectively; the pharyngeal /’/ is assimilated to the glottal stop /‘/ (or becomes /ν/ in Italo-Hebrew). In the Romance-speaking areas where there is no /s/, /t/ and /s/ fall together as /s/. In all areas 1 becomes /ν/. Whilst most of these changes are shared by all the Jewish communities, there is a notable difference in the realisation of tav raphe ద. In Yemeni Hebrew this is preserved as /θ/ as, presumably, it was in Greco-Romaniote, however in Italo-Hebrew it was voiced to /ν/ (cf. Italian carità < *caridad < *caritad < Latin caritas (em)) and in both Ashkenaz and Provençal Hebrew the tav is assimilated to samekh; in Ashkenaz both > /s/, in Provence both > /θ/. In all these areas the realisation of tav raphe is different but all maintain tav raphe as a fricative. On the other hand, in the areas where Babylonian influence was strongest (Spain, North Africa and Persia) and the original unvoiced fricative was not available (i.e. outside natively Semitic areas of the Arabian Peninsula and the Fertile Crescent), we see a different realisation, for here the assimilation is to the stop /t/ rather than the fricative. This parallels the local pronunciation of Arabic in these areas (including Andalusia)—see table 2.

|               |            |          |          |
|---------------|------------|----------|----------|
| samekh        | tav raphe  | tav      |
| /s/           | /θ/        | /ι/      |
| /s/           | /θ/        | /ι/      |
| /s/           | /δ/ /δ’    | /ι/      |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |
| /s/ /ι/       | /ι/        |          |

Table 2. Realisation of ‘Tav, Tav Raphe and Samekh in Hebrew According to Region.[51]

[49] A memory of this Latinophone Romaniote Jewry may remain in the use of the Hebrew term ‘la’az (לַאָז) for the (specifically Romance) vernacular languages, a usage that parallels that of the Germanic terms ‘Wilsch/Welsh/Vlach’ for the indigenous Latin-using or Romance-speaking populations of former territories of the Roman Empire. We may also note the use of the cognate term ivlish for the more cursive Hebrew script of Italian and Spanish Torah scrolls.

[50] For Ashkenaz see Weinreich, History. For Sepharad, compare P. Wexler, Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews (New York: SUNY Press, 1996).

[51] See ‘Hebrew pronunciation’, Encyclopaedia Judaica (New York: Macmillan, 1971–72).
That is to say there is a distinct divide between those communities that maintain the distinction between the allophones of *tav* and those which assimilate them, a distinction that corresponds to the areas of ‘Palestinian’ and ‘Babylonian’ influence; that is, those areas in which the pronunciation of Hebrew predates the Arabic conquests of North Africa and Iberia, and those areas united by the Arabic conquests where the influence of the Babylonian Gaonate and Arabic languages predominated.

Ashkenazic Hebrew has departed most markedly from the generally accepted ‘Tiberian’ pronunciation. Mostly this is due to changes in the pronunciation within the Yiddish form of German, thus /o/ > /oj/ in the Ashkenazi pronunciation of *Moshe* as ‘Moyshe’ and in the change from Middle High German *groz* > Yiddish *groys*, 32 but there are two distinct characteristics of Ashkenazi Hebrew that set it apart from the others. The first of these is the penultimate stress pattern of Ashkenazi Hebrew. This is paralleled by the penultimate stress of Germanic languages, but it also parallels the stress pattern seen in Biblical Hebrew pausal forms. Penultimate stress is also found in Samaritan Hebrew and may be indicated by some of the orthographies of Qumran. 33 It may be that the German stress pattern helped preserve the original Hebrew accent rather than supplanted a final stress. Here Ashkenazi Hebrew may have preserved a trait of Palestinian Hebrew. The second characteristic of Ashkenazic Hebrew is the realisation of *gamed* as /o/. Yemeni Hebrew, strongly influenced by Babylonia, shares the same realisation of *gamed*. Weinreich makes a strong case for these changes in Ashkenazi Hebrew being the result of a ‘Babylonian Renaissance’ in Ashkenaz in the thirteenth century as the difference is only noted in Sephardic texts from that date. Before the establishment of the ‘Tiberian’ seven-vowel system after the tenth century there were two vowel systems in use: a southern Palestinian system with symbols representing five vowels in which *gamed* fell together with ’i’ and *segol* fell together with *sere* as /a/ and /e/ respectively; and a Babylonian system with six vowel symbols in which *gamed* is open /o/, *sere* is /e/, and *patah* and *segol* fall together as /a/. In 930 Jacob Alchami noted that the Babylonian reading ‘had filled the world’ from the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire to the borders of China. About the same time the Karaite Kirksani reports that the Greco-Romaniote Jews do not know of a *gamed* /o/. Transcriptions of Hebrew in French manuscripts of the tenth to thirteenth century similarly show *gamed* /a/: *ahava*, *laolam*, *Adam* etc. This western Romaniote sphere, ‘from southern Palestine to the Atlantic, from the edges of the Sahara to the northernmost settlements in central Europe’ 34 utilised the five-vowel ‘Sephardi’ vocalisation. 35

If the Romaniote communities of Europe had received their Hebrew from the South after the Arab invasions of the seventh-eighth centuries we would expect a much more standardised pronunciation of the Hebrew consonant system and in particular an ‘Arabised’ realisation of *tav raphe*. Conversely, that a Palestinian vowel system should have established itself so widely that it was able to resist ‘Babylonisation’ up until and beyond the Ashkenazi ‘renaissance’ of the thirteenth century implies that the pronunciation must have firmly

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32 S. A. Birnbaum, *Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979).
33 A. Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 139.
34 Weinreich, *History*, 364 ff.
35 The picture is confused because, (particularly after 1492), the ‘Sephardic’ and Tiberian pronunciations supplanted any vestiges of the Babylonian system that may have remained in the oriental communities other than Yemen.
established itself before the decline of the Southern Palestinian centres in the fifth-sixth centuries.\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{b. Volumina Hebraica}

Edrei and Mendels argue that the literature of the western Diaspora is reflected in the extensive Greek apocrypha and pseudopigrapha. But there is little evidence of a continuing interest in this literature in the Jewish community in Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages. In fact its survival is a result of Christian interest. The evidence we have given above shows rather a distinct decline in the quality of Greek and Latin learning among Jewish communities and a consequent need to fall back on Hebrew learning and letters.\textsuperscript{57} In fact we know from documents in the Cairo Genizah that by the ninth century Jews were writing Greek in a Hebrew abjad,\textsuperscript{58} doubtless the ability to handle Latin literature in the west was even less. If the access to Latin and Greek literature was in sharp decline in the Diaspora, we do have suggestive evidence that the Jewish communities still maintained a written Hebrew-centred culture, which could only deepen with time.

There exists an account by a local bishop, Severus, of how in 417/8 a well-established Jewish community of one of the two towns on Minorca was converted under the threat of mass violence, and its synagogue destroyed and turned into a church.\textsuperscript{59} The account reveals the large size of the Jewish community (at least 540 persons) in the small town of Mago and describes the community’s leader Theodorus as having held all the offices within the town council (\textit{curia}) and as \textit{defensor (judge)} and \textit{patronus (patron)} of his fellow citizens. He seemingly held some sort of “rabbinic” role within the community for he is described as \textit{legis doctor (teacher of the law)}.\textsuperscript{60} The occasion of the community’s conversion was the arrival in the island of the relics of St Stephen. The Christians of Iammo marched on the other town of Mago, invited the Jews to debate, and when this was met with stones hurled by the Jewish women, advanced on the synagogue and burnt it down. First, however, they removed the

\begin{itemize}
\item patham lizanam \quad sennas atque michinas, (corr. nachiras?)
\item cladum carsum \quad medianum talias
\item bathma exugiam \quad atque binas idumas. (Lorica of Laidecenn)
\end{itemize}

‘(Deliver) my mouth?, my tongue, my teeth and nostrils? [my neck, breast, side and limbs,] joints, fat, and two hands.’

Certain words here are clearly not ‘Hebrew’ as the commentary suggests, but Aramaic (M.W. Herren, \textit{Hisperica Famina II} [1987], 80): lizana מֵלָל, sena מַשְׁתָּה, nachira פְּרָי, iduma מַיָּה (dual?), transposing the Aramaic emphatic forms to the first declension. The actual source may be Christian Syriac rather than Jewish, but it seems perverse to argue, as Edrei and Mendels do, that Jews would not have access to Hebrew or Aramaic when monks in distant Ireland obviously did.

\textsuperscript{56} An interesting footnote to this question of the knowledge of Hebrew in the west is provided by Irish Latin poets who wrote verse in an elaborate style influential until around 700. These were collected as the \textit{Hisperica Famina} in the sixth and seventh centuries. One poem contains the lines:

\begin{itemize}
\item patham lizanam \quad sennas atque michinas, (corr. nachiras?)
\item cladum carsum \quad medianum talias
\item bathma exugiam \quad atque binas idumas. (Lorica of Laidecenn)
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{57} N. De Lange, “Jews in the Age of Justinian”, in M. Maas, ed., \textit{The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 401–27.

\textsuperscript{58} N. De Lange, \textit{Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah} (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996).

\textsuperscript{59} PL. XX, 731–46 and XLI, 821–32; E.D. Hunt, “St Stephen in Minorca. An Episode in Jewish-Christian Relations in the Early Fifth Century a.d.”, \textit{Journal of Theological Studies} 33 (1982), 106; S. Bradbury, \textit{Severus of Minorca} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

\textsuperscript{60} Cf. Amaranthus the ‘nomodidaskalos’ supra. Jerome uses the same expression to describe the learned Jew from Tiberias who in the late 380s helped him with proper names in Chronicles, \textit{PL. XXIX}, 401ff.
As Justinian continues:

Furthermore those who read in Greek shall use the Septuagint tradition, which is more accurate than all the others, and is preferable to the others . . . and that they shall not turn to the naked letters but perceive the reality and grasp the more divine sense and . . . they shall become readier to learn the better matters (i.e. the New Testament).

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61 Translation from A. Linder, The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987) [my emphases].
62 This may well be why there existed a Hebraic purist group in the first place.
Nevertheless, Justinian must have been aware that it would be impossible to force the Jews to use the Septuagint and, having voiced these pious hopes, is forced to make a concession, that the Jews may use the translation of Aquila.

Little now remains of Aquila’s translation, but its main characteristic is its thoroughgoing literalness. This has been related, no doubt rightly, to the hermeneutical teaching of Aquila’s master, R. Akiva, who emphasised the importance of every word of the text even the particles, but this results in making the Greek almost unreadable. Thus Genesis 1:1 is rendered:

*En kephalaii ektisen ho theos syn ton ouranon kai syn tēn gēn.*

Aquila here uses *syn* adverbially to represent the Hebrew objective particle *et*. *Kēphalaiion* more usually meaning ‘chapter’ or ‘capital’ is used instead of the Septuagint’s *arche* because of its relationship to *kephalē* ‘head’, thus maintaining the relationship in Hebrew between *reshit* ‘beginning’ and *rōsh* ‘head’. The effect is to render Aquila’s version not so much a calqued translation as effectively an interlinear one that not only assumes the primacy of the Hebrew text, but also its actual presence alongside the translation.

An interesting correspondence between Augustine and Jerome testifies to the presence of Hebrew scrolls also in the west. Augustine reports that a fellow bishop at Oea in Tripolitania had been forced by violent reactions among his congregation, especially the Greeks, when faced with a controversial reading in Jonah, to ask the local Jews what reading there was in their *Hebraei codices*.67 It would be strange that the Jews had the Bible in the form of a *codex* (book), but, Jerome, replying to Augustine on this point, quietly corrects him and speaks of the reading to be found “in the *volumina* [scrolls] of the Jews.”64 Jerome further reports how in Rome he was given some *volumina* by a “Hebraeus” who had borrowed them from a synagogue with the intention of reading them.65 In this case *volumina* clearly does mean scrolls and was clearly in Hebrew for Jerome had to unroll one of them to read the relevant passage – *volumen* *Hebraeum replica*.66

### c. Oral Tradition

From written texts we must now turn to the Oral tradition. If the Jews of the Diaspora are to be shown to be more than ‘Biblical Jews’, then we need to find indications that they were open to the rabbinic development of the Mishnah and Talmud. These extra-biblical teachings were the second item on which Justinian attempted to legislate in *novella* 146 under the name of *deuterosis*, clearly a translation of ‘Mishnah.’ Justinian explicitly states the commentators are Hebrew-based:

We also order that there shall be no licence to the commentators they have, who employ the Hebrew language to falsify it at their will, covering their own malignity by the ignorance of the many. . .

What they call *deuterosis* . . . we prohibit entirely, for it is not included among the holy books, nor was it handed down from above by the prophets, but it is an invention of men in their chatter.

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64 *Ibid.*, Ep. 75, 22.
65 *Ibid.*, Ep. 36, 1.
66 *Ibid.*, Ep. 36, 13.
exclusively of earthly origin and having nothing of the divine. Let them read the holy words themselves . . . without accepting extraneous and unwritten nonsense they themselves have contrived to the perdition of the more simple minded.

Clearly this refers to an extra-Biblical teaching accessible only to a learned Hebrew-speaking elite within the community, the archipherekita, presbuteri, and didaskoloi, mentioned later in the novella as having authority to punish or excommunicate; these are surely men like Theodorus, the doctor legis (‘teacher of the law’) of Mago, playing a ‘rabbinic’ role in the community.

Augustine also writes of the Jewish oral tradition:

He does not know, however, that in addition to the legal and prophetic scriptures the Jews have certain of their traditions, which they keep not in written form but committed to memory, and pass on orally to others. These traditions they call deuterosis.67

Justinian’s novella seems to have influenced the seventh-century Lex Visigothorum68 which, whilst it does not mention the deuterosis as such, nevertheless proscribes ‘those books or doctrines . . . in which are evilly expressed against the faith of Christ’. The law specifically forbids on pain of flogging and perpetual exile the teaching of these books and doctrines to children over the age of ten. The distinction between ‘books’ and ‘doctrine’ seems to hint at the distinction between written and oral traditions. It may be pertinent that the law specifies the age of ten in particular as this is the age recommended by Pirkei Avot as that at which a child should turn to the specifically Jewish teaching of the Mishnah.69

Of course we should not be too surprised to find little evidence of halakhic practice in the records we have for the period. For the Christian authorities, in as much as they were aware of them or had access to them, the Mishnah and Gemara were merely man-made superstition. What constituted an offence to Christianity was the continued Jewish observation of the covenant of the “Old Testament”, practices that had been rendered inefficacious by the new covenant in Christ. It was the practice of the old law which presented a constant temptation to Christian ‘Judaizers’ and that the authorities attempted to legislate against. Secular and religious codes and church polemics are therefore concerned only with the egregious ‘biblical’ practices of Judaism, sabbath observance, kashrut, and so forth. Gregory of Tours, however, recounts at least one incident in sixth century Gaul that shows an adherence to halakhah. King Chilperic had engaged a certain Jew named Priscus in a theological debate, such that the only outcome could be the conversion of Priscus. Priscus had managed to put off the inevitable until his son could be safely sent away to marriage in Marseilles but,

‘in the meantime a quarrel arose between Priscus and Pathir, a converted Jew, who was son to the king in that he [Chilperic] had sponsored him at his baptism. One, Jewish Sabbath Priscus was on his way to the synagogue, wrapped in his prayer shawl (praecinctus orario)70 and carrying no weapon in his hand, for he was about to pray according to the Mosaic law.

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67. Nescit autem habere prater scripturas legitimas et propheticas Iudaos quasdam traditiones suas, quas non scriptas habent, sed memorient tenet et aliter in alterum isquendo transfundit, quas deuterasin vocant. Augustine, Contra adversarium legis et Prophetarum 2.1.2 (CCSL 94.87f).
68. A. Linder, The Jews in the Legal Sources, 302.
69. Pirkei Avot 3, 24.
70. Lewis Thorpe translates “his head bound in a napkin” (Gregory of Tours. The History of the Franks, tr. Lewis Thorpe 1974). Orarium did indeed denote a napkin in classical Latin, but by the council of Laodicea (363) the Greek equivalent orasion had come to mean the broad, usually fringed, liturgical scarf of Christian clergy. This use of the term was first recorded in the west at the council of Braga in 361. Clearly it is used here to mean the Jewish prayer shawl or tallith.
Priscus, doubtless aware of the danger he was in, nevertheless refused to carry a weapon, because, according to the Mishnah tractate Shabbat; ‘A man should not go out on (the Sabbath) carrying a sword, a bow, a cudgel, a stick, or a spear.’ Rabbi Eliezer had argued that such things could be considered adornments which would allow them to be carried on the Sabbath, but the Sages replied: ‘They [weapons] are a disgrace, as it is written, ‘And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore (Is. 2:4).’’ The Sabbath should be a presentiment of the world to come in which instruments of violence would have no place. But sixth-century Paris was a very different place from the world to come and Priscus’ observance proved fatal, for ‘Phatir appeared suddenly, and cut the throat of Priscus and his companions with his sword.’

The other part of the oral tradition, the liturgy, we can say little about at this early date as the earliest texts outside the Talmud date from the tenth century at the earliest. Efforts have been made to classify the varieties of the liturgy into ‘rites’ but these are largely an artifice of later standardisation after the production of printed liturgies from the fifteenth century. However, we may have a liturgical reference in an artefact from Spain. This is a white marble trough found in Tarragona and dated to the fifth or sixth century. The ‘basin’ some 15 cm by 57 cm is inscribed on one face with, on the left ‘שלום על ישראל ועולי מצוי אנופ (Peace on Israel and on us and on our children, Amen) and on the right the Latin, PAX and FIDES, either side of a menorah and tree of life (?) flanked by two very crude peacocks. The first half of the Hebrew is a standard phrase in funerary inscriptions from the period but it is also the simplest form of the final benediction for peace of the Amidah that developed into the forms Shalom raw and Sim shalom. Elbogen quotes a version of the Amidah from the Cairo Genizah in this early simple form; שמים שלום על ישראל ועולי מציו (Grant peace to Israel your people and to your city). The second half of the phrase has been taken from the benediction after the Shema. The phrase has thus been formed from the culminating benedictions of the two central parts of the liturgy, the Amidah and the Shema. The first is a petition for peace, the second the statement of the Jewish faith; pax and fides. Whilst the order of the two sections has been effectively reversed to create the phrase, the intention is clearly to evoke the liturgy and suggests the basin’s use was liturgical rather than funerary. It also confirms that in fifth- or sixth-century Spain the Hebrew liturgy was known and used.

5. JEWISH LATIN LITERATURE

Whilst it has been my concern in this paper to answer Edrei and Mendels’ contention that the Jews of the western Diaspora were cut off from Hebrew culture, the presence of a large Latin speaking Jewish community raises the interesting question of whether this community had its own Latin literature. We have already seen that Justinian’s novella 146 raises the
possibility of a Latin ‘targum’ of Scripture, but there are other texts that have been identified as products of a Jewish Latin community; the *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum, Liber Antiquitatum Bibliarum* and *Epistola Anne ad Senecam*. As the *Epistola* has been the subject of my own research, I will conclude with a short discussion of this very interesting text.

In 1984 the Latin palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff published a previously overlooked manuscript from the archiepiscopal library in Cologne. The manuscript purports to be a letter from a certain Anna (presumably meant to be Anna the high priest of 5–16 CE) to the philosopher Seneca the Younger; *Epistola Anne ad Senecam de superbia et idolis*. Bischoff regards the letter as a ‘Jewish apologetic missionary tract’ of the fourth century. Others have concurred with this interpretation. The *Letter* has been commonly dated to the fourth century based on assumptions about the letter’s purpose. Pointing out that imperial law tried to ban Jewish missionary activities from the time of Constantine onwards, Bischoff has tentatively suggested that the letter is likely to have been composed before 325. Wischmeyer suggests that the *Letter* must predate Jerome’s translation of the Bible because the citation of Genesis 2:7 differs from Jerome’s rendering in the Vulgate. However, neither of these arguments is convincing. Firstly, there is no evidence to suggest Jews would have used Jerome’s translation, they may well have translated directly from the Greek or Hebrew or have used a Jewish Latin translation prior to Jerome’s as we have discussed above. Secondly, the text of the *Letter*, although it refers to *nostra veritas* (‘our truth’), never mentions conversion as such. Momigliano, however, proposes that Anna was an otherwise unknown Jewish propagandist not identical to Bischoff’s high priest. The name is not common among Jews of Antiquity, but a certain didascalus Anna is referred to twice (along with *maiores Iudaorum*) in Late Imperial legislation on the Jews (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.9.3 (415 CE) and 16.8.23 (416 CE)). It has been suggested that this Anna acted as a sort of Chief Rabbi of the Jews of Italy. Though this is unsupported by any other evidence, he does seem to have represented the Jewish community to the court of Honorius at Ravenna. If there is a connection with this Anna we may have in the letter addressed to an aristocratic pagan audience Jewish participation in a Late Antique philosophical dialogue with pagan monotheism that would have certainly been congenial to the contemporary Synesius.

It is strange that the Letter has remained unidentified for so long and this is surely an indication of an academic blindness that failed to identify this Jewish text as it failed to identify the Jews Golb discovered lying in plain view in the French countryside. The

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73 For the *Collatio*, see Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 213–18. For a consideration of the *Liber Antiquitatum Bibliarum* as a Jewish ‘rewritten Bible’ see Tal Ilan, “The Torah of the Jews of Ancient Rome”, *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 16/4 (2009), 363–95.
74 B. Bischoff, *Anecdota Novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann Verlag, 1984); A. Momigliano, “The New Letter by ‘Anna’ to ‘Seneca’”, *Atheneaum* 63 (1985), 217–19; L. Cracco Ruggini, “La lettera di Anna a Seneca nella Roma pagana e cristiana del IV secolo”, *Augustinianum* 28 (1988), 301–25; W. Wischmeyer, “Die Epistula Annae ad Senecam. Eine jüdische Missionsschrift des Lateinischen Bereiches”, in J. van Amersfoort and J. van Oort, eds., *Juden und Christen in der Antike* (1991), 72–93. See also A.C. Sterk “The Letter of Anna to Seneca: a Late Antique Jewish Exhortation in Dialogue with Roman Paganism”, in S. Pearce, ed., *The Image and the Prohibition of the Image in Ancient Judaism* (Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series 2, Oxford, 2012), 170–81, and The Epistula Annae ad Senecam in its Historical and Literary Context (PhD Thesis, forthcoming).
75 A. Linder, *Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*, 273–6.
76 G. Vogler, “Les Juifs dans le Code Théodosien”, *Le plan théologique* 32 (1979), 35–74.
77 For late pagan monotheism, see P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede, eds., *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
78 An example of how Jews may have been overlooked in the archaeological record is given in the Appendix.
assumption remains that Jews constituted an insignificant community in the Latin west after the establishment of Christianity in the fourth century and remained such until the large-scale immigration of Jews from the South via Italy beginning in the ninth century. But much to the contrary we see that the Jewish communities of the western Diaspora remained a significant and vital part of western society whilst maintaining a strong and evolving connection with their Jewish and Hebrew traditions. The Jewish cultures of Ashkenaz and Sepharad, Rome and southern Italy (and a fortiori that of Byzantine Greece) were not alien imports into medieval Europe, but rather they grew organically from indigenous Romaniote communities with their roots deep in the Latino-Romance soil, kept vital by their continuing connection to the Hebrew Levant.

6. CONCLUSION

As I outlined at the beginning of this paper the historiography of this period has on the whole assumed that the period saw a wholesale retreat from the cities and that Jewish communities being urban followed suit, but the evidence now seems to indicate that there was both an unexpectedly widespread presence of rural Jews and a continuity of life in the cities and towns. The evidence I have presented also shows that western Jews maintained and indeed deepened their reliance on Hebrew culture and learning. The Jewish communities of western Europe, in lasting and frequent communication with Palestine, maintained a Hebrew-centred identity and culture that developed naturally through the period from a ‘normal’ Judaism to rabbinic ‘normative’ Judaism as developments in Liturgy and Halakhah filtered through to the West. Whilst the observance of many Jews in the west may have been no more strict than the ‘ammei ha’ares (‘people of the land’, ‘the common people’) so despised by the Rabbis of the Talmud it was a normal Judaism. There is absolutely no evidence that an abnormal ‘biblical’ Judaism existed in the west or that western rabbis had to combat such a ‘karaitisant’ heresy. The learned leaders of the community no doubt were instrumental in overseeing the development of everyday observance into ‘normative’ Judaism as the community became both more self-consciously Jewish vis-à-vis the Christian community and increasingly needed to rely on its own cultural resources as it became isolated from the wider community.

As Fergus Millar says, until now ‘the social, intellectual, and religious history of these Jews in the Latin-speaking environment of the western half of the later Roman Empire remains a largely unexplored field.’81 This present paper is more suggestive than comprehensive in its treatment of the evidence for these continuing Jewish communities, but it is to be hoped that future studies will look beyond the limited textual evidence to other sources (archaeological, linguistic, etc.) and begin to ask what might be the consequences to the “formation of Europe” of a significant Jewish Latino-Romaniote community in the Latin West surviving from late Antiquity into the Middle Age; the demographic and cultural substratum that lay beneath both Sepharad and Ashkenaz.

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81 F. Millar, “The Jews of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora” in H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers, eds., Rome, The Greek World, and the East, 3 vols (2006), vol. 3, 435.
7. APPENDIX – THE ‘CHURCH’ AT SILCHESTER\textsuperscript{82}

The town of Silchester (\textit{Calleva Atrebatum} – the civitas capital of the Atrebates tribe) was established by the Romans in the first century CE. It is unusual in that the site was abandoned some time in the mid-fifth century during the anarchy following the withdrawal of imperial authority from Britain by Honorius in 410 and remained unbuilt on apart from a church by the site of the east gate of the town. The town was excavated at the end of the nineteenth century by the London Society of Antiquaries who in a twenty year period from 1890 to 1909 exposed the whole area. Unfortunately this has meant that much material which would have provided important clues about the presence of wooden buildings that would have been revealed by modern techniques was also removed.

In the \textit{insula} immediately to the south of the Forum complex a small apsed basilican building with possibly a courtyard in front was discovered in the 1892 excavations which was immediately identified as a Romano-British church, evidently the first to be discovered in Britain. The building is 10 metres in length and 8.91 metres in width. The western third of both aisles is extended slightly to form two 7 metre square ‘transepts’ on either side of the apse. The remains of a mosaic was centrally placed in front of the apse. The building is in fact quite small, one in which a ‘congregation of fifty would have been uncomfortably crowded’.\textsuperscript{83} The building is described by John Ward in his \textit{The Roman Era in Britain} of 1911 as follows:

\begin{quote}
The only undoubted remains of a Christian church as yet known in this country were uncovered at Silchester in 1892, but as unfortunately they were very scanty, little remaining above the floor-level, the plan, [see fig. 2], is necessarily imperfect. The church was a small structure, only 42 ft. long and 27 ft. wide; nevertheless, the plan exhibits all the chief features of a typical early Christian basilica. Its orientation, as in many early Italian churches, was the reverse of the present custom, the chancel being to the west. It was entered through an internal porch or narthex, at the east end, and was divided into a nave and two aisles by arcades of which the sleeper-walls remain. Two transepts – the \textit{prothesis} and \textit{diaconicum} of early Christian writers – were apparently screened off from the aisles, but open to the western prolongation of the nave. The floor was of mosaic, and where the holy table stood was a decorated panel of finer work. The building stood in an oblong space, in which, in front of the narthex, was a square foundation which presumably supported the \textit{cantharus} [holy water font], and at its side a small pit, which probably received the waste water.
\end{quote}

This identification has generally been accepted. There are, however, a number of problems with this. Firstly, for a church to be placed so prominently near to the administrative centre of the town would mean that it was built after 313 when Christianity finally became a recognised \textit{religio licita}. It is extremely unlikely that a proscribed religious group would be allowed to build so close to the centre of the imperial administration and cult. Secondly, the description given above (and which has been generally accepted since) projects onto the building a pattern of liturgical design and practice that does not become normal until the sixth century and even then only in the Byzantine east. Thirdly, if the building is post-313, it is a pretty poor representation of the now imperially favoured religion. One would hardly

\textsuperscript{82} The following appendix is something of a thought experiment exploring the possibility of looking at such remains ‘Jewishty’. I intend to look at the Silchester ‘synagogue’ in more detail in a future article.

\textsuperscript{83} M.E. Jones, \textit{The End of Roman Britain} (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 176.
expect the great Constantinian basilicas like those of Trier and St Peter in this small provincial town, but certainly something a little more impressive. That the building is a church has been questioned by King who determined that ‘the best possibility of its use was for an eastern cult’ but he declined to say which cult he might have had in mind. Oddly, although King quotes Frere as saying; ‘Since, apart from synagogues (my emphasis), there are no examples of non-Christian shrines of appropriate date aping so closely the architectural arrangement of a Christian place of worship,’ he nevertheless does not in his paper consider this possibility. King compares the layout of the Silchester building to those of scholae, the meeting houses of Roman funeral and religious colegia, such as the Schola of the Nautae, Aventicum (Avenches, Switzerland). The comparison is very apposite as the colegia would have provided the legal framework for Jewish (and Christian) communities in the empire, and it is probably not a coincidence that Latin schola provides the word for synagogue in the Judeo-Romance languages; Yiddish, shul, Judeo-slavic škola, Italian escuola.

In 2004 Stephen Cosh re-examined the only evidence in the building that is possibly dateable, the mosaic in front of the apse (see fig. 3). Comparing this to very similar mosaics elsewhere in Britain, in Leicester, Gloucester, Wroxeter and Canterbury that are more precisely dated, he concluded that the building would have to have a terminus post quem of the late second century and can probably be dated to the late second or early third century, a date far too early to make it a church.86

84 A. King, “The Roman Church at Silchester Reconsidered”, Oxford Journal of Archaeology 2 (1983), 225–37.
85 E. Thomas, Monumentality and the Roman Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 123.
86 S.R. Cosh, “A Possible Date for the Silchester ‘Church’”, Britannia 35 (2004), 229–33.
Fig 3. The Silchester “Church” and Apse Mosaic in 1961 University of Reading, Silchester Insula IX (image previously available on website: www.rdg.ac.uk/AcaDepts/la/silchester/publish/guide/public.php)
If the building is not a church the question arises could it possibly be a synagogue? The assumption has been that Jewish communities were not present in Roman Britain, but it is not inherently impossible. We certainly have evidence of one near-eastern artisan Barates, a vexillarius (flag maker) from Palmyra, who settled in Wallsend in Northumbria, married a local British woman and had his grief at her death recorded on her tombstone in Aramaic. Also, judging by his name, the martyr Aaron of Caerwent who allegedly died in the Diocletianic persecutions may have come from a Jewish-Christian background. Given the evidence we have presented for extensive Jewish settlement in Northern Gaul, however, it would be surprising if there were not similar settlements in southern Britain. Silchester certainly had a number of foreign artisans as a collegia peregrinorum (guild of foreigners) was found to the east of the ‘church’ building.

Levine gives a number of criteria by which a synagogue might be identified: all or part of the following; Jewish symbols (e.g. the menorah), inscriptions mentioning the term ‘synagogue’, names of officials generally associated with this institution, distinctive personal names, the internal orientation of columns and/or benches towards Jerusalem, and the presence of a bimah, niche, or aedicula along the Jerusalem-oriented wall. Like many other public buildings a synagogue building might include a courtyard, entrances, a main hall with benches, columns, and often a series of ancillary rooms.\footnote{L. Levine, \textit{The Ancient Synagogue} (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 313.}

Clearly there is no epigraphic evidence that would firmly establish the use of this building, but each of the other elements can be discerned. The platform to the east of the entrance would have formed the base of a fountain central to an atrium filling the space between the building and the cardo (main street). Such an atrium is common on Roman basilicas and can be seen both on the original plan of the St Peter’s in Rome and the contemporary synagogue of Sardis. Indeed the whole building parallels that of Sardis, albeit it on a much humbler (and more characteristically smaller) scale. The mosaic in the centre of the apse is in the same location as the table at Sardis and may possibly have served as the location on which a portable ark could be placed. When not in use the Torah scrolls and the ark itself could have been kept either in an aedicula at the west (Jerusalem) end; this may have been the reason for the base found in the north of the narthex (see fig. 2). Alternatively the northern transept may have been used as a store for the scrolls and other instrumenta, as in the synagogue at Naro.\footnote{Ibid., 289.} The northern transept may alternatively have served as a communal treasury. The orientation with the entrance towards Jerusalem is common in early synagogues (cf. Sardis again). The orientation of prayer would be to the east wall or even to the windows in the east wall in accordance with the prayer of Daniel, who prayed towards Jerusalem through an open window (Dan. 6:11).

It is impossible on the evidence we have to establish that the building 	extit{was} a synagogue, it may have served another purpose entirely, but, given the date and location\footnote{Golb locates the medieval \textit{vicus Judaeorum}, the centre of the Jewish communities of Rothomagus (Rouen) and Reims in a similar area close to the Forum between the decumanus and cardo. See \textit{Jews in Medieval Normandy} (1998), 34–6.} of the building, if the building had a religious function then it is actually more probable that it was a synagogue rather than the accepted identification as a church. Needless to say this does not indicate that a Jewish community survived in Britain beyond the fifth century. It does
however indicate how evidence in western Europe might be reassessed if the possibility of extensive Jewish settlements is allowed for. At Silchester we may be fortunate that the abandonment of the town has meant the building escaped Christian destruction or appropriation. Perhaps other ancient churches situated in the enceintes of Roman towns, like St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln or St Pancras, Exeter or even Bede’s “building of antiquity” that so readily served as a chapel for the Christian, Frankish queen Bertha, consort of the pagan King Ethelbert of Kent, might be similarly reassessed.

ABBREVIATIONS

CCSL Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–)

JIWE D. Noy, Jewish Inscriptions in Western Europe vol. 1, Italy (excluding Rome), Spain and Gaul; vol. 2, The City of Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993, 1995).

MGH W. Arndt and Bruno Krusch, eds., Monumenta Germaniae Historica; scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, vol. 1 (Hanover, 1885; repr. 1961).

PL J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina. Patrologiae cursus completus; series latina (1844–55).

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"WHY THE NAME NEW TESTAMENT?"*

Bernard S. Jackson**

ABSTRACT: Both theology and philology suggest that the title of the Christian scriptures should have been “The New Covenant” rather than “The New Testament.” Why then did the Church Fathers from at least Tertullian in the 2nd century adopt novum testamentum? Was it simply a confusion of the LXX (covenant) and koine (a will) meanings of diatheke (διαθήκη)? I first review the translation history and the methodological issues it raises (section 1) and then turn to two very different theological approaches to the question (section 2): I reject the attempt of Behm to impose (a version of) the koine meaning (in his view, as a unilateral disposition) on the LXX (and subsequent literature, and even extending back to berit in the Hebrew Bible) as both theologically and legally inappropriate. Far preferable is the more recent account of Schenker, who sees the use of diathēma and diatheke in reference to meta ten tēleutēn transactions as having been chosen as appropriate to the terms of God’s covenant regarding the land and its use, and rightly shows the range of succession institutions to which this terminology could be applied. Both Behm and Schenker need to take positions on the forms of succession in vogue at the relevant periods (LXX and NT) in the Hellenistic and Jewish worlds. In section 3, I summarise the current state of knowledge and debate in legal historical studies, stressing the danger of assuming the features of modern “wills”, and noting the close relationship to political alliance (cf. covenant) in the “will” of the 2nd cent. BCE Ptolemy Neoteros of Cyrene. More generally, I argue that there is a connection between covenant and inheritance in the Hebrew Bible, including (but not restricted to) “spiritual inheritance” (section 4); that this was sharpened in the “Testament” genre of 2nd commonwealth (pseudepigraphical) literature, developing a model found already in the Hebrew Bible (section 5); that two New Testament texts explicitly associate covenant and (by analogy) testament (section 6); and finally that some aspects of the Roman testamentum (even more than the Jewish and Hellenistic forms of will) may well have proved theologically appealing to Tertullian, resulting in his adoption of the terminology of testamentum vetus and novum (section 7). In particular, the Roman testamentum took effect in its entirety only on death and automatically revoked any earlier will.

1. FROM BERIT (ברית), TO DIATHEKE (διαθήκη), TO TESTAMENTUM

Why the name New TESTAMENT? There is a fairly obvious, if superficial, linguistic explanation, which has long been known. The term for “covenant” in the Hebrew Bible is

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* I am greatly indebted to Dr. Jennifer Dines (Cambridge), Dr. Gerald Downing (Manchester), Professa. Daniela Piattelli (Rome) and Prof John (Jack) W. Welch (Brigham Young) for comments and substantial bibliographical assistance in the preparation of this paper. Comments by Philip Alexander, Adrian Curtis and Walter Houston on an oral presentation at the Ehrhardt Seminar of the University of Manchester, have also proved of great assistance.

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1 So Lincoln's conclusion to her article: 1999:27f.

2 According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, “Testament, New. 1. Name”, as at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14530a.htm: “Testament come from testamentium, the word by which the Latin ecclesiastical writers (from at least Tertullian in the late 2nd century) translated the Greek diatheke. With the profane authors this latter term means always, one passage of Aristophanes perhaps excepted, the legal disposition a man makes of his goods for after his death. However, at an early date, the Alexandrian translators of the Scripture, known as the Septuagint,
berit. The expression “new covenant” appears there only once, in the famous (eschatological) prophecy of Jeremiah 31:31–33 (MT 31:30–32):¹

(31) Behold, the days are coming, says the LORD, when I will make a new covenant (berit hadashah) with the house of Israel and the house of Judah (32) not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though I was their husband, says the LORD. (33) But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the LORD: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.⁴

The Septuagint translates berit hadashah here as διαθήκη καινή, in accordance with the standard LXX translation of berit as διαθήκη (though διαθήκη is sometimes used in the LXX also for other terms⁶). This is followed in New Testament citations of Jer. 31:31, quoted directly in Heb. 8:8 and paraphrased in 2 Cor 3:6. It is found also in the context of the eucharistic claim in 1 Cor. 11:23: “This cup is the new covenant in my blood” and in the synoptic versions of the last supper: Mark 14:24 and Luke 22:20.⁸

However, in koine Greek διαθήκη is not the normal term used for a treaty or agreement,⁹ but most typically refers to a ‘will’.¹⁰ Could it be, then, that the Church fathers, when writing in Latin, arrived at testamentum by adopting the koine meaning of διαθήκη rather than that of the LXX?¹¹

Neither “new covenant” nor “new testament” are actually used in the Christian scriptures to refer to themselves, although 2 Cor. 3:14 does use παλαιάς διαθήκης (rendered veteris testamenti in the Vulgate) to refer to the literary manifestation of the old covenant.¹² Rather

employed the word as the equivalent of the Hebrew berith, which means a pact, an alliance, more especially the alliance of Yahweh with Israel.” It adds: “. . . the expression Old Testament (he palaia diatheke) is found for the first time in Melito of Sardis, towards the year 170. There are reasons for thinking that at this date the corresponding word “testamentum” was already in use amongst the Latins. In any case it was common in the time of Tertullian.” In fact, παλαιάς διαθήκης is found already in 2 Cor. 3:14. See further n.12, infra.

¹ Biblical quotations are from the RSV, unless otherwise indicated.
² On the significance of the context, see Jackson, “Historical Observations . . .”, 7–9.
³ Jaubert 1963:311, noting (n.2) only three possible exceptions. Behm 1963:126 notes the use of συνθήκη for berit in LXX only once, in 2 Kings (4 Bas.) 17:15 (Alex), “though Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion later substituted [throughout] . . . what seemed to them to be the more literal συνθήκη”. Harl 1986:55 takes the substitution (also by Josephus) as motivated merely by the desire to keep to the most usual term in Attic Greek. The only other exception appears to be τος έν τοια διαθεσιν in 1 Kings (5 Bas.) 11:11. Similarly, Hughes 1979:39 notes that the verb συνθηκήσαται occurs 80 times in the LXX, on 74 occasions translating the Hebrew yarat, as in the standard LXX rendition of יתרא תרוי (the exceptions are all single occurrences, none suggestive of testamentary activity). On the significance of this standardisation, see the last four paragraphs of section 2, infra.
⁴ torah, edut (see below, at n.17), davar and katav: see Behm 1965:126.
⁵ On its origins in Jewish eschatological thought and its survival in the aḥkoman (“tasfan”) ritual of the Passover seder, see Daube, “He That Cometh”. See also LXX Jer. 38:8, which anticipates the restoration of Israel — and by implication the establishment of the new covenant — on Passover (though MT 31:7 has piseah = lame).
⁶ See further Jaubert 1963:447–49.
⁷ For which συνθήκη is commonly used: see Liddell & Scott, ad loc. (noting that the plural συνθήκαι, for articles of a treaty, is the more common usage). See, however, the example in Aristophanes (text at n.20, below), and the context in the will of Polemny Neoteris, discussed in s.3, infra.
⁸ On the range of testamentary dispositions to which διαθήκη may refer, see text at nn.124–136 and section 3, infra.
⁹ On the dependence of the Old Latin fragments of the Pentateuch on the LXX, see Swete 1914:93ff.
¹⁰ “But their minds were hardened; for to this day, when they read the old covenant, that same veil remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away” (kindly drawn to my attention by Walter Houston, noting that the reference is not necessarily to the Hebrew Bible as a whole, but certainly to the Torah, in the light of vv.14–15). It thus appears to be wrong to claim that the term ‘Old Testament’ occurs for the first time in Melito of Sardis.
we find “the Testimony of Jesus” (τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ)\textsuperscript{13} uses μαρτυρία to refer to Jesus’ testimony as to his mission, which might suggest a possible Latin confusion of testamentum and testimonium,\textsuperscript{15} perhaps reinforced by the fact that the Hebrew edut, literally testimony, is also used of the covenant\textsuperscript{16} and, though normally translated in the LXX as μαρτυρία μαρτυρία (= testimonium, Vulg. Deut. 4:45, 6:20), is also occasionally itself rendered there as διαθήκη.\textsuperscript{17}

1A FROM BERIT (准确性) TO DLATHEKE (διαθήκη)

The very formulation of the question as a choice between a “theological” (LXX/NT) and a “legal” (koine Greek) meaning of διαθήκη begs important linguistic questions. Is διαθήκη indeed a homonym, and if so is it a “true” homonym — one word used to express two completely independent meanings unrelated in origin — such as skate (glide on ice) and skate (the fish) — or is it a polysemous homonym, with a shared origin, such as mouth (of a river) and mouth (of an animal). Though I doubt that any of the commentators on this issue would claim that the term is a “true” homonym, discussion often appears to proceed as if that were the case (perhaps reflecting underlying binary oppositional assumptions such as Jew v Greek, legal v theological).

Yet a linguistic analysis by a classicist, Frederick Norton, already challenged such assumptions as long ago as 1908. Norton confined his study to classical Greek sources no later than 300 BCE; he stressed the importance of taking account of the διαθήκη

\textsuperscript{13} Re. 12:17, 19:10, ascribed to John of Patmos, and elsewhere, with reference to the 27 books. See Martin, “What is the “New Testament”? Is it the same as the New Covenant?” Hengel 2002:61 notes that Justin Martyr, First Apology 67:3 (155-157 CE), still refers to the New Testament as “the reminiscences of the apostles.”

\textsuperscript{15} “The Pharisees then said to him, ‘You are bearing witness to yourself; your testimony is not true.’ Jesus answered, ‘Even if I do bear witness to myself, my testimony is true (ἀλήθες ἡ ἡμείς μαρτυρία μου), for I know whence I have come and whither I am going, but you do not know whence I come or whither I am going.’”

\textsuperscript{16} The Vetus here uses testimonium (all witnesses in the digital edition of Burton et al, accessible from http://www. iohannes.com/vetuslatina/index.html). See also John 3:33: “he who receives his testimony sets his seal to this, that God is true (ὁ λογός στούτ η την μαρτυρίαν εσφαγείν ὁ θεός ἀληθινός).”

\textsuperscript{17} Deut. 4:45, 6:20 and frequently elsewhere, esp. Ps. 119. It is used also of the tablets at Exod. 32:15. On edut as indicating covenant, cf. Weinfeld 1975:257.

\textsuperscript{15} Mould, “Eduth in the Scriptures”, observes: “The words the LXX translators used to translate eduth are instructive. They used marturion or marturia with but four exceptions (all relating to ark of the covenant: Ex. 27:21; 31:7 [aron la’edut, construction of]; 39:35 (similar); Joshua 4:16 [carriers of aron ha’edut], when they used diatheke instead. In six occurrences eduth was not translated, but its nontranslation makes no significant difference to the passages concerned. Both marturion and marturia mean “a witness.” They therefore are most suitable Greek words by which to translate eduth, and it is not surprising that the LXX translators rarely depart from using them. . . . Diatheke also means ‘compact,’ ‘covenant,’ ‘agreement.’ . . . There can be little doubt that in the four instances where the LXX translators rendered eduth by diatheke they had in mind that eduth (the Ten Commandments) was the basis of Jehovah’s covenant with Israel.”
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(1908:11f.) and argued that writers on Greek law have failed to notice that διαθήκη is used not only for a will but also “to designate what might be called a solemn agreement or compact” (1908:5). Amongst six usages which he identified for the middle voice of the verb (διατίθεσθαι), he included (alongside “to dispose of one’s property according to his will, to make a disposition of it, to devise, to bequeath, to make a will”) “to dispose for one’s own interest, to make an arrangement or settlement for oneself in which another person or persons are necessarily involved . . .; . . . to settle the terms of (a dispute or quarrel), to make a covenant.” He explained the latter as “a solemn compact in which one party lays down the terms and the other agrees to them and binds himself by oath. This agreement is mutual,” but in a sense one-sided, and cited Aristophanes, *Birds* (1908:27–29). Similarly, with the noun διαθήκη, though one sense is indeed “disposition or arrangement which a man makes with reference to his property in view of death” (1908:31), “. . . the sense of arrangement or disposition is always present in a greater or less degree, together with some idea of mutuality” (1908:30). In his account of the noun, Norton clearly distinguishes different aspects of mutuality. One sense is: “4. A disposition of relations between two parties, where one party lays down the conditions which the other accepts. This is a “one-sided” transaction, in so far as one party does all the disposing; but, as another party is necessarily involved, and his consent is necessary to a settlement, it becomes to a certain extent a mutual agreement. διαθήκη is not used, like σύνθεσις, of an ordinary bargain or contract, but of a more dignified and solemn compact or covenant. In the case of σύνθεσις the convention is entirely mutual, both parties having an equal part in arranging the terms” (1908:31). Within this, he includes (1908:32f.) both “4a. An agreement, or settlement, arrived at by means of a disposition or arrangement of points in dispute, a mutual settlement”, citing Isaeus 6.23–32, on which he notes that in this context “This instrument served the purpose of a will as well as that of a compact” (including the fact that here, unlike a “mere will”, consent was required for its revocation) and “[4b] A disposition or settlement of relations between two parties, wherein one party

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18 Distinguishing συντίθεσις as denoting “an ordinary contract or bargain” (1908:28). Cf. at 1908:30 in relation to διαθήκη: “. . . this term is always used in a dignified sense, referring to a solemn transaction originally connected with religious rites and obligations.” See further 1908:31 (Sense 4), quoted in the text below.

19 Cf. 1908:29: “. . . in the middle voice the meanings are all very closely allied. There is always a disposition, laying-down, or setting-forth in order of something in one’s own interests, and then the idea of a second party being affected or involved, on whose course often the completion of the act depends; e.g. in the most common meaning, *To dispose of one’s property by will*, the one party makes dispositions which affect another party, and which do not have complete fulfilment without the concurrence of the second party. Here the idea of agreement is usually remote, but in some instances it becomes quite evident (esp. 3 and 6).”

20 This appears from his Chronological Concordance (1908:14) to be the earliest attested use of διαθήκη. At 1908:36–38 he provides a full translation of Aristophanes, *Birds* 435–61, “as sufficient context has never been given” (36), commenting that “This is evidently not a mere bargain or contract, but a solemn compact or covenant, ratified by oath” (37). Here, “Peisithetaerus will not put down his weapons until the birds agree to make a covenant with him, the terms of which he lays down . . . I do not think it would be possible to find a more definite and explicit example of the meaning of a word than that of διαθήκη in this passage. If there were no other occurrences of it in the language, this would be sufficient to establish clearly the signification of *solemn compact, or covenant*” (38).

21 At 1908:35 he comments on the “error” of eliminating “all elements of mutuality from it and make it so general as “legal transaction” or “instrument”. In its widest signification it is used to mean covenant, engagement, dealings, and undoubtedly always refers to some relation or relations between two parties.”

22 He notes at 1908:34: “In these passages Isaeus classes διαθήκαι amongst συμβάσεις (contracts) [cf. Plato, *Laws* 922a at 1908:33], and observes at n.1: “The senses of “testament” and “compact” were so closely allied that the same word could be used for both, and the orator could have either or both in mind as suited his argument.”
lays down the conditions, and the other accepts them and binds himself by oath or solemn promise to keep them; a settlement, arrangement, compact, covenant.}\(^23\)

In the same year as Norton’s book appeared, the New Testament theologians James Moulton and George Milligan published “Lexical Notes from the Papyri” (a precursor article to their later book), in which they strongly advanced a homonym model for διαθήκη, contrasting in oppositional form the koine and biblical uses,\(^24\) and implying a conceptual distinction between them based on the presence or absence of mutuality,\(^25\) reinforced by the distinction with συνθήκη: “. . . συνθήκη (which Aquila substitutes in Regn xxiii.21 for LXX διαθήκη) is to the last the word for compact, just as διαθήκη is always and only the word for will.” Moulton and Milligan characterised the usage of διαθήκη in Hebrews 9 (discussed in section 6 below), where they accepted that both senses are found,\(^26\) as one where the author used the “obsolete, Biblical word . . . then dropping into the modern use of it for the purposes of illustration” (one has to wonder whether “obsolete” here carries connotations beyond the purely linguistic).\(^27\) In their fuller treatment of 1914 (at 148), they were equally categorical about the limited range of διαθήκη in the koine: “In papyri and inscr., the word means testament, will, with absolute unanimity, and such frequency that illustration is superfluous” (at the same time begging the question of what is meant by a will in these sources). However, they here acknowledged Norton’s point\(^28\) that the meaning in classical Greek was wider.\(^29\)

Any thought of some special “Hebraic” flavour about the use of διαθήκη for covenant [in the LXX] is excluded by the isolated\(^30\) but absolutely clear passage of Aristophanes (Birds 439), where compact is the unmistakable meaning. This passage is enough to prove that διαθήκη is properly dispositio, an “arrangement” made by one party with plenary power, which the other party may accept or reject, but cannot alter . . . A will is simply the most conspicuous example of such an instrument, which ultimately monopolized the word just because it suited its differentia so completely. But it is entirely natural to assume that in the period of the LXX this monopoly was not established, and the translators were free to apply the general meaning as a rendering of berit. For this course there was an obvious motive. A covenant offered by God to man was no “compact” between two parties coming together on equal terms. διαθήκη in its primary sense, as described above, was exactly the needed word.

\(^{23}\) 1908:35, citing here the Aristophanes passage (n.20, supra), but also referring to the use of διατίθημα, discussed at 28f., citing also Xenophon, Mem. 2.6.23 and Plato, Laws 834A.

\(^{24}\) Although in their review of examples of koine vocabulary in the NT (1914:xv–xix), including legal terms (1914:xviii), διαθήκη is omitted.

\(^{25}\) Compare the attempt of Ferguson to eliminate any notion of mutuality from his account of the Macedonian inscriptions which refer to conditional wills, leaving money to the municipality in exchange for a monument or some other memorial to the deceased. For example, inscription 258 of c.79 C.E. records a conditional gift κατὰ διαθήκην to the βουλή of 1500 denarii on condition that an annual festival be conducted at a stated time. Ferguson 1913:42f. observes: “The transaction between the βουλή and the testator was not mutual. The testator took the initiative, named the recipient or beneficiary, and the conditions attaching to it, and his terms were authoritative.” More generally, he claims (at 46): “the most noticeable feature of the διαθήκη as it appears in the Macedonian inscriptions is that it always contains certain injunctions or commands which are to be executed after the decease of the person who gave them, and that the requirements are imposed without consulting the persons who are to execute them.” How can he know, and on what basis assume, that there were never such prior negotiations?

\(^{26}\) 1908:563f., strongly but politely rejecting the view of Westcott that it always means covenant in this chapter.

\(^{27}\) Cf. their use of “archaic” at 1914–29:148f., quoted infra, text at n.303.

\(^{28}\) Norton is included, amongst “recent monographs” (along with Behm, on whom see s.2, infra), at the end of the entry on διαθήκη.

\(^{29}\) 1914:148 (2nd column).

\(^{30}\) This overlooks the sources in Isaeus, Xenophon and Plato cited by Norton: see text at n.22, and n.23, supra.
But this overlooks a point strongly made and documented by Norton (distinguishing ἔμπνησις and διάρθησις\(^{31}\)). A “compact” does not have to be on equal terms. It can be a standard form “take it or leave it” contract, but even that requires acceptance by both parties (a prominent feature of the berit narrative of the Sinai pericope in Exodus\(^{32}\)). Moulton and Milligan prefer to see ἔμπνησις and διάρθησις as quite distinct (in the papyri and other non-literary sources): “ἔμπνησις [which they note is not found in the NT]. . . is to the last the word for compact, just as διάρθησις is always and only the word for will” (1914:148).

It is, of course, possible (and often necessary) to distinguish usages of the same word as found in different corpora – classical Greek literature on the one hand, non-literary papyri and inscriptions on the other; the LXX on the one hand, the NT on the other – and to arrive at different conclusions regarding their relationships. But the waters appear to be muddied by conceptualising the issue in terms of an opposition between “biblical” and “koiné” Greek. Apart from anything else, there seems to be little consensus on the very conception of koiné. Moulton and Milligan maintain that the main feature of New Testament Greek is that it was “the ordinary vernacular Greek of the period, not the language of contemporary literature” (1914:xii), and in their account of “anticipations of this view” they cite James Donaldson, who writes that “. . . the language used by the Septuagint and N(ew) T(estament) writers was the language used in common conversation, learned by them not through books but most likely in childhood from household talk, or, if not, through subsequent oral instruction”.\(^{33}\)

But it is surely impossible to maintain that the language of either the LXX or the NT is no more than that of the contemporary Greek spoken in the street,\(^{34}\) not least in the light of more recent studies of the relationship between oral and written language.\(^{35}\) Moreover, such broad claims elide any consideration of genre, linguistic level,\(^{36}\) (literary) intertextuality and the pragmatics of address to different audiences. At the very least, we surely have to restrict our claims to saying that the LXX and NT include expressions taken from the koiné, and not seek to reduce everything in them to koiné. Interestingly, the more recent work of Louw-Nida, applying a quite different linguistic approach based on “semantic domains”\(^{37}\) (and here directed towards the vocabulary of the New Testament), arrives at conclusions close to those of Norton. They see the meaning of διάρθησις as itself presupposing a reciprocal agreement, and view the LXX usage as a

\(^{31}\) See Norton 1908:31, Sense 4(a), quoted supra.

\(^{32}\) Exod. 19:8, 24:3,7. This is less prominent in the account in Deuteronomy (with Moses as narrator). But see Deut. 5:23.

\(^{33}\) Moulton and Milligan 1914:xii, citing “Greek Language: Biblical” in Kitto 1876:ii.170. Moreover, they quote Masson 1859:vii. for the view that “. . . the New Testament may be considered as exhibiting the only genuine facsimile of the colloquial diction employed by unsophisticated Grecian gentlemen of the first century . . . ” (emphases as in the original).

\(^{34}\) Danker and Bauer 2000:xv still understand koiné as “colloquial common speech”, but include Philo amongst our sources for it!

\(^{35}\) Especially after Ong’s 1982 classic.

\(^{36}\) Thus Decker 1994, summarizing Wallace 1994:8–23: “Part of the confusion lies in the failure to recognize that in any language there are three “levels”: the vernacular (the “language of the streets”, popular speech, rustic, colloquial), conversational (the spoken language of educated people; grammatically correct, but lacking the subtleties, etc. of literature), and literary (the polished Koine as written by scholars/academics; artistic expression in writing). Most NT writings fit the conversational category, though there are some that lean toward either end of the spectrum. The “mainline” group is represented by (most of) Paul and Matthew. On the edge of conversational, but leaning toward vernacular are Revelation, Mark, John, and 2 Peter. On the other side, leaning toward literary, are Hebrews, Luke-Acts, James, Pastorals, 1 Peter, and Jude.”

\(^{37}\) See Pitts 2006 for a description and n.1 there for further bibliography.
particular appropriation of this broad understanding. The choice of διαθήκη rather than συνθήκη is, for them, precisely “to emphasize the fact that the initiative for such a covenantal relationship existed with one person rather than being the result of negotiation and compromise”. 38 Indeed, support for an understanding of the διαθήκη as often, in effect, a ‘testamentary pact’ (after family consultations) may be taken from Stanley Porter’s discussion (2003:276–79) of the approach of Louw and Nida, in the context of their review of the account of Moulton and Milligan. The 3rd edition of Danker and Bauer (2000:228f.), while not following Louw-Nida, takes elements from both Moulton & Milligan and Norton, applying them differently to the LXX on the one hand, the NT on the other. They take διαθήκη to be used “exclusively” in Hellenistic times as “last will and testament”, and understand the LXX translation of בְּרֵאשִׁית by διαθήκη as retaining both “the component of legal disposition of personal goods while omitting that of the anticipated death of the testator” and “another essential characteristic of a testament . . . namely that it is the declaration of one person’s initiative, not the result of an agreement between two parties, like a compact or a contract”. 39 They do, however, accept (citing Norton amongst others) that there is a usage (their 3) of διαθήκη as compact, contract which “seems firmly established for Gr-Rom times” but appear to doubt that this meaning significantly influenced the New Testament, though they remark that the usage of the term διαθήκη in such a sense would serve again as a bridge to LXX usage.

1B FROM DIATEKE (διαθήκη) TO TESTAMENTUM

The Vetus Latina 40 appears, on the evidence of Tertullian 41 (and, probably within decades, by Irenaeus, 42 followed in the next century by Cyprian 43 and Lactantius 44 ) to have used

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38 Louw and Nida 1998:II.452, quoted with approval by Porter 2003:278.
39 “This is beyond doubt one of the main reasons why the LXX rendered by בְּרֵאשִׁית by δ. In the ‘covenants’ of God, it was God alone who set the conditions; hence covenant . . . can be used to trans. δ. only when this is kept in mind. So δ. acquires a mng. in LXX which cannot be paralleled with certainty in extra-biblical sources, namely ‘decree’, ‘declaration of purpose’, ‘set of regulations’.
40 In addition to published sources, I have accessed the on-line (subscription) Beuron database (at http://www.brepols.net/), which reproduces the Institute’s (still incomplete) card-index system whose “goal is the complete collection and critical edition of all surviving remnants of the Old Latin translations of the Bible from manuscripts and citations in ancient writers”; see further http://www.vetus-latina.de/en/institut_vetus_latina/institut.html. A full study would involve analysis of the data on every verse where διαθήκη occurs in the LXX. I have contented myself, for present purposes, with an examination of all such verses in Genesis, Exodus and Jer. 31:31–33, and a sample from almost all other books of the Hebrew Bible. Within each verse, each card is numbered in the form (as in the next note) 80/84 (here normally within square brackets), meaning card number 80 of a total of 84 (of which card 1 is a heading for the verse and card 2 is always the rendering of Jerome’s Vulgate, from the Hetzenauer edition of 1906).
41 Adv. Jud. 3, 7: Ecce enim dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et disponam domui Iudae et domui Iacob testamentum novum . . . [Beuron 80/84 on Jer. 31:31, cf. http://www.tertullian.org/latinvetus-judaecom.htm, ch.III.6]; cf. Adv. Marcionem 1, 1, 6: Ecce veniet dies, dicit dominus, et perficiam domui Iacob et domui Iudae testamentum novum [Beuron 83/84]; Adv. Marcionem 1, 20, 4: Sic et Hieremiam: et disponam testamentum [Beuron 82/84]; Adv. Marcionem 3, 11, 4: testamentum novum non alterius erit qui illud repromisit [Beuron 84/84].
42 Adversus haeres 4, 9, 1: Ecce disponam ( - ) testamentum novum [Beuron 63/84]; 4, 33, 14: qui dicunt, dispositorum Deum Testamentum novum hominibus [Beuron 64/84].
43 Testimonia libri, 1, 11 [p.46, 19 Hartel ed., 1866]: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 48/84]; ibid., 3, 20: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo in domum Israel et in domum Juda testamentum novum [Beuron 49/84].
44 Deiue Institutes, 4, 20, 6 (Brandt ed., p.365, 6): ecce dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domui Israel
testamentum in Jer. 31:31. Fischer adopts it in his Vetus Latina edition of Genesis, in almost every instance where the LXX rendered berit as διοθηκη.45 Augustine also adopts testamentum in citations of Jer. 31:31 in a host of sources,46 though in other contexts he appears to express some surprise at this translation,47 but defers to what he takes as the LXX koine meaning.48 But Jerome, when he translated directly from the Hebrew (and often, but not always49 in his exegetical writing), used the more accurate foedus45 or pactum31 (anticipating modern scholarship's interest in the relationship between berit and the ancient Near Eastern treaty tradition50) both

et domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 69/84]; ibid., 4, 20, 10 (Brandt ed., p.366, 4) consummaturum se domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 69/84]. See further text at n.292, infra.

Gen. 6:18, 9:9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 15:18, 17:2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 21:27, 31:44, the exceptions being Gen. 9:17 (apparently following Quentin) and 26:28.

Beuron cards 21-41/84 on Jer. 31:31, including De civitate dei 17, 3: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 21/84]; cf. ibid., 18,33 [Beuron 22/84]; Questions de Deuteronomio 11 [Beuron 23/84]; Ep. 82, 18 (370, 2); per Hieremiarum promissum est datum rex testamentum novum domui Iuda [Beuron 24/84]; cf. Ep. 82 [Beuron 25/84]; Contra Faustum Manichaeum 52 [Beuron 27/84]; De gestis Plogici 14 [Beuron 29/84]; Adv. Jud. 6, 6, 0 [Beuron 29/84]; Contra Iulianum 3, 84 [Beuron 31/84]; Enarrationes in Psalmos 73, 25, 10 (1020) [Beuron 32/84]; Sermones 155, 6 [Beuron 36/84]; Sermones (Dolbeau ed.) 17, 17-18 [Beuron 37-39/84]. Pepino 2011:168 cites Ep. 138:1.7: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL) 44:132, 16-20, for the use of testamentum in Jer. 31:31. However, he is clearly wrong when he claims: “This Vetus Latina variant of Jer 31:31 is specific to Augustine: Beuron n° 29 Adv. Judeos 6.8 [PL 42:56] and n° 40 Serm. Etai 2.71, 60–61. It is found nowhere else.” Indeed, he himself also cites Eucherius (ca. 380–449) as using testamentum in another briefer citation of Jeremiah in Form 1011–12 of Formulae spiritualis intelligientiae. Instructionum libri duo (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (CCLS) 66:62): “in prophetae: Et confirmabo testamentum super domum Iuda.”

Both involving a berit between two humans, resolving a dispute. Thus, in Gen. 21:27 (Abraham and Abimelekh), Augustine, Locationum in Heptateuchum 1, 68 (388, 264) observes: Et disposuerunt ambo testamentum, vel testati sunt ambo; amat scripturae pro pacto ponere testamentum, id est διοθηκην. Quod latini habent: et disponemus tecum testamentum” [Beuron 6/9].

Exod. 6:4, in Locationum in Heptateuchum 1, 68 (388, 264): Statui testamentum meum ad illos, ita ut darem illis terram Chanaanaeorum et terram, quam incoluerunt, in qua et incoluerunt in ea. Sic enim habet graecus, quod utique et in graeca lingua absurde sonare. Et tamen Septuaginta interpretum auctoritas tanta est, quos ita

Testamentum meum fuit cum eo . . . [11/25 of Mal. 2:5].

Commentarius in Malachiam 2 (Migne 25, 1536B): . . . testamentum sacerdotii [13/20 of Num. 25:13]: Origenis in Ieremiam homiliae 6: maledictus homo qui non audiét verba Testamenti hujus [5/6 of Jer. 11:3]: Commentarius in Hezechiæm 4 (Migne 25, 130C): ingressus sum in testamentum tecum [10/25 of Ezk. 16:8]; cf. 14/25, 17/25, 18/25; Commentarius in Commentarius in Malachiam 2 (1556A): Testamentum meum fuit cum eo . . . [11/25 of Mal. 2:5].

Barrows, Companion, 91: “A striking example of the superior accuracy of Jerome’s independent version above his simple revision of the old Latin is the passage Jer. 31:31–33 as compared with the quotation of the same, Heb. 8:8–10. In the former, where the translation is made immediately from the Hebrew, we read: “Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, that I will make for the house of Israel and the house of Judah a new covenant (foedus): not according to the covenant (pactum) which I made with their fathers,” etc. In the same passage, as quoted in the epistle to the Hebrews, where we have only a revision of the old Latin, we read: “Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, that I will accomplish for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah a new testament (testamentum) not according to the testament (testamentum) which I made for their fathers. . . .” See further instances of Jerome’s adoption of the VI in nn.55–56, infra.

Jer. 31:31 (quoted in n.50, supra) is not the only place where Jerome adopts both foedus and pactum to translate two occurrences of berit in the same verse, the stylistic variation clearly indicating that he regarded the two terms as essentially synonymous. See also his translations of Gen. 17:7, 13, 19. From a review of Jerome’s use of foedus and pactum in all the passages in Genesis and Exodus where the LXX renders berit as διοθηκη, it is difficult to discern any distinguishing criterion for his choice of the one rather than the other.

McCarthy 1963; Kitchen 1989. For further literature, see Hahn 2005:65 n.2, who stresses in his article the cultic-liturgical dimension of the ANE treaty-covenants.
in his rendering of \textit{Jer} 31:53 and elsewhere,\textsuperscript{54} though he too uses \textit{testamentum} twice in \textit{Jer} 31:31, apparently here following the VL,\textsuperscript{53} and once where he offers both \textit{testamentum} and \textit{pactum} as alternatives.\textsuperscript{56} However, the Vulgate rendering of \textit{berit} in \textit{Jer} 31:31 as \textit{foedus} did not inhibit later writers from using \textit{testamentum},\textsuperscript{57} many no doubt influenced by the fact that Jerome’s Vulgate itself uses \textit{testamentum} when translating New Testament citations of \textit{Jer} 31.\textsuperscript{58}

We may doubt that Tertullian, who uses \textit{testamentum} both in translating \textit{Jer} 31:31\textsuperscript{59} and in referring to the biblical scriptures\textsuperscript{60} (though he more commonly uses \textit{instrumentum} for the latter\textsuperscript{61}) simply made a linguistic mistake. Though credited with some knowledge of Roman law,\textsuperscript{62} he

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Explanationum in Esaiam} 2: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et feriam domui Israel et domui Juda foedus novum [Beuron 61/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)]; cf. \textit{Adversus Joviniianum} 2, 27: apparently with Jacob instead of Juda [Beuron 59/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)].

\textsuperscript{54} See card 2 in the Beuron database for each of the following verses: \textit{foedus} in \textit{Gen.} 6:18, 9:12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 17:2, 11, 21:27, 26:28, \textit{Exod.} 2:24, 6:4, 23:32, 24:7, 24:8, 31:7, 34:10, 28; both \textit{foedus} and \textit{pactum} in \textit{Gen.} 9:9, 11, 17:4, 9, 10, 14, \textit{Exod.} 6:5, 19:5, 31:16, 34:10, 15; both \textit{foedus} and \textit{pactum} in \textit{Gen.} 9:16, 17:7, 13, 19. See also \textit{amicitias} in \textit{Exod.} 34:12 (forbidding Israel from entering into a \textit{berit} with the inhabitants of the land).

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Epistulae} 112, 14; ecce dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domui Israhel et domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 57/58/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)], apparently (from the identical spelling of Israhel) following Lactantius (n.44, \textit{supra}). Cf. \textit{Explanationum in Esaiam} 12: ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et ponam testamentum novum [Beuron 62/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)].

\textsuperscript{56} In \textit{Hieremiam prophetam} 6, 26 (Reiter ed. p.406, 1); disponam domui Israhel et domui Iuda pactum – sive testamentum [Beuron 60/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)].

\textsuperscript{57} E.g. 5th cent.: Evagrius Gallicus, \textit{Altercatio} (c.430 CE) 5; et hieremias dicit: ecce dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Iuda testamentum novum [Beuron 51/84]; Hesychius (d. after 451) \textit{Commentarius in Lexicum} 5, Migne 1865 18 p.1009D: dabo vobis testamentum novum [Beuron 55/84], \textit{ibid.}, 7 Migne 1865 26 p.1143C: et constituam vobis testamentum novum [Beuron 56/84]; Pope Leo I (440–461), \textit{Commentarius in Leviticum} 2: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Juda testamentum novum [Beuron 57/84 (\textit{Jer.} 31:31)].

\textsuperscript{58} Thus \textit{Vulg.} \textit{Heb.} 8:8–9, 10:6/17.

\textsuperscript{59} See n.41, \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{60} Against \textit{Marcion}, book 4, chapter 6: “For it is certain that the whole aim at which he [Marcion] has strenuously laboured even in the drawing up of his Antitheses, centres in this, that he may establish a diversity between the Old and the New Testaments (\textit{Vetseris et Novi Testamenti} diversitatem), so that his own Christ may be separate from the \textit{Amphitrite}, as belonging to this rival god, and as alien from the law and the prophets”, as quoted by Martin, “What is the “New Testament”? . . .”, citing also book 3, chapter 14. Marcion advocated the complete rejection of the “Old Testament” by Christians, but his original writings – reconstructions of New Testament texts in accordance with his theology, thus in Greek – have not survived.

\textsuperscript{61} Hengel 2002:61 n.10 claims that Tertullian does so because the legal term possessed the special meaning of “evidence” or “the document to be produced before the court” (citing Zahn, 1888:106). Barrows, \textit{Companion}, 91, notes that “another Latin term for the two great divisions of the Bible was \textit{instrumentum}, instrument, document; a term applied to the documents or body of records relating to the Roman empire, and very appropriate, therefore, to the records of God’s dealings with men”, but maintains that as early as the time of Tertullian, \textit{testamentum} was more common. The term \textit{instrumentum} may well reflect the NT terminology of \textit{μαρτυρία}.

\textsuperscript{62} Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, 155–230, Carthage (where he ultimately became Bishop) is thought to have been the son of a Roman centurio procuratoris, who had legal functions; see Eusebius, \textit{Church History}, II, ii, 4, and Jerome’s \textit{De viris illustribus}, chapter 53. His knowledge of Roman law (Eusebius, ii. 2) is discussed by Barnes, \textit{Tertullian}, 24, 27. His identification with the classical Roman jurist Tertullian, whose work is used in Justinian’s Digest, is nowadays doubted.
also wrote some (now lost) works in Greek,63 and would surely have been aware that testamentum did not fit the standard uses of διαθήκη as a translation of berit in the LXX. For while διαθήκη is the standard translation of the Hebrew berit throughout the LXX,64 testamentum, though a common translation of διαθήκη from very early times (as early as the Latin translation of the Epistle of Barnabas65 and Irenaeus66), is not adopted as the standard (i.e. almost invariable) Latin translation in those passages: pactum and foedus are also found, in both pre-Vulgate Old Latin (V etus Latina) versions67 and later68 sources, and other terms are also occasionally found.69 On the other hand, there is far greater consistency in the choice of testamentum in those passages which appear to have carried the heaviest theological weight for the church, namely “new covenant” in Jeremiah 3170 and “blood of the covenant” in Exod. 24:8,71 the allusion in the eucharistic claim72 (again here reinforced by the Vulgate’s use of testamentum in NT passages that cite or allude to them73). Conversely, there appears to be an avoidance of testamentum in passages (at least in Genesis74) where the berit/διαθήκη is to resolve a dispute between humans.

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63 At the very beginning of his De virginibus velandis (available in English at http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf04/anf04-09.htm#P545_113997), he refers to an earlier non-Latin version. On his lost treatise on Heretical Baptism, see “Early Christian Writings: Tertullian”, at http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/info/tertullian-wace.html. Anf04-09.htm#P545_113997), he refers to an earlier non-Latin version. On his lost treatise on Heretical Baptism, see “Early Christian Writings: Tertullian”, at http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/info/tertullian-wace.html.

64 See n.5, supra.

65 Epistula Barnabae (mid 2nd cent.). 4.7 (Heer 1908, p.30, 18) on Exod. 34:28 (where, in the MT, Moses wrote the words of the berit; et accipet testamentum a domino [Beuron 30/80]; ibid., 14,2 (Heer 1908, p.77, 10) on Exod. 24:18 and 31:18: (where the tablets of the edut are given to Moses): Et erat Moyses ieiunans in monte Sinai, ut acciperet testamentum a domino, quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, et accepit a deo tabulas scriptas (mid 2nd cent.) 4.7 (Heer 1908, p.30, 18) on Exod. 34:28 (where, in the MT, Moses wrote the words of the berit; et accipet testamentum a domino [Beuron 30/80]; ibid., 14,2 (Heer 1908, p.77, 10) on Exod. 24:18 and 31:18: (where the tablets of the edut are given to Moses): Et erat Moyses ieiunans in monte Sinai, ut acciperet testamentum a domino, quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, et accepit a deo tabulas scriptas manu dei [Beuron 57/121 of Exod. 31:18].

66 See n.42, supra.

67 Fischer appears to adopt pactum in Gen. 9:11, following Quentin, and in Gen. 26:28, based on Rufinus.

68 E.g. pactum in Bede, Libri 1 in Genesim (109C) [7/13 of Gen. 9:9] and elsewhere; foedus in Isidorus, De Natura rerum 31,2 [10/15 of Gen. 9:11]; Breviarium Gothicum (Migne (1850) 86, 305A [42/84 of Jec 31:31].

69 E.g. in Josh. 9:6 we variously find iuratio (Augustine [9/14]), pact (Breviarium Gothicum [10/14]) and amicitia (Cassiodorus [11/14]).

70 See nn.46 and 57, supra. In the Beuron database for Jec 31:32 there are 11 occurrences of pactum, 1 of foedus, 41 of testamentum (a significant proportion from Augustine, who is consistent in his usage). There are 7 entries for Jerome: 4 have testamentum, 2 have pactum, 1 has pactum sive testamentum (cf. n.56, supra for Jec 31:31). A similar pattern is found in the entries for Jec 31:33: 8 occurrences of pactum, 0 of foedus and 21 of testamentum. In this context, Jerome, In Hieremiam prophetam 6, 26 (Reiter ed. p.405, 1) observes: quod autem pactum pro testamento ponimus, Hebraicae veritatis est, licet et testamentum recte pactum appellatur, quia voluntas in eo atque testatio eorum, qui pactum iununt, continetur [Beuron 38/38 on Jec 31:33].

71 In the Beuron database for Exod. 24:8 there are 2 occurrences of foedus (one being the Vulgate) and 12 of testamentum. Quodvultdeus, Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei 2, 1 has in testimonium accepimus [Beuron 16/18].

72 See text at n.8, supra.

73 Thus Vulg. Matt. 26:28, Mark 14:24, Luke 22:20, 1 Cor. 11:25.

74 Gen. 21:27: 2 occurrences of testamentum, both from Augustine; 2 (apart from the Vulgate) of foedus, 2 (also from Augustine) of pactum; Gen. 26:28: 2 occurrences of testamentum, both from Augustine; 2 (apart from the Vulgate) of foedus, 1 each of execratio and coinjuratio; Gen. 31:44 (Jacob and Laban), where testamentum is used again by Augustine (here joined by Cassiodorus), while foedus occurs 3 times. However, Fischer adopts testamentum in Gen. 21:27 and 31:44 but not 26:28. On Augustin in the first two of these sources, see further n.47 supra.
2. TWO LEGAL-THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF διαθήκη

In 1912, Johannes Behm\(^ {25} \) published a 116 page monograph\(^ {76} \) entitled Der Begriff Diathke im Neuen Testament (Leipzig: Deichert), whose potential influence\(^ {77} \) has remained, insofar as Behm penned the article on διαθήκη in the widely-consulted Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (1935), now available also in English.\(^ {78} \) In the latter article he quotes (at 125) the statement of Moulton and Milligan\(^ {79} \) that “διαθήκη is properly dispositio, an “arrangement” made by one party with plenary power, which the other party may accept or reject, but cannot alter. A will is simply the most conspicuous example of such an instrument, which ultimately monopolized the word just because it suited its differentia so completely”,\(^ {80} \) but adds, apparently with reference Jewish sources, that “the existing examples of the more general sense of “disposition” are all to be found in the religious sphere”. Yet even in following Moulton and Milligan in support of a more general meaning of διαθήκη in the koine as “ordinance” or “disposition”, he has to concede that this finds literary expression “only in [one] disputed passage”.\(^ {81} \) He maintains that the usage as “agreement” or “treaty” is found “only” in Aristophanes’ Birds.\(^ {82} \)

Behm sought to reduce the distance between the LXX and koine meanings\(^ {83} \) in the light of a theology of unilateral grace.\(^ {84} \) Though this was immediately recognised as reflecting “one

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\(^ {25} \) 1883–1948, Lutheran Theologian, Göttingen.

\(^ {76} \) Behm cites the work of Norton (1908) in his 1912 monograph, noting at 1912:2 that it is limited to classical sources.

\(^ {77} \) See the use made of Behm’s linguistic analysis in Selb, “διαθήκη im Neuen Testament”, summarised by Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 43. See also Lincoln 1999:4-5 (citing Behm’s article as, and seemingly attributing it to, “Kittel”).

\(^ {78} \) Behm, Sections B-D of “διαθήκη”, TDNT II:124–34.

\(^ {79} \) 1919:148. In TWNT/TDOT (see 1965:106 n.5) Behm lists Norton in the bibliography for his article on διαθήκη, but does not otherwise refer to it.

\(^ {80} \) Cf. Jaubert 1963:312.

\(^ {81} \) Behm, ibid., quoting Dinarchus, Fragments or Orations 1, 9 (see now the Loeb edition of Minor Attic Orators, Vol.2), referring to the decrees or statutes of the Areopagus.

\(^ {82} \) Behm 1965:125. He comments: “This is a treaty between two parties, but binding only on the one according to the terms fixed by the other.” Perhaps this explains why (on Behm’s own account) it is so rare: the biblical covenant is binding on God, in terms of the commitment of protection, even if the specific rules laid down relate only to human conduct, and are there on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. At 1912:11, he mentions Norton’s treatment of Aristophanes’ Birds. Elsewhere, he notes the use of διανομή in Ditt. Syll.3, 205, 10ff: see n.88, infra. See also Jaubert 1963:311 and the context in the will of Ptolemy Neoteris, discussed in s.3, infra.

\(^ {83} \) Behm 1965:126 (under the rubric “The Transition from διαθέσεως to διαθήκη in the LXX and Jewish Literature”; see also 1912:17-34), argues from the fact that διαθέσεως in the LXX, apparently “in both poetic parallelism and lists in prose . . . is related to such concepts as nomos, prostagma, etc. . .” and then jumps to “As a synonym of nomos etc.” At 126, he translates διαθήκην εἰρήνης in LXX Num. 25:12f. as “an ordinance which brings salvation”. Again at 126: “διαθήκη” is especially used for the declaration of the divine will at Sinai which is the divine disposition par excellence in the OT . . .

\(^ {84} \) See Behm, ibid., at 126f, commenting on διαθήκη in the LXX as a concept which “hovers between the senses of “covenant” and “disposition” . . . [to be explained not only in terms of the Greek term itself but also] “the complex content of the word berit which the translators were seeking to grasp”, one which transcended the “originally legal” meaning and came to indicate “a free declaration of the divine will to man’s salvation . . . the exclusively determinative will of the divine author emerged in clearer focus” (127). This leads ultimately to Jer. 31:31 where berit is “the free gift of God, as the declaration of His saving will, as the revelation of grace, in relation to which Israel can be only a recipient”, so that the LXX διαθήκη is a religious concept, representing a “significant development of the Hebrew term even while preserving its essential content”. See further infra, text at nn.97–114.
specific line of the part played by the covenant-idea in Reformed Theology”,
But see the first paragraph of section 3, infra.
Behm also argued also from the meanings of the middle voice (especially διέθετο) of the verb διατίθημι (1965:104ff). Despite acknowledging the meaning “less frequently, and only in older texts . . . to come to an arrangement or to order things with others”, he applies his (theological) conclusion not only to the LXX but also to the Apocrypha, and the NT: “The term is obviously a formula for the gracious will of God disclosed in history . . .”
Indeed, he seeks to project this back even to the berit of the Hebrew Bible (for which there is a – purely etymological – argument). He concludes:

In both form and content the NT use of διαθήκη follows that of the OT. The only difference is to be found in the step from prophecy to fulfilment . . . Neither “covenant” nor “testament” reproduces the true religious sense of the religious term διαθήκη in the Greek Bible. διαθήκη is from first to last “the disposition” of God, the mighty declaration of the sovereign will of God in history, by which he orders the relation between Himself and men according to His own saving

85 Vos, Review: “All this is very fine and it may even seem beautifully to fit into one specific line of the part played by the covenant-idea in Reformed Theology. If διαθήκη stands for the sovereignty and monergism of God in salvation, then it is an eminently Augustinian and Calvinistic idea.”
86 Citing, e.g., Plato Leg IX.923e, Epicetetus, IDISS, II, 13,7, and Papyri such as BGU 19.
87 Citing, e.g., Xenophon, Mem., 2.6.23 (cf. Norton, infra n.23). He argues that even here “The emphasis . . . does not fall on the reciprocal nature of the action. The element of reaching a decision being still strong, it falls rather on the legally binding character of the decision reached either in relation to or with respect to others”, despite having earlier in the same paragraph cited not only the usage in Aristophanes, Birds (infra n.9), but also Ditt. Syll.3, 205, 10ff: τίνα φιλίαν και τήν συμμαχίαν . . . ἢν διέθεντο πρὸς ἄλληλας αἱ πόλεις (“to establish friendship and covenant relationship”).
88 Behm 1965:127: “The OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha present much the same picture as the LXX . . . All this goes to show that the primary thought is that of (God’s) disposition, “order” or “institution”, χορηγήσις being used for “covenant” or “treaty” in 1 Macc. 10:26, 2 Macc. 12:1, Wis. 1:16 etc.” (But) “an extreme development of legalism is combined with eschatological hope in the OT concept of the Damascus writing” (citing ναυτική τάξις in 6:19, 8:21). On διαθήκη in the Greek Sirach, see also Jaubert 1963:315.
89 Behm 1965:128 argues that Philo uses συνθήκη for “treaty”, “covenant” except where quoting from the LXX: “He lays the strongest possible stress on the element of the absolute one-sidedness of the expression of the will of the gracious God, Som. II. 223 . . . As an allegorist, however, he imports into the LXX concept the everyday sense of “testament”” (citing DSL II, 16, but Philo is not citing the LXX here, and the text διαθήκη has been doubted: see Loeb edition ad loc.): “The majesty of the divine διαθήκη in the OT is seen by contrast with human testimonies [citing Som. II. 224 and Mut. Nom 52 on Gen. 17:2]. . . . Philo obviously realised that his figurative interpretation of the divine διαθήκη as a testament differed from the true biblical sense. His knowledge of this sense could in fact be deduced, even if there is no direct evidence, from his hermeneutical principles (the literal and allegorical sense). Even in Philo the firmly developed religious concept of the LXX shines through the enveloping imagery.” See also Behm 1912:34-37. On Mut. Nom. 52, see further n.101, infra.
90 Behm 1965:128 (concluding his account of Philo), and at 129ff. on the religious sense of διαθήκη in Paul: Rom. 11:27, Rom. 9:4, Eph. 2:12 διεθέσατι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας; Harl 1986:55 has noted that the latter term (promise) is not found in the LXX, 2 Cor. 3:6. See also Behm 1912:44-49. But see further, on Galatians, s.6 infra.
91 Behm 1965:134, but see s.4, below. He also has some brief comments on berit in rabbinic Judaism and its interpretation of Jer. 31:31: see Behm, ibid., at 128ff. and (late) sources there cited.
92 On berit as disposition in the Hebrew Bible, see Weinfield, TDOT II.255, arguing that the original meaning, based on an etymology from Akk. biritu (clasp, fetter) is the idea of a bond rather than an agreement, so that it implies first and foremost the notion of “imposition”, “liability” or “obligation” [citing Ps. 111:19, Judges 2:20] . . . berit is synonymous with law and commandment . . . and the covenant at Sinai in Ex. 24 is in essence an imposition of laws and obligations upon the people (vv.3-8)”. Yet those very verses twice record the acceptance of the terms by the people (see n.32, supra).
purpose, and which carries with it the authoritative divine ordering, the one order of things which is in accordance with it. \footnote{Behm 1965:134.}

But not only does such a construction project back a later Christian model of covenant on to the LXX (a Jewish translation) and the Hebrew Bible itself. It is also far too “systematic” to do justice to the complexity (and interest) of the legal historical development. Behm takes it for granted that διαθήκη is a technical term in Greek jurisprudence, corresponding to our understanding of “last will and testament”. But neither aspect of this assumption is solid. We find in fact that “testamentary succession” was weakly institutionalised in Greek and Hellenistic times,\footnote{Yaron 1960:18 comments similarly on the tannaitic institutions: “At first these practices were probably extra-legal, and depended for their effect upon the readiness of those concerned to acquiesce in the changes brought about by the deceased.”} and that the terminology of διαθήκη (and the verb from which it derives) could be applied to a range of arrangements,\footnote{See further s.3, infra, esp. at n.125. Yaron 1960:34 observes: “... as far as Greek (and Hellenistic) law is concerned, the distinction between unilateral and bilateral dispositions means much more to us, trained to distinguish and classify, than it meant to Greek lawyers.”} none of which have all the incidents of the “last will and testament” with which we are familiar: a secret, written instrument, taking effect only at death (and thus covering the “estate” as it existed at that moment) but entirely revocable by the “testator” up to that time.

Paradoxically, a more satisfactory account of the theological development of the covenant concept may now be derived from studies of the Greco-Roman background of χάρις (grace), whose use in Christian theology clearly informs Behm’s analysis.\footnote{See Zobel, TDOT V:60 on the “stereotyped formula” that links hesed and heret: “keeping the covenant and showing kindness/mercy as attributes of God”: 1 Kings 8:23 (= 2 Chron. 6:14); Deut. 7:9, 12; Neh. 1:5, 9:32; Dan. 9:4. Freedman and Lundblom, TDOT V:25, contrasting the mutuality of the relationship of τὸς with that of ἴν (hen): “Unlike hesed, hen can be withdrawn without consequence, since it is given freely.”} In the Hebrew Bible, covenant is associated in some sources with ḥesed, variously translated lovingkindness or mercy: God is said to keep the covenant and show mercy.\footnote{Philo, de mutatione nominum 51–52, on the covenant with Abraham: “With good reason then did He say, ‘Become blameless’, for he holds that freedom from sin and guilt is a great furtherance towards a happy life. And to him who was elected to live in this fashion He promises to leave a covenanted portion (κλήρον κατὰ διαθήκας απολείπειν) such as is fitting for God to give and man to receive, for He says ‘I will set my covenant between me and between thee’ (Gen. xvii.2). Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace (διαθήκην χάριτος) which God has set between Himself who proffers it and man who receives.” Translation of F.H. Colson, Philo vol.5 (London: Heinemann, 1934; Loeb Classical Library). We may note that in this passage Philo apparently uses the term διαθήκη in both the theological and the Koine senses, linked by the association with χάρις in the hellenistic patronage sense. See further Harrison 2003:125, in the context of an overall account of χάρις in Philo (114–33).} Such “covenant love”\footnote{See particularly DeSilva 1999, Harrison 2003, who observes at 352 that the Hellenistic view of grace “seems to be somewhat neglected in modern New Testament scholarship.”} “always has strong elements of reciprocity in its usage.”\footnote{Philo, de mutatione nominum 51–52.} But his use of χάρις is not to be taken in the later Christian sense. In fact, even that latter theological concept, it has recently been argued, must be understood in the context of the Greco-Roman patron-client relationship,\footnote{See particularly DeSilva 1999, Harrison 2003, who observes at 352 that the Hellenistic view of grace “seems to be somewhat neglected in modern New Testament scholarship.”} which involved reciprocal duties, officia, on the part of the client. But these duties were social rather
than legal. The relationship was one of benefaction on the one hand, gratitude on the other. It could be expressed in the public sphere, in inscriptions, or in private relationships, manifest in the papyri. The gratitude of the client/recipient entailed loyalty, and this, I would suggest, provides a conceptual link with the notion of covenant, whose deep structure may be described as an exchange (or bond) of protection for loyalty. Both the protection and the loyalty could assume different forms: in the ancient Near East vassal treaties and covenants of grant; in the Hebrew Bible monotheistic commitment and laws; in the New Testament works and faith. Of course we have to pose the question of the forms of διαθήκη and χάρις separately for each of our sources. But it is only

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103 DeSilva 1999:38, 44. Compare Zobel, TDOT V:53 on ḥesed in the Hebrew Bible, citing A.R. Johnson: “the term connotes more than can be defined in the legal terminology of berit. . . ḥesed is ‘the virtue that knits together society’ (Robertson-Smith”).

104 DeSilva 1999:42 on Cicero, De Off. 1.47–48 (gratitude an absolute duty); 74 n.36 on Seneca, Ben. 1.4.3 (“debt of gratitude”). On Paul’s attitude to benefaction, Harrison 2003:287f. observes: “Paul endorses conventions from the honorific inscriptions that stress the obligation of the beneficiary to respond worthily to the Benefactor”; contrast Philo’s critique of such acknowledgements of benefaction in the inscriptions (Harrison 2003:130–33, citing De Cherubim 122–23). The latter may be compared to attitudes in the early Church, discussed in Wheatley 2011. See also DeSilva 1999:39, 51 on χάρις as gratitude/thanks in some New Testament sources.

105 Harrison 2003:ch.2, concluding (at 63) with the observation: “Wetter was correct in seeing the bestowal of χάρις by the Caesars as the linguistic springboard for the NT. But the dominant use of the word was subsumed under the ethos of reciprocity. Thus as a semantic starting point for the NT understanding of grace, χάρις – unless carefully defined – carried as many dangers as advantages.” See also Harrison 146-50 on “Charis in Jewish Synagogal and Funerary Inscriptions”.

106 DeSilva 1999:30-84 on “Charis and the Ethos of Reciprocity in the Papyri”. At 2003:24, Harrison compares the private world of benefaction relationships (seen in the papyri) to that of Pauline house churches.

107 DeSilva 1999:45f. notes that one component of gratitude in personal patronage is loyalty to the giver, entailing an obligation not to become entangled in a web of crossed loyalties, and observes (at 63) that ρις in the New Testament may refer to both loyalty and trust.

108 Harrison 2003:380–84 on “Charis and the Ethos of Reciprocity in the Papyri”. At 2003:24, Harrison compares the private world of benefaction relationships (seen in the papyri) to that of Pauline house churches.

109 DeSilva 1999:46 cites Seneca, de ben. 6.41.1–2 on the point of a gift as not to obtain a return but to create a “bond” that “binds two people together”.

110 In discussing Paul’s concept of χάρις, Harrison 2003:287 comments: “While God demands loyalty of the dependants in His household, God’s reign of grace provides a security and status that totally surpasses the lucrative career prospects within the familia Caesaris.”

111 Weinfeld’s distinction (1970; 1975:266–69), applied to Genesis 15 by Campbell 1972:108f. But see Hughes 1979:49–51. In fact, Weinfeld qualifies his view of the unconditional nature of the covenant of grant in several respects. Thus: “the “grant” serves mainly [emphasis supplied] to protect the rights of the servant” (1970:185); “. . . in contradistinction to the JE source where the loyalty of the Patriarchs is a matter of the past, in the priestly source it is anticipated” (1970:186 n.16); he concedes that the unconditional nature of the grant in the ancient Near East is not universal: see the two counter-examples (Nuzi and Hittite) at 1970:193, where he observes: “in most [emphasis supplied] of the cases rebelliousness brought about the dissolution of sonship, be it a real son or an adopted”; “It was the Deuteronomist, the redactor of the Book of Kings, who put the promise of David under condition (1 Kings II, 4, VIII, 25, IX, 4f.) and so did Deuteronomy with the promise to the patriarchs”; moreover, “It is true, even in the predeuteronomic documents the loyalty of David’s sons and the sons of the patriarchs is somehow presupposed [n.102: “cf. Gen. XVIII, 19. This is an expectation and not a condition”] but it is never formulated as the condition for national existence as it occurs in the deuteronomic literature” (1970:195); “In regard to the Davidic covenant, it should be admitted that the conception of conditionality is implied in Ps. CXXII (v. 12) which seems to be an ancient Psalm. It is indeed possible that alongside the conception of unconditional promise of the dynasty there was also in existence the concept of a conditional promise. The conception of conditionality might have especially developed after the division of the kingdom” (1970:196).

112 The Abrahamic covenant on the one hand, the Mosaic on the other.

113 Harrison 2003:11 comments that most Christian writers write as if grace is a timeless construct.
when faith is itself viewed as predestined\footnote{114} that the deep structure of covenant reciprocity comes to be threatened.\footnote{115}

A different theological explanation of the LXX’s use of διαθήκη to render the HB’s רבי, one which avoids both the theological and legal anachronisms of Behm’s arguments, has been offered by Adrian Schenker.\footnote{116} Schenker notes correctly that the koine meaning of διαθήκη includes grants in contemplation of death, where there is shared ownership between the “testator” (during his lifetime) and the beneficiary “after his death” – μετά τὴν τελευτῆν (meta ten teleten).\footnote{117} This, he argues, fits the Torah’s account of the covenantal grant of the land,\footnote{118} and the limitations on its use.\footnote{119} Though the Hebrew Bible itself shows no awareness of a comparable social institution involving such divided ownership\footnote{120} (unless we read it into Esau’s “sale” of his birthright while Isaac is still alive\footnote{121}), Hellenistic Jews will have been familiar with the meta ten teleten (an expression used, we may note, in a non-legal sense in the LXX\footnote{122}), which was to become the materat barī of the Mishnah.\footnote{123} Indeed, we read in LXX Sir. 33:24(32): “In the day of the completion of the days of your life and at the moment of death, distribute an inheritance (ἐν καιρῷ τελευτήν διάδος κληρονομίαν),”\footnote{124} which though not using the technical vocabulary certainly hints at a two-stage form of inheritance.

Schenker notes that διαθήκη and its verbal forms covered a range of arrangements including both the meta ten teleten gift in contemplation of death and the Hellenistic “will”.\footnote{125} However,
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the latter falls significantly short of the Roman and modern institutions in that it could include provisions taking effect already within the testator’s lifetime,\footnote{See text at nn.152–153 infra.} and was not fully and automatically revoked by a later will.\footnote{See text at nn.168–169 infra.} In short, the LXX use of διαθήκη is both legally appropriate to a grant of land in which the owner (here, God) retains rights, and theologically appropriate to a bilateral covenantal relationship in which that grant remains subject to the good behaviour of its recipients (as the history of exile, and its interpretation by the prophets, well attests).

As an example of the meta ten teleuten arrangement in a succession agreement\footnote{Schenker 2000:179f. At 182, he notes that marriage contracts could also contain comparable testamentary clauses.} between parents and children, Schenker cites P. Upps. Frid. 1 (of 48 CE);\footnote{Schenker 2000:180f.} a written contract (συγγραφῆ), written by only one party, the father, but including a ὁμολογία, an acknowledgement by the children. The division is made explicitly in contemplation (Schenker: “pour cause”) of death (μετά τὴν τελευτήν). It uses a verb typical of testaments, καταλείπω,\footnote{Schenker 2000:181f. He notes at 182 that with such a reserve clause the law combined the advantages of the two institutions, and that in some papyri this institution is called suggrafodiaθήκη.} but while it does not take effect immediately in respect of the heirs’ ownership rights to either immovable or movable property, it cannot (being a pact rather than a testament, and in the absence of an explicit clause reserving a right to revocation\footnote{Compare Mishnah Baba Batra 8:7 (quoted in n.187, infra), requiring the consent of both father and children to the disposition of the property during the father’s lifetime.}) be revoked by the “testator” alone;\footnote{Lines 34–36; Schenker 2000:179.} the heirs, who may enter into possession, already have rights over the property (which Roman law later required to be registered\footnote{Schenker 2000:179f., following the discussion by Llewelyn, “Allotment” (including the full text and translation).} for taxation purposes). Nevertheless, Schenker describes the arrangement as one which “équivaut pratiquement à un testament” in that the parents retain title until their death even though the children already enter into possession.\footnote{Lines 10 and 14: see Schenker 2000:180.} It is this feature which Schenker identifies as explaining the theological attraction of διαθήκη to the LXX translators: under the covenant (conceived as a bilateral agreement, not a unilateral gift\footnote{Yaron 1960:32 maintains: “The step from bilateral gift to unilateral testament was never taken in Jewish law.” See further infra, at nn.197–206.}) God (whose death is not contemplated\footnote{An issue that troubled Behm 1965:129.}) remains owner of the land, while his people enter into possession.\footnote{Both the content and the terminology of the papyri discussed by Kloppenborg 2008 (see n.183, infra) indicate a far greater flexibility in practice than might be suggested by a “rule book” like the Mishnah.} There was, however, at least one\footnote{Schenker 2000:180f.} alternative form of this arrangement, one which did not explicitly reserve the ownership rights of the testator: here the heirs gained future ownership while the “testator” retained enjoyment (as in the rabbinic matenat bari\footnote{See infra, at nn.184–187.} – and, as I have
argued, the relationship between the father and the older son in Luke’s Parable of the Prodigal Son.

Of course, this particular legal analogy does not hold good for every use of διαθήκη in the LXX to render the Hebrew Bible’s berit. But LXX scholars have established that the Pentateuch was translated first and influenced the translations of later books. The same argument may, however, be made in relation to consistency within the Pentateuch itself, and in particular in relation to the Mosaic covenant. Moreover, different translation styles have been observed as between the five books, leading to the inference that they come from the hands of different translators. The probable solution is that there was a subsequent editing process which imposed terminological consistency, and here priority was given to the Genesis translation of berit (itself thought to have been the first book to be translated).

Indeed, the choice of διαθήκη has attracted the attention of students of the general character of LXX Greek, and its relationship to the koine. There has been recognition of a “stereotyped” mode of translation, in which “simples symbols représentant l mot hébreu” could have been understood differently by the translator and by readers unfamiliar with that Hebrew (who may indeed have been taken by surprise by them). διαθήκη, as the “équivalent fixe” for berit, might then appear even where the context indicates a meaning other than “alliance”, but the reader could accept “l’approximation de cette traduction stéréotypée”. Muraoka comments: “Within the LXX, once such an approximation was established, it became a standard, stereotype translation equivalent whenever the Hebrew word occurred irrespective of the possibility that the translator was aware that at times the precise nuance of the Hebrew did somewhat differ from that of the Greek.”

Yet this goes beyond mere convenience, or consistency for its own sake. The absence of any “complete overlap in meaning between the Hebrew and the Greek” (Muraoka) is a function not only of the challenge to any translator (traduttore traditore), but also the fact that even within the same natural language there will be differences in the use of the same

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140 Jackson, “The Jewish Background . . .”, 117–19, and see n.183, infra. See also Llewellyn, “Allotment”, 37f.
141 Thus, Yaron 1960:1 defines gifts in contemplation of death as either (a) a gift of property with the donor retaining usufruct for life (= matenat bari, the Egyptian meta ten teleutøn and the Roman donatio deducto usufructu) or (b) a gift of property which is finally irrecoverable only on the donor’s death (= shekhiv mera, metsavveh mehamath mitah, and the Roman donatio mortis causa).
142 Tov 1999:183; Fernández Marcos 2000:22.
143 Wevers 1991:55f., 59f; Dines 2004:14–16, 121.
144 Dines 2004:59, 122 “. . . too much regularity may be a sign not of a translator but of an editor or reviser.”
145 Dines 2004:14.
146 See Jaubert 1963:311–15; Lee 1983:11–30, commenting at 30 on διαθήκη as a term for a specifically Jewish idea and one which may have entered the spoken language of Jews (though in general he rejects the idea of a Jewish-Greek dialect); Harl 1986:55f; Dines 127, suggesting, with Harl, that much of the technical vocabulary may have been forged before the first translations were made, even though the LXX provides the earliest written evidence; Rajak 2009:167f., comparing the LXX lexical choice of diathèke over sunthèke with the contrary choice of Aquila and Symmachus, and the use of diathèke by Josephus only in the sense of ‘testament’.
147 See also Aitken 1999; Fernández Marcos 2000:3–31.
148 Harl, Dorival and Munnich 1986:249, citing Muraoka 1984:442 (quoted in n.149).
149 Muraoka 1984:442: “The statistically incontestable fact that in 99 per cent of its occurrences in the LXX the word διαθήκη renders תרב does not necessarily mean that there is a complete overlap in meaning between the Hebrew and the Greek, . . . one must seriously reckon with the possibility that the translator(s) used διαθήκη, not because he believed that its range of meaning completely overlapped with that of תרב . . . one is bound to come up against cases where it would not be easy to determine whether the translator is translating or mechanically substituting a Greek symbol for a Semitic one without bothering to ask himself if the resultant translation is likely to convey the meaning he believes is to be attached to the original text.” See also Joosten 2011:7.
term in different semantic registers (here legal and theological). The use of one register as an analogy in another cannot be a process of reducing the sense of one to that of the other. Neither the authors of the Hebrew Bible nor those of the New Testament were writing legal treatises: when they used legal terms, they did so in order to invoke those aspects of the legal analogue which were most pertinent to the particular theological message they were conveying. It is that context which is the best indicant of what use they were seeking to make of the legal analogue, as we shall see (in section 6, infra) in analysing the two New Testament texts which play on the double sense of διάθηκη.

Nevertheless, our biblical authors did not invent the legal senses of the terminology they use, and we must always be sure that our view of the use they made of such vocabulary is consistent with what we know of the complex history of the relevant institutions in their respective Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and Jewish contexts. The next section seeks to outline that history.

3. FORMS OF SUCCESSION IN THE GREEK, HELLENISTIC AND JEWISH WORLDS

While P. Upps. Frid. dates from the Roman period, Schenker is able to point to indirect evidence of the use of διάθηκη terminology as including this form of agreement as early as the 3rd cent BCE in Ptolemaic Egypt: a Greek contract (ομολογία) from Elephantine\(^\text{150}\) includes the formula τάδε διέθέτο. Taubenschlag’s review of the papyri supports the view that testamentary arrangements (even “wills”\(^\text{151}\)) in the 3rd cent. BCE had important inter vivos effects. Thus he notes instances in III cent BCE Egyptian law of ‘wills’ executed by parents during their lifetime. These were of immediate effect, transferring unrestricted ownership during the life-time of the parents.\(^\text{152}\) Moreover the διάθεκε of the papyri frequently contained clauses “expressing the testator’s wish for keeping in good health, to enjoy his property, and to dispose of it also in the future by acts inter vivos and mortis causa”\(^\text{153}\).

There is also earlier evidence. Yaron has identified one example of a “gift with effect deferred till the donor’s death” in the 5th cent BCE Aramaic Papyri.\(^\text{154}\) He observes, moreover: “It is not nowadays disputed that that type of Greek will which involved no adoption (Legatentestament\(^\text{155}\)) grew out of the gift in contemplation of death. The same terms and stock phrases are used in both types of disposition, so much so that it is often difficult to

\(^{150}\) Schenker 2000:182f. on P. El. 2, citing it from Mitteis and Wilcken 1912:II.354–56. See more recently the edition in Hunt and Edgar 1932:I.236–38 (no.82).

\(^{151}\) Taubenschlag 1953:190 indicates that the διάθεκε adopted from ancient Greek law had to be drawn up before, or handed to, a notary, in the presence of witnesses.

\(^{152}\) Taubenschlag 1953:207f.

\(^{153}\) Taubenschlag 1953:191. Cf. Yaron’s examples, e.g. P. Petrie i.19 of 225 BCE, and his comparison of terminology of the δειθηκη at 23f., but noting at 1960:25 that in the Jewish sources this is in the context of a sick man hoping for a change for the better.

\(^{154}\) Yaron 1960:11–17 on P. Brooklyn 9, where a half house is gifted to Yehoyishma (the daughter of the donor), “at my death” and with an irrevocability clause.

\(^{155}\) In classical Greece this was often in the form of adoption by the “testator” of his intended heirs: see Norton 1908:48f., 51 (noting that it required the consent of the adoptee and was regarded as “a solemn covenant”), 52, 53f., 58f., and 69–71 on its eventual supersession.
decide to which of the two a particular disposition belongs.”

Moreover, this is supported by evidence from classical Athens, where, A.R. Harrison indicates, the normal words for a will and the making of a will were διαθήκη and διατίθεσθαι, but the words δόσις and διδομαι (indicating the inter vivos “gift” basis of the original testament in Greek law) were also used. The verbal form διατίθεσθαι was also used and Harrison observes that “by the fourth century the words διαθήκη and δομαται were in this context synonymous,” arguing that “the word is quite appropriate to describe a transaction between two parties as against [the view that] that the word necessarily implied disposal of one’s property after death.” This supports the earlier observations of Norton that the technical use of διαθήκη in Greek law did not correspond with accuracy to our terms “will” and “testament”: “In fact, we have no one word that exactly expresses the idea conveyed by διαθήκη to the Greeks.”

We may note that these terminological issues reflect the weak institutionalisation of the substantive law itself. Norton finds evidence that it was customary on making a will to consult the prospective heir and obtain his consent (1908:57); this is not inconsistent with the fact that though the will was sometimes read to the witnesses, “on account of the usual desire for secrecy, this was seldom done” (1908:61). Harrison observes: “In consonance with the general looseness of Athenian legal institutions, there seem to have been no strict rules as to the form a will must take. Normally no doubt it was in writing, though there is one passage in Demosthenes which strongly suggest an oral will.” While it was normal practice to have witnesses, Harrison finds “no conclusive evidence that they were legally needed”. Practice regarding the deposit of copies also appears to have varied. Though codicils, modification, and revocation of wills was entirely possible, it appears doubtful that a will could be revoked merely by making a subsequent will – as also in Greco-Egyptian wills.

Further evidence of the character of testaments in the Hellenistic world as including bilateral arrangements taking effect in part before the death of the testator may be found in a remarkable 2nd cent. BCE inscription from Cyrene: the ‘will’ of Ptolemy Neoteros of Cyrene (155 BCE). In the 2nd cent BCE Cyrene was ruled by a Ptolemaic dynasty as client kings of Rome. There was a major dynastic dispute between Ptolemy VIII Physcon (otherwise Neoteros, the younger) and his brother. Neoteros claimed that his brother

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156 Yaron 1960:32.
157 Harrison 1968:150.
158 Ibid., the noun owing its origin to the use of διατίθεσθαι in a formula that goes back to Solon: see Demosthenes, c. Stephanus ii.14 quoted by Harrison 1968:84f. n.6.
159 Harrison 1968:150 n.3.
160 We may compare Jacob’s adoption of Ephraim and Menasseh: Gen. 48:5.
161 Harrison 1968:150 n.4.
162 Norton 1908:5, 31, quotation from 1908:34 n.1.
163 Harrison 1968:153, citing at n.3 Demosthenes (41) Spoudias 16.
164 Harrison 1968:153.
165 ἀντιγραφα, the same term used in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: see s.5, infra.
166 Norton 1908:61f.: normally with friends (sometimes, more than one), occasionally with officials, but no evidence of registration.
167 Norton 1908:63–65.
168 Norton 1908:65; Harrison 1968:154.
169 Taubenschlag 1955:204.
170 A photograph of the top of the stele may be seen at http://www.livius.org/ct-cz/cyrene/cyrene.html.
had tried to assassinate him,\(^{171}\) and sought the support of Rome, through the following will:\(^{172}\)

In the fifteenth year, in the month of Loios. With good fortune. This is the will (τάδε διέθετο) of king Ptolemy the younger, son of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra... a copy of which has been sent to Rome. . . Should any mortal fate befall me before I can leave behind heirs to the throne, I bequeath my kingdom that belongs to me to the Romans, for whom I have from the beginning preserved friendship and alliance with sincerity. To them also I entrust the task of protecting my interests, praying to them in the name of all the gods and with their own consent, that if any enemies attack either the cities or the country, they should give help with all their power in accordance with the friendship and alliance we concluded with each other and in accordance with justice.\(^{173}\)

From the fact that the king had already sent a copy of the will to Rome, it is obvious that the assistance he is seeking is during his lifetime (as indeed is confirmed by Polybius\(^{174}\)), not after his death. Volterra argues, in fact, that the “will” must have been preceded by intensive diplomatic negotiations.\(^{175}\) In short, we have here a “will”, using the terminology of the verb which generated the noun διαθήκη, which reflects a bilateral treaty between the king and the Romans, in effect, a ‘testamentary pact’ (the Erbvertrag, apparently still recognised in Swiss law). We may note that this evokes the scholarly analysis of the origins of the biblical berit in ancient near eastern treaties. There is an alliance in which one side offers protection, the other loyalty to the protecting ruler.\(^{176}\) Nor does this text from Cyrene stand alone.\(^{177}\)

Thus we have in the Greek and Hellenistic worlds (in addition to outright gifts, immediately effective although intended to function as an inheritance, found also in the Hebrew Bible\(^{178}\))

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\(^{171}\) Polybius 33:11: “At the time when the senate dispatched Opimius to make war on the Oxybii the younger Ptolemy came to Rome and appearing before the senate accused his brother, asserting that he was responsible for the plot against himself. Exhibiting the scars left by his wounds, and laying full stress besides in his speech on the atrocity of the deed, he pleaded for pity. Neolaïdes and Andromachus also came as envoys from the elder king to defend him against these accusations, but the senate would not even listen to their defence, so much were they prepossessed by the younger brother's charges. Ordering these envoys to leave Rome at once, they appointed five legates, headed by Gnaeus Merula and Lucius Thermus, to support the younger brother, and furnishing each of them with a quinquereme ordered them to re-establish Ptolemy in Cyprus, writing to their allies in Greece and Asia to the effect that they had their permission to assist his return” (Loeb translation, at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/33*.html).

\(^{172}\) Oliverio, La stele di Tolemeo Neòteros (1932), kindly drawn to my attention by Daniela Piattelli.

\(^{173}\) Translation of M.M. Austin at http://wwwlivius.org/ct-cz/cyrene/cyrene_t_01.html.

\(^{174}\) Supra n.171.

\(^{175}\) Volterra 1991:554f.

\(^{176}\) See literature cited at n.52, supra.

\(^{177}\) Volterra, 1991:561–74, discusses other wills bequeathing kingdoms to the Roman people: those of Attalus, king of Pergamum (138–33 BCE), also found in an inscription (OGI no.338) as well as in literary sources, which also here use the noun διαθήκη (which, Volterra notes, the Romans called testamentum); Cicero on the will of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; and the will of Alexander (II?), king of Egypt. He suggests that all of them, if not apocryphal, will have resulted from suggestions made by the Romans or from bilateral agreements with them. As to why this form, rather than that of a foedus, was used, he concludes (573f.), following Bonfante and Sciaciola, that the Romans conceived of the acquisition of a kingdom in terms of inheritance because the original Roman significance of the testamentum was the designation by the paterfamilias of who would succeed him as sovereign of the family group: this was now applied to the transfer of sovereignty over a political group. For Attalus, see also Moulton and Milligan 1908:563f.

\(^{178}\) Gen. 25:5–6, Abraham’s gift to the sons of Keturah, before he “sent them away”. Rabbinic interpretation includes Ishmael here, since v.6 refers to “the sons of the concubines” (plural, taken to include Hagar). See Jackson, “Prodigal”, 123–26.
and the New Testament\(^{179}\) both bilateral dispositions taking effect partially immediately and partially on death (μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν) and unilateral dispositions, themselves sometimes taking effect partially during the testator’s lifetime.\(^{180}\) The term διοικήτην is typically used of the latter, but may also, especially in its verbal forms (τάξει διείδητο), be used of the former.

We find no evidence of these forms in the Hebrew Bible, which gave preference to what today we would call intestate succession, although there is abundant evidence from the narratives that the will (in the non-legal sense) of the head of the family could, in various ways, achieve much the same thing. Thus we hear that Job (42:14) “gave” (רָצִיט) his daughters an “inheritance” (נהבל) alongside\(^{181}\) their brothers; Ishmael (Gen. 21:8–21) and Esau (Gen. 25, 27) are both excluded, and Joseph (via Ephraim and Menasseh) supplants Reuven in respect of the double portion (Gen. 48:5). Moreover, the story of the “sale” of the birthright in Gen. 25 appears to presuppose that the expectancy is transferable before the death of the father.\(^{182}\) However, the texts provide no information in any of these cases as to the point of time at which these various arrangements were intended to take effect.

By the time of the Mishnah, two forms of testamentary disposition\(^{183}\) had developed:

(a) the materat bar,\(^{184}\) the (inter vivos) “gift of a healthy man”, a form of gift – requiring a normal form of property transfer (qiyyan),\(^{185}\) which could take the form of a written deed\(^{186}\) – some aspects of which took effect immediately while others were delayed until after death\(^{187}\), and

\(^{179}\) The issue in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32): did the advance to the younger son effectively disinherit him from any later entitlement?; see Jackson, “Prodigal”, 119–34.

\(^{180}\) Pace the view of E. Bammel, “Gottes \(\Delta\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\kappa\eta\) (Gal. 3.15–17) und das jüdisches Rechtsdenken”, \(\text{NTS}\) 6 (1960), 313–19, reported by Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 44, that both Greek and Roman wills took effect (entirely) on the death of the testator.

\(^{181}\) Heb: beqitq, the same term as is used of the plea of the daughters of Zelophehad and the decision in their favour (Num. 27:4, 7), but not in the rules laid down for the future. It is thus possible to argue that the decision in the case was a compromise: the daughters shared the estate with their uncles, while for the future daughters would inherit the full estate.

\(^{182}\) See further, infra, text at n.224.

\(^{183}\) In addition to outright inter vivos gifts, such as that given to the “prodigal son” in Luke 15. Kloppenborg 2008:177 notes the distinction in Tosefta \(\text{Baba Batra}\) 8:10 between the \(\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu}
(b) the *matenat shekhiv mera*, the revocable disposition of an estate by one “lying sick”, which some argued should be subject to fewer formalities and which took effect on death.

It has, however, been persuasively argued that these two forms – and particularly the distinction between a healthy and a sick (in fact, terminally ill) “testator” – represent a Jewish adaptation of the earlier Hellenistic forms designed in part to restrict freedom of testation, seen as an encroachment on the biblical rules of (“intestate”) succession, with their superior status as part of the written Torah. Thus, it is thought that there was a stage when Jews adopted the Hellenistic forms: the *meta ten teleuten* (some examples of which have survived in 2nd cent CE papyri) but without its restriction to a “healthy” man, and the *diathēkē*, the principal difference between them being that the former, taking effect in part immediately, was irrevocable, while the latter was revocable (until death).

However, the expansive range of the Greek *diathēkē* was received also in the rabbinic Hebrew loan-word כִּתְנַת (cיתנת), clearly referring to a written document, though it remains debatable whether the word is being used simply as a name for the rabbinic *shekhiv mera* (though it could also be used of a *barī*) or whether it reflects the genuine adoption of

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188 The terminology occurs in Mishnah Baba Batra 9:6. Often conventionally referred to (as here) simply as the *shekhiv mera*.

189 Yaron 1960:77, 81–84, noting that Tosefta Baba Batra 8:10 (which speaks of a *diatikē*, though Yaron takes it to be referring to a *shekhiv mera, aliter* Rivlin, n.200, *infra*) allows revocation after recovery, thus implying that the *shekhiv mera* is then revocable rather than automatically void, whereas the preferred solution was that of Mishnah Moed Katan 3:7 as interpreted by Jerusalem Talmud Moed Katan 3:9, restricting such revocation to the period of illness, and making the *shekhiv mera* automatically void on recovery. He goes on to discuss Amoraic sources which support the latter conclusion. By Amoraic times it was clearly revocable by a later such declaration; see Yaron 1960:72f., on Jerusalem Talmud Baba Batra 8:8; Babylonian Talmud Baba Batra 151a.

190 Yaron 1960, esp. at 61f., on Mishnah Baba Batra 9:7, and B.B. 175a (etc.): “The words of a *shekhiv mera* are as if written and delivered.”

191 For Amoraic texts requiring that the death must result from the sickness during which the “will” was made, see Yaron 1960:83f.

192 Yaron 1960:47–49.

193 Katzoff 1989:204 argues that the Jewish *diatikē* and *matenat bari* can have been modelled on analogous Greek institutions only before the middle of the first century CE, since from that time until the Byzantine period the Greek *meta ten teleuten* was assimilated to the *diathēke* and “usually made revocable” (*scil.* by an explicit clause). In the middle ages, the Jewish *matenat bari* also came to be revocable, by the insertion of an appropriate clause.

194 Yaron 1960:48f.

195 On P. Yadin 7 and 19, see Rivlin 2005:165–67, 180–82. *Aliter*, on P. Yad. 19, Katzoff 1994.

196 Yaron 1960:47f.

197 See the quotations in Sperber 1984:4–86, e.g: Mishnah Moed Katan 3:3, “And these may be written out during mid-festivals . . . testaments (*diatikē*); Mishnah Baba Metsia 1:7, “If a man found . . . a will . . .”. The citations of Behm 1965:125, from Strack-Billerbeck III, 545, for the loan word’s meaning in Hebrew and Aramaic as “order” or “disposition”, are all several centuries later.

198 Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 45, claims that in the amoraic period the *diatikē* was called *matenat shekhiv mera*. Some sources require a form of *qīyān*. Yaron 1960:32 insists: “Jewish law does not know any unilateral disposition in contemplation of death . . . (rather, it involves) the co-operation of two parties, donor and donee . . . a formal ‘act of acquisition’ is indispensable . . .”. See esp. Mishnah Baba Batra 8:6, discussed in n.203, *infra*. For earlier literature which takes a different view, see Rivlin 2003:172 nn.25–26.

199 Tosefta Baba Batra 8:9: “a *barī* who wrote a *deyathiqi* . . .”, discussed by Yaron 1960:64f. See also Yaron 1960:26–28, on the *matenah* as following the terminology of the Egyptian *meta tēn teleutēn*, translated as *le’albar mitah* (preceded by *mehayyom,* “from today”), citing as the earliest example of the latter BGU 993 of 127 BCE.
a foreign institution (the Greek form of will\textsuperscript{200}, \textsuperscript{201} perhaps by adaptation of a rabbinic form.\textsuperscript{202} No actual example of such a diatiki has survived. There is, however, a tannaitic source which is taken to rule that the written document, unlike the Hellenistic διαθήκη, had to be delivered to the heir or other recipient,\textsuperscript{203} and once delivered could not be revoked until after recovery\textsuperscript{204} (thus, in effect, a conditional matenat bari). There is an amoraic dictum that a later diatiki (automatically) revokes an earlier one: diatiki mevattelet diatiki, but its status has been disputed.\textsuperscript{205} Yaron is clearly of the view that it never generated a “will” in the sense of the Roman testamentum.\textsuperscript{206}

The methodological difficulties involved in ascertaining the inter-relationships between some of these different forms include: (1) the lack of terminological precision and consistency, particularly as regards the term διαθήκη and its associated verbal forms, which could refer to both gifts in contemplation of death or wills, even though the latter appears to have been the more typical;\textsuperscript{207} (2) the fact that the Greek meta ten teleuten is found in papyrological practice documents\textsuperscript{208} rather than formal statements of law, while the converse largely applies to the Rabbinic matenat bari; (3) while the Rabbinic diatiki is mentioned in the Mishnah.

\textsuperscript{200} On which see supra, text at n.156–168. Most significant is Tosefta Baba Batra 8:10, cited by Rivlin 2005:172f., which gives the formula to be used by one who “writes a diyatiki” ( sponsos habeat) and distinguishes it from that for a testament.

\textsuperscript{201} Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 47, cites Tosefta Baba Batra 9:14: “He who writes διαθήκη in Greek, behold this is a gift (matenah)”. But even this is not conclusive. It could mean either that the rules of matenat bari apply to it, or that it is classified in Jewish law as a gift (thus harmonising it with Jewish rules), even though it operates according to hellenistic practice. See also Katzoff 1989:203, citing διαθήκη as an example of “quotations from language which might have been used by laymen in transactions concerning whose legal significance the rabbis had to decide . . . Many words appear as terms for foreign institutions whose legal effect in Jewish law had to be determined specifically because they were foreign."

\textsuperscript{202} The rule that it required the agreement of the recipient (Tosefta Baba Batra 11:6) suggests that it may have been conceived as an adaptation of qinyan shat.

\textsuperscript{203} Mishnah Baba Batra 8:6 rules: “One who died and a dewathiqi was found bound to his thigh, – this is nothing. But if [he had delivered it and] through it had caused another – whether of his heirs or not of his heirs – to acquire (חנה, הבו, his words stand” (translation of Yaron 1960:65). The Hebrew does not mention delivery, but this is (rightly) supplied by Yaron as the appropriate form of acquisition (qinyan) for a shat. See also Kloppenborg 2008:176.

\textsuperscript{204} Yaron 1960:66 interprets the second clause of Mishnah Baba Batra 8:6 in the context of the first, as presupposing death, so that the dewathiqi, once delivered, was not revocable prior to recovery (such revocability being a creation of the Amoraim: Yaron 1960:94). He sees Tosefta Baba Batra 8:10–11, discussed at 1960:65f., as representing a later stage, but one which allows revocability only before delivery. On the other hand, Rivlin 2005:173f. takes Tosefta Baba Batra 8:9 to mean that “delivery of the deed itself did not constitute cession of the possession, but rather final intent to bequeath the possession. Since the bequest would only take effect after death, the donor could retract it at any time”; he does not here address the contrary arguments of Yaron on Tosefta Baba Batra 8:9–11.

\textsuperscript{205} Yaron 1960:71f. regards Jerusalem Talmud Baba Batra 8:8 as spurious. But see also Cohen 1966:I.33–35, citing (at 34 n.26) Jerusalem Talmud Sanhedrin II:6 (20c), “any diatiki which is partly annulled in entirely void”, in the context of a discussion of 2 Cor. 3:6. On this text, see also Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 45–46. See also Babylonian Talmud Baba Batra 135b, 152b; Jerusalem Talmud Baba Batra 8.16 (16b 59).

\textsuperscript{206} Yaron, quoted supra n.198. Of course, this does not mean that the latter institution, and its Hellenistic partial forerunner, were unknown to and never used by Jews. See Katzoff, quoted n.201, supra. Rivlin 2005:172–79 (and see further Rivlin 1999:chs.7–8, esp. at 138–42, 161–70) finds evidence of an early but limited use of the diatiki in Jewish sources which did take effect only on death: see n.200, supra. Milgram 2012 (who does not here address the issue of the diatiki) sees a reflection of this issue in the view of Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Berokhah in Mishnah Baba Batra 8.5 (despite the fact that he appears to be referring to an oral declaration, the context there being the matenat bari): “If he said [‘amar] this of one that was qualified to inherit from him, his words remain valid, but if of one that was not qualified to inherit from him, his words do not remain valid.”

\textsuperscript{207} See text at nn.156–161, supra.

\textsuperscript{208} See n.195, supra.
and related documents, its legal characteristics are not systematically set out, so that it remains debatable whether the loan word is simply an earlier name for the rabbinic shekhiv mera, or the genuine adoption of a foreign institution, perhaps by adaptation of a rabbinic form.  

4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COVENANT AND INHERITANCE IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Before proceeding further in our quest, it will be useful to review some aspects of the relationship between covenant and inheritance in the Hebrew Bible itself. For the relationship between covenant and inheritance involves issues with close parallels in theology and law, including the nature of that which is inherited (material and/or spiritual); inclusion in and exclusion from the inheritance; the nature of the testamentary “act” and the time of its coming into effect; its revocability and the relationship between successive testamentary acts.

The close relationship between the concepts of covenant and inheritance is apparent already in the covenant with Abraham (to which particular significance is attached in the New Testament\(^\text{210}\)). In Gen. 17 we read:

(1) When Abram was ninety-nine years old the LORD appeared to Abram, and said to him, “I am God Almighty; walk before me, and be blameless. (2) And I will make my covenant (בְּרִית)\(^\text{211}\) between me and you, and will multiply you exceedingly.” (3) Then Abram fell on his face; and God said to him, (4) “Behold, my covenant is with you, and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations. (5) No longer shall your name be Abram, but your name shall be Abraham; for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations. (6) I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. (7) And I will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant (בְּרִית עֶדֶן), to be God to you and to your descendants after you. (8) And I will give (נתן)\(^\text{212}\) to you, and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession (לְאָדַעַזת אוֹלָם), and I will be their God.”

\(^{209}\) See the previous paragraph, supra.

\(^{210}\) Both in its own right, and by contrast with the Sinaitic covenant (on which, see the discussion of Gal. 3 and 4 in section 6, below). See further Forman 2011. For a discussion of the Abrahamic passages in the New Testament in the context of a theology of justification by faith, see Alexander 1994.

\(^{211}\) Even here, Behm 1965:132f. tries to avoid “covenant” in his account of Luke’s reference to the Abrahamic narrative: in 1:72 “... διαθήκη is used of the promise to Abraham... the context here is so fully in line with the OT and Judaism that there can be no doubt that the word is used in the traditional sense of the declaration of the will of God concerning future salvation, promise and self-commitment”, though covenant is clearly in the text: “to perform the mercy (διαθήκη) [promised to] our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant (διαθήκη), the oath which he swore to our father Abraham” (RSV 1:72–73).

\(^{212}\) Note the future verb; not apparently a speech act (such as הֲנִי אֲנִי נוֹתֵן לְךָ), even though the making of the covenantal promise itself does appear as a speech act, with הֲנִי: רַב מִלְשָׁנָה (v.4). So this appears to be a promise rather than an immediate gift to Abraham (perhaps reflecting the same juridical notion, that the recipient must “take possession”: see, however, Daube’s interpretation of the acts of viewing the land by Abraham (Gen. 13:14–15) and Moses (Deut. 34:1) and the temptation of Jesus (Matt. 4:8–9, cf. Luke 4:3ff.) as symbolic takings of possession, comparable to the Roman finisim demonstratio: Daube 1947:24–39 and Daube 1957. On the absence of covenant terminology in the promise of the land in Deuteronomy, see Jackson 2000:257f.

\(^{213}\) The promise of the land occurs several times in the Abrahamic narrative: Gen. 13:15 and 15:18, as well as here. The promise is presented as part of a covenant in chs.15 and 17, but not ch.13. On the Pauline interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant tradition, see infra, s.6.

\(^{214}\) The terminology of inheritance, in relation to the land, is even clearer in Solomon’s prayer (1 Kings 8:36):
(9) And God said to Abraham, “As for you, you shall keep my covenant (תֵּחוּשֵׁם), you and your descendants after you throughout their generations. (10) This is my covenant, which you shall keep (תֵּחוּשֵׁם), between me and you and your descendants after you: Every male among you shall be circumcised (מֵרְשֵׁם). (11) You shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskins, and it shall be a sign of the covenant (תֵּחוֹשֶׁב) between me and you.

(12) He that is eight days old among you shall be circumcised; every male throughout your generations, whether born in your house, or bought with your money from any foreigner who is not of your offspring, (13) both he that is born in your house and he that is bought with your money, shall be circumcised. So shall my covenant be in your flesh an everlasting covenant. (14) Any uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin shall be cut off from his people; he has broken my covenant.”

Even without the element of circumcision (whether regarded as a condition or a sign of the covenant – or, indeed, both\(^{216}\)), this is more than either unilateral grace or justification by faith: the basic covenantal model, of an exchange of loyalty for protection, is here instantiated by the imperative “walk before me, and be blameless” on the one side, the promise of posterity and the land on the other. This covenant is, in principle, permanent, as is the faith: the basic covenantal model, of an exchange of loyalty for protection, is here instantiated by the imperative “walk before me, and be blameless” on the one side, the promise of posterity and the land on the other. This covenant is, in principle, permanent, as is the promise of the land.\(^{217}\) But this clearly does not make it either unconditional,\(^{218}\) or guaranteed to all of Abraham’s progeny, as the later narrative clearly demonstrates. Rather, it reflects a particular position on an issue on which the biblical narratives reflect different views: can a covenant “descend” automatically to subsequent generations, or must it be reaffirmed by successive generations? Despite the language of Gen. 17, there are indications that the latter view may originally have prevailed.\(^{219}\) Indeed, this very passage continues with Abraham raising with God the status of Ishmael,\(^{220}\) to which God replies (v.19): “Sarah your wife shall

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\(^{215}\) Despite the RSV, here quoted, the verb is active.

\(^{216}\) See further Bernat 2009:36-40.

\(^{217}\) Note the parallel expressions התחי ישנה ותחי ישנה in vv.7 and 8.

\(^{218}\) Pace Weinfeld TDOT II.270–71, who argues (based on ANE, esp. Hittite, grants), that “loyalty to God is presupposed, [but] it does not occur as a condition for keeping the promise.” He suggests that for Abraham (here citing Gen. 15 and 17 together, *aliter* in Weinfeld 1970 that it is a reward for past loyalty (Gen. 26:5, cf. 22:16–18). But these are (in terms of the narrative) later than Gen. 17). At II.278 he comments on the idea of exclusive loyalty as stressed by Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the form of the marriage metaphor. But idolatry is the prime cardinal sin in the Bible, and the reason for God’s withdrawal of protection (and exile). See further n.111, supra.

\(^{219}\) I have argued at some length, in 2000:ch.9, that the covenantal relationship was originally conceived to be personal (like a contract) to the parties, and hence needed to be renewed in each generation. In Deut. 5:2–5 this problem is addressed through the fiction of presence: “The LORD our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. Not with our fathers did the LORD make this covenant, but with us, who are all of us here alive this day.” Cf. Deut. 29:14–15: “Nor is it with you only that I make this sworn covenant, but with him who is not here with us this day as well as with him who stands here with us this day before the LORD our God.”

\(^{220}\) Gen. 17:18: “And Abraham said to God, ‘O that Ishmael might live in your presence!’ (19) And God said, ‘Sarah your wife shall bear you a son indeed; and you shall call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant (תֵּחוֹשֶׁב), and with his seed after him. (20) And as for Ishmael, I have heard you; Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he father, and I will make him a great nation. (21) But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to you at this set time in the next year.’” Blessing and promise (Ishmael) are clearly distinct from a covenant relationship (Isaac). See, however, Paul’s interpretation of the relationship in Gal. 4, discussed in s.6, infra.
bear you a son indeed; and you shall call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant (יהוה נב להברית עולם), and with his [Isaac’s] seed (יליהו) after him.” Within one and the same verse, there is no perceived contradiction between the principle of an everlasting covenant and the promise to renew an (already everlasting) covenant with the next generation.221

When we reach the narratives of the succession to Isaac, the pattern of disinheritance of the non-favoured elder son (Esau) is repeated, but this time with an interesting additional dimension. We have two narratives (which source critics might assume are alternative accounts of the same outcome),222 that of the sale of the mess of pottage (Gen. 25:27–34), and that of Jacob’s impersonation of Esau, prompted by Rebekkah (Gen. 27). But the two use different terminology:223 the object of Jacob’s acquisition in Gen. 25 is the “birthright” (bekhorah, v.32), impliedly of property, resulting in a sale: “So he (Esau) . . . sold his birthright to Jacob” (יולך תא בוחרו ליעקב). We may note that Isaac is still alive. If he had already conveyed the birthright to Esau, this was an inter vivos gift (and, by implication, one taking immediate effect, insofar as Esau was able, without further reference to Isaac, to sell it on).224 However, the terminology of the narrative of Gen. 27 is different: it concerns not Jacob’s acquisition of the bekhorah but rather of the berakhah, the blessing. This is not to be explained away as a scribal error:225 what is at stake in Gen. 27 is most definitely a blessing, and one which is directed to the future leadership of the household: “Be lord over your brothers, and may your mother’s sons bow down to you” (Gen. 27:29). True, property is also mentioned, but that too is a promise of future divine benevolence, not of present property: “May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine” (Gen. 27:28, cf. Esau’s complaint in v.37). Again, we may note that this is not a deathbed scene. Though blind, Isaac was to survive at least another 20 years, since he was still alive when Jacob returned from the household of Laban (Gen 35:27–29),226 and finally settled scores with Esau.227 Nevertheless, we do have to ask whether Isaac’s blessing was really

221 Though the Genesis narrations in respect of both Isaac and Jacob speak in terms of renewals of the blessings (Gen. 26:3–5, Gen. 28:3–4, 13–14; see Jackson 2000:241–43) rather than the covenants.
222 Daube 1947:199 is attracted to this view.
223 Recognised explicitly in the text, when Esau complains to Isaac in Gen. 27:36: “. . . he has supplanted me these two times. He took away my birthright; and behold, now he has taken away my blessing.” For comparison of the two narratives, indicating the presence of fraud also in Gen. 25, see Daube 1947:191–200.
224 If, on the other hand, Isaac had not already conveyed the birthright to Esau, perhaps Esau was not so stupid or cavalier as is normally thought: he is selling only an expectancy, and may already have seen the straws in the wind. Taubenschlag 1959:1618 notes that in Gortynian and Attic law children “have already in the time of their parents the right of expectancy, of agreement and consent”, citing earlier secondary literature; he also observes (at 620) that the satisfaction (of inheritance rights) during the life-time of the father is known in Attica, Gortyn and with the hypomnematic Locrians.
225 We may note that the two terms have the same three letters in their root, though in a different order: הָרֳא and הָרֲאִ. Klitsner 2006:52f. n.7 suggests that “the switching of the order of letters subtly reflects and underscores the switching of the order of the sons”, and proposes further instances later in the story. I am indebted to Peretz Rodman for the reference to Klitsner.
226 Cf. Lincoln 1999:16 and 14f. in relation to Hebrews 12:17.
227 I recently heard an interesting new interpretation of this, in a sermon by Rabbi Ariel Abel. Gen 33:11 has Jacob say to Esau: “Accept, I pray you, תְּפֹלוּ בְּרַנְתָּה that is brought to you, because God has dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough.” Though the RSV (along with, e.g., ASV, ERV, JPS, NASB), translates תְּפֹלוּ as “my gift” (in line with Rashi) rather than “my blessing” (as in KJV and many others), Rabbi Abel suggested that it refers back to the blessing fraudulently obtained by Jacob in Gen. 27. But the context is against this. The text continues: “Thus he urged him, and he took it.” Moreover, the text in vv.5–9 shows clearly that Esau understood that he was being offered gifts (including servants), and Gen. 33:10 uses the term מנהנ ו in relation to them.
irrevocable. Esau challenges it, on the grounds of fraud, but Isaac replies that there is nothing he can do: “Your brother came with guile, and he has taken away your blessing.”

Yet there is a special feature in both narratives which may explain the irrevocability. In Gen. 25, the fraudulent sale is fortified by an oath. The blessing (and associated curse) has a similar status: it involves an invocation of the deity.

When Jacob is himself on his deathbed, he blesses his sons in turn. The sequence commences with: “Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in days to come,” (Gen. 49:1), but concludes with a colophon clearly identifying what has been said as a series of “blessings”: “All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is what their father said to them as he blessed them, blessing each with the blessing suitable to him” (Gen. 49:28, using the terminology of ברכת בנים). But these “blessings” are far from universally positive.

On several occasions they are closer to curses, linked to moral rebuke of past behaviour: thus, Reuben, Simeon and Levi, Benjamin. We are, indeed, already approaching the genre of “Testament” literature (s.5, below). Nowhere here is there any reference or allusion to property and “spiritual inheritance” are linked. Of Levi, it is written (Deut. 10:9): “Therefore Levi has no part nor inheritance with his brothers; the Lord is his inheritance (הָרְאָבֵי). And the torah itself is described in Deut. 33:4 as the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob”. Even more striking is the description of Israel as God’s בָּרֹא, as in 1 Kings 8:53: “For you did set them apart from among all the people of the earth, to be your inheritance”. Lipiński comments: “The use of this figurative expression does not emphasize the transfer or inheritance of property, but rather the constant, enduring nature of its possession.” But the spiritual aspect of this enduring relationship is surely not to be excluded.

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228 v.35. Cf. the conclusion of v.33.
229 Daube 1947:196.
230 As in Gen. 27:29 (part of Isaac’s blessing of Jacob): “Cursed be every one who curses you, and blessed be every one who blesses you.”
231 Despite this, it is not an eschatological prophecy; rather, it refers to events within the knowledge of the biblical writers. On Simeon and Levi, see n.233, infra.
232 Gen. 49:4: “Unstable as water, you shall not have pre-eminence because you went up to your father’s bed; then you defiled it – you went up to my couch!”, referring to Reuven’s attempt to “anticipate his inheritance” (cf. Absalom with David’s concubines: 2 Samuel 16:21–25) by bedding Bilhah (Gen. 35:2).
233 One might take Gen. 49:7 (“I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel”) as referring to the post-conquest tribal division of the land, with Levi not given a tribal allocation. But the verse refers jointly to both Simeon and Levi, alluding in vv.5–6 to their behaviour towards Shechem after the rape of Dinah (Gen. 34).
234 Gen. 49:27: “Benjamin is a ravenous wolf, in the morning devouring the prey, and at even dividing the spoil” appears to refer to the behaviour of members of the tribe in Judg. 19 and its repercussions in chs.20-21.
235 Perhaps more accurately “heritage”. The term לְרֵעַ, more commonly used for inheritance, is not used here (though the two terms come from the same root, שֵּרֵעַ). Lohfink TDOT VI.376 rejects altogether this “metaphorical” interpretation (הָרְאָבֵי in apposition to torah); that the Torah is the “possession” or “heritage” of the sons of Jacob, and translates: “Moses gave us a law (thus translating torah), [and in addition he gave to us,] to the assembly of Jacob, a land for possession”, based on “the double duty of words in poetic parallelism”.
236 Many sources cited by Lipiński, ibid, TDOT IX.331.
237 Lipiński, ibid.
5. THE TESTAMENT GENRE

Against this background, the development in intertestamental times of the Testament genre appears to be a natural development. Indeed, the foremost example follows directly on from Gen. 49, being the “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”, which, though it has survived in a Greek version (with Christian editing) from the 2nd century CE, has antecedents at Qumran – in particular an Aramaic antecedent of the Testament of Levi and a Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali. Schiffman has argued that such testaments most likely go back to the Hasmonaean period, although some appear to be even earlier, perhaps emanating from circles that preceded the Qumran sect.

Both the title of the “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”, and that of each individual Testament use the term διαθήκη and Origen refers to it as testamentum. No doubt

240 Frey 2010:346 takes the Hebrew Bible antecedents to include also the farewells of Joshua (Josh. 23–24, on which see Jackson 2000:267–70), Samuel (1 Sam. 12), and David (1 Kings 2:1–10; 1 Chron. 28–29).

241 Schiffman has argued that such testaments most likely go back to the Hasmonaean period, although some appear to be even earlier, perhaps emanating from circles that preceded the Qumran sect.

242 Schiffman 1994: “The Testaments of Levi and Naphtali are traditionally placed in the context of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, a collection of twelve such texts preserved in Greek. The Greek text is surely not the original version, for throughout there are Christian additions. That at least some of the twelve testaments were originally Jewish, not Christian, has been proven conclusively by the finding at Qumran of an Aramaic version of the Testament of Levi and a Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali. Some of the messianic material in these texts, previously believed to be Christian, is now understood to be Jewish, reflecting various messianic doctrines evident in the Qumran texts, sectarian and otherwise. Further, it seems that for the entire collection of testaments, the Christian interpolations are actually secondary additions to a Jewish core. The testaments are most likely dated to the Hasmonaean period, although some books are earlier, perhaps emanating from circles that preceded the Qumran sect.”

243 Frey 2010:363–66, noting that it was originally thought to be the original of the Greek TLivi in the Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs, but it differs significantly from the literary testament genre in that Levi speaks as if he is already dead. See also DeSilva 2012:204, 297 n.71.

244 DeSilva 2012:204 points out that the Testament of Naphtali’s genealogy of Bilhah and Zilpah is found elsewhere only in 4Q215 1:2–5.

245 Schiffman 1994: “The Testament of Levi and Naphtali are traditionally placed in the context of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, a collection of twelve such texts preserved in Greek. The Greek text is surely not the original version, for throughout there are Christian additions. That at least some of the twelve testaments were originally Jewish, not Christian, has been proven conclusively by the finding at Qumran of an Aramaic version of the Testament of Levi and a Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali. Some of the messianic material in these texts, previously believed to be Christian, is now understood to be Jewish, reflecting various messianic doctrines evident in the Qumran texts, sectarian and otherwise. Further, it seems that for the entire collection of testaments, the Christian interpolations are actually secondary additions to a Jewish core. The testaments are most likely dated to the Hasmonaean period, although some books are earlier, perhaps emanating from circles that preceded the Qumran sect.”

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this may have been fortified by the use of διαθήκη in Hellenistic literature to refer to “a philosophical testament, i.e. the spiritual legacy of a sage.” Particularly interesting in this respect is the Testament of Kahat, son of Levi and father of Amram, found at Qumran. In it, Kahat entrusts Amram, his son, with all the books he received from Levi, who in turn had received them from his forefathers. We have here a concrete link between property and “spiritual” inheritance. One version of the Testament of Abraham also mentions property. Abraham is commanded by the archangel Michael: “Now, therefore, Abraham, make a will (governing) the things of your household and concerning your sons”, though there is no record in the document of Abraham having actually done so.

It is not quite correct to describe the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as a “pseudepigraphical work comprising the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob”. Each Testament has a brief narrative framework, enveloping the words ascribed to Jacob (who speaks frequently in the first person). That envelope consists in an opening formula recording the convening by the Patriarch of a deathbed assembly of his sons, to whom he spoke orally, and a concluding statement recording his death and burial after he had finished his discourse. Only five of the twelve Testaments use διαθήκη in the opening formulae.

Testamentum in the title: “In libro quoque Patriarcharum, licet inter apocryphos computetur, ita inveni . . .” (the apparatus identifying the precise source of what follows: Migne, Patrologia Graeca, 2, 1108A).

Behm 1965:124, citing Menippus, according to Diogenes Laertes VI, 101 (though he mentions only that Menippus left a text entitled “Wills”); Apollonius, according to Philostratus Vit. App. VII.35 (which tells us only that Apollonius “wrote his testament in the Ionian style of language”); Peregrinus Proteus (of Parium, 2nd cent CE), according to the (satirical) Lucian, De Peregrini Morie (on which see Bremmer 2007).

4Q542: see Frey 2010:367.

To whom an Aramaic Testament is also ascribed: see n.243, supra.

To whom is ascribed the Vision of Amram, 4Q543-495, which Frey 2010:361 regards as “the work from the Qumran library for which the genre “testament” is most appropriate”.

Frey 2010:369 attaches particular significance to this group of texts: “The origin of the particular genre of the literary testament as developed in Second Temple Judaism and adopted in the early Christian tradition is, therefore, not the tradition of the patriarchal blessings in Genesis, nor the book of Deuteronomy, but a type of priestly wisdom which was shaped in a particular literary form as testaments of the heroes of the priestly line, Levi, Qahat, and Amram.”

Schiffman, Reclaiming, points out that a similar notion – Levi’s inheriting the books of Jacob – appears in 4:16.

Recension B 7:17 (written in Greek during the first century CE in Egypt). The Greek is διαθήκη τοις οικοις . The issue is prompted by Gen. 25. The LXX of Gen. 25:5-6 uses simply δοθήκα, translating the HB נֵתֶן. See Sanders 1983:369. The Greek text of M.R. James 1892 is available from the SBL Online Critical Pseudepigrapha, at http://ocp.tyndale.ca/testament-of-abraham; see Sanders 881 for later editions. An English translation (not that of Sanders, also based on James) is available at http://reluctant-messenger.com/testament_of_abraham.htm.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Testaments_of_the_Twelve_Patriarchs.

Schiffman 1994 describes the genre thus: “These are essentially the last words of famous personages, in the form of discourses delivered before death. The classic examples begin with a frame narrative declaring that what follows is the testament of the relevant character. Often, these texts, like the last words of Joseph or Moses in the Torah, include revelations of the future of the Jewish people or calls for repentance.”

E.g. Testament of Reuben, 1:4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; 2:1, 2; Testament of Simeon, 2:1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Thus Samely, Inventory, on the Testament of Reuben: “The overall package provides a double characterization of the text’s existence: as something that once was said (commanded) by Reuben to his sons; and as something that is now being said.”

E.g. Testament of Levi 19:4–5: “And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet on the bed; and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.” Cf. Testament of Judah 26:4, etc.

E.g. TReuben: “The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons before he died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life”. See also TNaphtali, TGad, TAsher, TJoseph. The others use “words” (λόγος) rather than “Testament”.

E.g. Testament of Reuben, 1:4–5: “And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet on the bed; and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.” Cf. Testament of Judah 26:4, etc.

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(though all do in the present titles), but all presuppose that the words were spoken orally (as
in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. Isaac, Jacob, above) before being written down. Some (e.g. Asher
and Levi) actually state that the speaker was still healthy, adding in Levi’s case “for it had
been revealed to him that he should die”, but all imply that the scene occurred in the last
year of life and was in fact followed by the “testator’s” death; by contrast, some date the
speech as “before he died” (TSimeon, Levi, Zebulun, Judah), or even more specifically
“When he was about to die” (TJoseph) or “at the time of his death” (TNaughtali).

In addition to this narrative framework (the enunciation of the oral testament, and its
aftermath), the Testament genre displays the following features:

1. The “testator” speaks in the first person;
2. He reflects on his personal history from a moral point of view;
3. He gives moral advice (sometimes formulated as “commands”);
4. The Testament does not deal with property; in this respect, it is the forerunner of the
   “ethical will” genre;
5. The document concludes with the testator’s death and burial.

Yet this is hardly unfamiliar. Do we not encounter much the same features in the book of
Deuteronomy? Indeed, scholars have variously associated both the book as a whole and
chapters 31–34 in particular with the testamentary genre. Thus:

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262 TLevi 1:2; TAsher 1:2. Perhaps this alludes to Isaac’s condition in Gen. 27 (blind, but due to survive for at least
20 years more: see above, at n.227). Or it might possibly be an anticipation to the rabbinic matenat bari /shekhia mera
distinction.
263 See n.258, supra.
264 E.g. TSimeon chs.2–3.
265 E.g. TBenjamin 10:2–4: “Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying. (3) Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness each one to his neighbour, and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments. (4) For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance.”
266 See Dan, “Wills, Ethical”, noting that “talmudic literature contains many aggadic passages quoting or purporting to quote deathbed instructions by great sages to their pupils” (see ch.1 of Abrahams, 1926/2006), but who identifies the prototype of the mediaeval ethical will (for two examples, from the 12th and 14th cents, see http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/jewish-wills.asp) as the Book of Proverbs.
267 E.g. TReub 7:2, TLevi 19:5, TJudah 26:4; TZebulun 10:7; TDan 7:2; TGad 8:5; TAsher 8:2; TJoseph 20:6; TBenjamin 12:3.
268 DeSilva 2012:175. Priest 1983:1923 observes: “The most obvious relationship between the Testament of
Moses and the Hebrew canon is with Deuteronomy, especially chapters 31 to 34 of that book. The basic outline of
the Testament of Moses follows the pattern of those chapters to such an extent that the Testament of Moses may
be considered a virtual rewriting of them. This is true not only with respect to general outline but also regarding
specific allusions and theological perspective. Deuteronomy 31–34 is clearly the author’s model, though he has
recast his own work in light of the history of the people from the conquest to his own day and through the prism of
his own apocalyptic outlook.”
1. The “testator” speaks in the first person.
2. He reflects on his personal history from a moral point of view.
3. He gives moral advice (often formulated as “commands”).
4. The Testament does not deal directly with property.
5. The document concludes with the testator’s death and burial.

This appears to have been recognised in antiquity, in the incompletely preserved Testament of Moses, whose form is that of a farewell speech (here, commissioning Joshua as his successor — a not inappropriate application of the patriarchal model of Gen. 27 and 49 in the new circumstances) and whose theology also owes at least some debt to Deuteronomy.

Arguments have been advanced for the influence of both this document and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs on the New Testament, but largely in terms of matters of detail. It would not, however, be difficult to identify the recurrent themes of the Testament genre in the Gospels (in which the figure of Moses is a significant model for Jesus), and indeed elsewhere in the New Testament, as overlapping with those of second commonwealth testamentary literature. Thus:

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272 The voice of the narrator in Deuteronomy provides a frame, with only occasional interjections between the Mosaic discourses: Deut. 1:1–5, 3:1–49, 10:6–9 (??), 27:1, 9, 11, 29:1–2, 31:1, 7, 9–10, 14–25 (including speeches of God), 30, 32:14–45, 32:48–33:1 (including a speech of God), 34. The blessings to each of the 12 tribes in Deut 33 are each prefaced by the narrator’s introduction. The use of the first person is prominent throughout the first (historical/biographical) discourse, Deut. 1:6–4:40 and elsewhere (e.g. 10:10–11), and also in relation to laws and immediate instructions: Deut. 4:8, 41, 5:1, 6:4, 7:11, 10:13, 11:8, 13, 27, 28, 32, 27:1, 4, 10, 28:1, 1, 3, 14, 15, 30:2, 8, 11, 15, 32:44, often using the formula “which I command you this day” (even in the legal discourse of Deut. 12–26, as in 13:18, 15:5, 19:9). On this formula, in relation to the revelational claims of Deuteronomy, see further Jackson 2000:159–61.

273 As especially in the first discourse, Deut. 1:6–4:40 and elsewhere, e.g. Deut. 9:13–21.

274 E.g. Deut. 4, 8:2–10, 9:4–12, 11.

275 Other than the “virtual” taking of possession of the land by Moses: see n.212, supra. There is also a transfer of leadership to Joshua at Deut. 31:7–8, 23 (here by God directly), 34:9 (in the voice of the narrator).

276 Deut. 34:5–6.

277 There is only one MS, dating from the 6th century, written in Latin but apparently translated from a Greek version itself translated from a semitic original: see Priest in Charlesworth 1983:I.919f. The first three lines are missing, but are part of a narrative introducing Moses’ speech. The text breaks off mid-sentence in ch.12, though it appears to be preparatory to an account of Moses’ death, and there are references in the surviving text to Moses’ impending death: 1:15, 3:3; 10:12, 14. For different views of the dating and provenance, see Priest, ibid., at 920–22 (opting for the first cent. CE).

278 Cf. Priest 1983:I.925. At 11:1, we read: “And when Joshua heard the words of Moses, so written in his testament, . . .”

279 On the relationship of this text to the Assumption of Moses, see Priest 1983:I.925.

280 Priest, ibid., and 919, noting especially the dependence on Deut. 31 and 34. The speech, however, is largely predictive, of both Israelite history into the second commonwealth period and of the end of days: see further Priest at 919.

281 Priest, 1983:I.922, in relation to the punishment of evildoers and the rewarding of the righteous (at 12:10–11), and as quoted in n.277, supra.

282 Priest 1983:I.924.

283 Charles 1913:II.291ff. described the influence of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs on the New Testament as “very extensive”; the Pauline borrowings, in particular, being “too numerous to be dealt with here”. Later scholarship has been more critical.

284 See my “Jésus et Moïse…” (1981/1992, the latter in English).

285 Frey 2010:317f.: “In emerging Christianity there was also a production of new testamentary passages and texts, now attributed to important figures of emerging Christianity, to Jesus and to the predominant apostles.” See further text at n.290.
1. Jesus uses the first person in his teaching (especially in the Antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount), which distinguishes him from contemporary Rabbis.

2. He reflects on his personal history from a moral (here eschatological?) point of view.

3. He gives moral advice (often formulated as “commands”).

4. The Testamentary passages do not deal directly with property.

5. The Gospels stress Jesus’ death and burial (the empty tomb evoking the unknown grave of Moses).

Scholars have, however, gone beyond this in identifying specific “testamentary passages” in the New Testament. Frey cites, as the most prominent example, the Farewell Discourse(s) of Jesus in John 13:31–17:26, to which he adds “Jesus’ commission to the disciples in Matthew 28:16–20, Paul’s farewell address to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:17–38, and, among the later epistles, 2 Timothy and 2 Peter, which both present a literary testament of respectively Peter and Paul in post-apostolic times.

Moreover, we find an explicit identification of Jesus as “testator” in Lactantius, who links this with Jer. 31:31 (also rendering “covenant” in that passage by testamentum):

But all Scripture is divided into two Testaments. That which preceded the advent and passion of Christ—that is, the law and the prophets—is called the Old; but those things which were written after His resurrection are named the New Testament. The Jews make use of the Old, we of the New: but yet they are not discordant, for the New is the fulfilling of the Old, and in both there is the same testator, even Christ (et in utroque idem testator est Christus), who, having suffered death for us, made us heirs of His everlasting kingdom, the people of the Jews being deprived and dispossessed. As the prophet Jeremiah testifies when he speaks such things: [Jer 31:31–32]

“Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new testament (testamentum novum) to the nation of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the testament (testamentum) which I made to their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for they continued not in my testament, and I disregarded them, saith the Lord...” For that which He said above, that He would make a new testament to the house of Judah, shows that the old testament which was given by Moses was not perfect; but that which was to be given by Christ would be complete.

Lactantius appears to have been prompted in this by two New Testament passages (discussed below), Gal. 3:15–18 and Heb. 9:15–22, which invoke the legal institution of the will as a theological analogy. Indeed, it has been suggested that these passages may allude to

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286 E.g. Matt. 5:21–22: “You have heard that it was said to the men of old, ‘You shall not kill; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment.’ But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment.”

On this, see Daube 1956:55–62.

287 Gerald Downing kindly points me to Luke 22.24–38, 52–53; John 14.9–25; 15.15–25; 16.4, 25–28, 33; 17.4, 6–8, 11–12[1], 14, 18, 22, 26; and the BNTC commentary of Lincoln 2005:14–17, 384.

288 Again, the Sermon on the Mount, and Daube, supra n.286.

289 Deut. 34:6.

290 Frey 2010:347f.

291 240–320. A convert to Christianity, he ultimately became an advisor to Constantine, but is said to have been “considered somewhat heretical after his death”: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lactantius. According to Campenhausen 1964:62, he had a good knowledge of the law, but according to his own testimony never appeared publicly as a practicing lawyer or speaker.

292 Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol VII. Lactantius, Divine Institutes, Book IV, Chap. XX, available at http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/eci/007/0070102.htm, quoted by Martin, “What is the “New Testament”? Is it the same as the New Covenant?”; Latin at Migne, PL VI.314–15 and see n.44, supra.
Luke 22:29, where Jesus at the last supper “seems to leave a testament”: 293 “And I assign (διατίθημι) to you, as my Father assigned (διέθετο) to me, a kingdom.” 294 We may perhaps link this to John 3:35, 295 where Jesus is presented as the heir of a spiritual inheritance, which he is seeking to pass on: “(32) He bears witness to what he has seen and heard, yet no one receives his testimony (μαρτυρίαν); (33) he who receives his testimony sets his seal to this, that God is true. (34) For he whom God has sent utters the words of God, for it is not by measure that he gives the Spirit; (35) the Father loves the Son, and has given all things into his hand.”

6. THE LEGAL ANALOGY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Gal. 3:15–18 and Heb. 9:15–22 296 present the same issues as the LXX use of διαθήκη: (i) does the usage derive from the legal or theological register, and (ii) if the legal, what kind of “testament” does the author have in mind? But in one important respect the issue in the New Testament passages is different: the use of διαθήκη here does not come about as a translation (we may assume that both authors took it from the LXX), but rather is used in the context of a theological argument. 297 The linguistic issue now is no longer that of a “complete overlap in meaning between the Hebrew and the Greek” but rather whether a legal analogy is incorporated within such a theological argument. But there are different genres of theological argument, appropriate to different audiences. Neither Paul nor the author of Hebrews was writing a treatise on systematic theology, designed for a theological peer group. Their writings were a form of preaching, designed to influence action, addressed to a koine lay audience. Then (as now) analogies from everyday life represent a rhetorical device designed not only to clarify otherwise potentially obscure theological concepts, but also to impress the audience that the writer/speaker is “one of them”, belongs to the same community. It is in that context that they invoke just those aspects of the legal analogue which were most pertinent to the particular theological message they were seeking to convey.

In Galatians 3:15–18, the issue is the interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant (arguably, in relation to the land), and its inviolability from the later Mosaic law:

(15) To give a human example (κατὰ ἀνθρώπων λέγω 298), brethren: no one (οὐδεὶς) annuls (ἀκτετεί 299) even (ὑμως) a man’s will (διαθήκη), or adds (ἐπιδιατάσσεται 300) to it, once it has been ratified (κεκυρωμένη).

293 Hering 1970:80 in the context of Heb. 9 (below). Cf. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 212 n.126.
294 Moffatt 1924:127: “... according to one tradition he (Jesus) had spoken of himself figuratively as assigning rights to his disciples”, quoting the Greek formulation.
295 Kindly drawn to my attention by Jennifer Dines.
296 Commentators on one of the passages often overlook the parallel usage in the other (e.g. Lincoln 1999:4, citing Bauer; Allen 2010:479).
297 Nevertheless, Porter 2003:278f. argues for an application here of the Louw-Nida approach to the LXX usage (supra, at n.38): “Paul apparently uses diaqh/kh in Gal. 3:15 to introduce the wider notion of the content of an agreement between two parties, in this case quite probably a testament or will, in order to reformulate his idea in terms of the specific covenant with Abraham in v.17. In other words, in Pauline usage, even if instances of the Hellenistic usage are not numerically predominant, the specific usage of the theological notion is a focused use of the broader category of testament or will – that is, a covenant is a testament or will made under particular circumstances, in which God is one of the parties.”
298 For discussion of this expression, see Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 44f. and footnotes.
299 The negation of τίθημι.
300 The term for a codicil was ἐπιδιατάσσεται.
Now the promises (ἐπαγγελίας) were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, “And to offsprings (σπέρμασιν),” referring to many; but, referring to one, “And to your offspring (σπέρματι),” which is Christ.

This is what I mean: the law (νόμις), which came four hundred and thirty years afterward, does not annul (ἀκυροῖ) a covenant (διαθήκην) previously ratified (προκεκυρωμένην) by God, so as to make the promise void (καταργήσαι).

For if the inheritance (κληρονομία) is by the law (ἐκ νόμου), it is no longer by promise (δι’ ἐπαγγελίας); but God gave it to Abraham by a promise.

Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained by angels through an intermediary (ἐν χειρὶ μεσιτῶν).

Now an intermediary (μεσίτης) implies more than one; but God is one.

The text has long served as a battle ground between two radically opposed approaches, which we may term “covenant throughout” on the one hand, “legal analogy” on the other. While the opening κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω appears to be an explicit indicant of an allusion to everyday life, the major objection to the “legal analogy” approach has been that the legal analogy fails, since the ability of the testator (unless excluded from οὐδείς) to annul or add codicils to a formally valid is well established in contemporary law.

Footnotes:
301 Forman 2011 concentrates on the usage of κληρονομία and cognates, rather than διαθήκη, and specifically on four indisputably Pauline passages where the former root is used. This wider notion of “inheritance” encompasses what we would call intestate as well as testate succession (used, he notes at 64, in the LXX to render the root ἱνα, and thus avoids the theological issues prompted by the use of the latter (testamentum) model. For a conceptual rather than linguistic account of Paul’s concept of inheritance (though focussing on κληρονομία rather than διαθήκη), see Hester 1968, who rightly stresses the dual character of the concept, as both legal and theological.

302 On μεσίτης in Gal. 3:19f. see Walker 1906:96–98 (taking the reference to be to Moses, rather than Christ, despite some patristic views to the contrary); Walker 1906:113–17 (for Paul’s view of the role of this μεσίτης as mediating between Promise and Fulfilment). See further infra, text at n.366, in the context of the use of the term in Heb. 9:15.

303 On the earlier literature, see Moulton and Milligan 1914:148f., commenting that “even a Jew like Paul, with Greek in the very fibre of his thought, could never have used διὰ for covenant without the slightest consciousness of its ordinary and invariable contemporary meaning. He would use the “Biblical” word – “Biblical” in this case being synonymous with archaic – but always with the possibility of a play on the later meaning of the word . . .”

304 E.g. Hughes 1979; Lincoln 1999.

305 E.g. Walker 1906.

306 Walker 1906:94f. notes that κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω appears also in Rom. 3:5 and 1 Cor. 9:8 (κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λαλῶ) and in all it means “to express one’s thought – even about the ways of God – in a form taken from human affairs”. For further discussion of this expression, see Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 44f. and footnotes.

307 See Walker 1906:157–59 discussing earlier views and concluding that it means that “no other person” may annul or add to such a will, even though this is stating an obvious fact.

308 George 1994:245.

309 Walker 1906:101–04, citing (later) Roman law sources and arguing that Paul here presents the law as a codicil to an already valid will. See also Bruce 1982:170.

310 On the criteria of formal validity (reflecting a range of legal sources from different jurisdictions and periods), see Walker 1906:136, 141f. (discussing earlier views of deposit in an official Record Office), Hughes 1979:60 (“properly drawn up, attested, sealed and deposited with the public official responsible for the safe-keeping of such documents”), Bruce 1982:170f. ("signed, sealed and delivered"), Dunn 1993:182 ("signed and witnessed"), George 1994:245 ("promulgated"), Hahn 2005:74 ("written down, witnessed and deposited with a notary", based on an alternative formulation of Hughes).

311 Llewellyn, “Revocation”, 42, notes exceptions to this in the form of grounds on which a valid will may subsequently be challenged. Moreover, though the terms of a valid will may not be altered, it may be revoked in favour of a later will.
does κεκυρωμένην refer to formal validity? The verb has a very general sense, and is used in the NT only here and in 2 Cor. 2:8, the latter in a non-legal setting: “So I beg you to reaffirm your love for him”. κεκυρωμένην may equally refer to the coming into effect of the will (a quite different matter) on death – as is clearly the case with the διαθήκη in Heb. 9:16f. (discussed below), which may well have taken its clue from the Pauline text: once the testator has died, the terms of a will are inviolable (just as is a covenant, once brought into effect by God).

Paul draws an analogy between διαθήκη in the theological sense of berit (הבר) and διαθήκη in its everyday (koine) legal sense. It is difficult to see how the argument could work if διαθήκη had one, single sense in the passage. What kind of inviolable human covenant could Paul have had in mind in v.15?

But what kind of will does Paul here have in mind? Those who wish to avoid the difficulty that, unlike a human testator, God does not die, have sought to argue that Paul is referring to either the Hellenistic (meta ten teleten) or Jewish (matenat bari) forms of will rather than a διαθήκη which takes effect only at death. Llewellyn, however, concludes in

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312 From κοράσικα, to make valid or reaffirm. Moulton and Milligan 366 show that the verb is not technical for a particular form of validation. See also Hughes 1979:67f. Yaron 1960:23 cites (Justinian’s) Digest 32.37.5, where the early jurist Scaevola quotes a clause in codicils: βουλομαι πάντα τα υποτεταγμένα κύρια είναι, and (from the same jurist) Digest 34.4.30:1: βουλομαι βεβαία είναι τα υποτεταγμένα, as having influenced the opening clauses of dyathēkē discussed in the Babylonian Talmud (B.M. 19a and B.B. 135b).

313 This distinction is overlooked by commentators, who sometimes use the terms “valid” and “operative” as if they were synonymous. See, e.g., Hughes 1979:44, 60f., Lincoln 1999:15. The distinction may be illustrated from modern legislative practice: a UK statute may pass all its required parliamentary stages and receive the royal assent, and yet not become operative, since it may include a clause which postpones its “coming into effect” until a certain date or the fulfilment of a certain condition. On some occasions, such a valid statute has never become operative, since it has been repealed before it ever came into effect.

314 Cf. Walker 1906:102; Bruce 1982:170.

315 Walker 1906 discusses the earlier dispute between Halmel 1895, who sees it as a Roman will, and Ramsay 1899, who sees it as Greek. But it is clear that Ramsay (criticised by Schmiedel 1901) was using the term “will” loosely in the Greek context, as referring to inter vivos dispositions in contemplation of death: see s.3, supra. The debate was generated in part by the controversy over whether Paul’s audience was North Galatian (in terms of this issue, Roman-influenced) or South Galatian (Greek-influenced). Walker 1906 provides a summary and evaluation, concluding that the differences between the legal models is too insubstantial to form a basis for decision. The debate may now be regarded as of purely historic interest, given the growth of the available data and advances in legal historical analysis. But the view that Paul is alluding to a Roman form of inheritance has been maintained more recently by Hester 1968:20, partly because of the theological pertinence of Roman law’s concept of universal succession (including liabilities as well as assets).

316 Behm 1965:129 correctly avoids this form of reductionism: “The many legal terms used in the passage make it clear that he is here using the word διαθήκη in the sense of Hellenistic law . . . This illustration from the legal sphere throws light on God’s dealings in salvation history. As a valid will cannot be contested or altered by additions, so the promise of God [επαγγελία] which is His original “testament” cannot be invalidated by the Law [nomos] which came later.” He adds: “The point of comparison is simply that of inviolability, unalterability and therefore absolute validity. No regard is paid to the fact that in the case of God’s testament the presuppositions of this validity . . . are very different from that of a human will, i.e. the death of the testator.”

317 Selb, Bammel (summarised and discussed by Llewellyn, “Revocation”, at 43f). Hester 1968:72 wrongly takes the matenat bari to be a death-bed disposition.

318 The verbal form τὸ διαθέτειν appears to be older than the nominal form διαθήκη, the latter being more closely associated with a will rather than a μετέτειλιν. Thus Wolff 1974:543 writes: “Hence – in Egypt at any rate – the validity of a testamentary disposition, whether drafted unilaterally and destined to take effect at the testator’s death (διαθήκη), as donatio or parental distribution taking effect immediately, or as a contact between a married couple, depended on certain formal conditions: it had to be drawn upon in writing (in Roman times, at the latest, in a notarial instrument), and in the presence of witnesses (six in Egypt).”
favour of a model such as is reflected in P. Yadin 19, 310 “a transaction comparable to the *matenath bari* which was irrevocable”. He argues from this that “in the second century AD the Jewish deed of gift when made in Greek used the expression *dieqemew* or *dieqeto* and thus could have been called a διαθήκη. If the same practice and terminology can be assumed to have been in use in the first century, then it is to such an instrument that Paul, a Greek-speaking Jew, referred at Gal. 3.15 . . . the term could designate both a will and a gift.” 320 This last observation is important and correct, but it would appear simpler to take it here as referring to a will, not least in the light of *Heb.* 9:16f. 321

Paul compares the legal διαθήκη to the relationship between the Abrahamic covenant (itself described as a διαθήκη in v.17, despite the emphasis on “promise”, ἐπαγγελία and the mosaic law. The law, despite its very clear association with ρνα in the Sinaïtic pericope, 322 is not here termed a διαθήκη: Paul here 323 appears to want to equate the latter term with a promise, 324 a unilateral disposition, which is at odds with the emphasis in the Sinaïtic pericope on the people’s agreement. 325 The law is conceived in the continuation of this passage (3:19–29) 326 as a source of constraint, inevitably leading to sin, until such time as redemption through faith in Christ becomes possible. 327 Yet ironically Paul employs a legalistic form of interpretation 328 in order to reach his desired conclusion, namely that the Abrahamic covenantal promise specifically extends to (or even is fulfilled only in) Christ, 329 that being the
indeed, its rendering as free-natured offspring of a free-born soul”.

and Philo argues from the superiority of quality over quantity, such quality being identified with a Platonic original, archetypal idea, and links to this an etymology of tékνou showing that such a child is “the truly genuine and free-natured offspring of a free-born soul”.336

Paul makes no allusion to a “new covenant” in this passage, rather, he seeks to defend the integrity of the original Abrahamic covenant, even against modification by the mosaic law. But his expression “no one annuls even a man’s will or adds to it” may well allude to Deut. 4:2 (cf. 13:1, MT), “You shall not add to the word which I command you, nor take from it”, which is to be found in Deuteronomical narrative rather than law.338

In Gal. 4:21–31, however, Paul does identify the Sinaitic law as the content of a covenant:

Tell me, you who desire to be under law (ὕπο νόμον), do you not hear the law? (22) For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman. (23) But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα), the son of the free woman through promise (δι’ ἐπαγγελίαν). (24) Now this is an allegory (ἀλληγορίαν): these women are two covenants (δύο διαθήκαι). One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. (25) Now Hagar is Sarah will bear a son (τέκνου); why not many children? (πολλά τέκνα), asks Philo.335 The reply here is not in terms of a particular referent; rather, Philo argues from the superiority of quality over quantity, such quality being identified with a Platonic original, archetypal idea, and links to this an etymology of tékνou showing that such a child is “the truly genuine and free-natured offspring of a free-born soul”.336

330 Dunn 1993:183 notes other possible source texts: Gen. 13:15 (for which Daube argues at 1956:438f., taking account also of Josephus), Gen. 13:17 LXX, 15:18, 17:8, 24:7. Collins 2003:82 follows Bruce in rejecting Gen. 17 as the text which Paul is interpreting, on theological grounds: Paul would not refer to the promise of the land in seeking to address gentiles, nor does it fit with Paul’s reference some verses earlier (Gal. 3:8) to Gen. 12:3, the promise that all the nations would be blessed “in you”. He assumes that Paul’s source is the LXX (while at the same time invoking Paul’s access to the original Hebrew, citing also Gal. 1:14, Acts 22:3, at 86 n.29), and seeks to identify the target text by reference to dative usages in the LXX. He opts ultimately for a christological reading of Gen. 22:18, even while conceding that “since this is an allusion . . . we do not need a direct match”. But Paul may well be paraphrasing the Hebrew γενεα in Gen. 17:7–8.

331 Acts 26:5, cf. Acts 23:6 (“I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees”), Phil. 3:5 (“a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee”).

332 George 1994:246f.

333 Dunn 1993:183: “of course, it was a collective singular”, though noting that “seed” could also refer elsewhere to Isaac (citing Daube: see next note), “so that a rhetorical play on the ambiguity is invited.” Bruce 1982:172 notes that Paul was well aware that the collective noun could indicate a plurality of descendants as well as a single descendant, citing Rom. 4:18, where he identifies Abraham’s offspring (Gen.15:5, ἐν πλατείᾳ) with the many nations of Gen. 17:5, interpreting the latter as gentile believers. Wilcox 1979:3 notes that the Targumim translate ἐν πλατείᾳ as “sons”, but cites Jub. 16:17f., where the angels tell Abraham that “all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the Most High…” (Charles’ translation). This one son would be pre-eminent in relation to fulfilment of the promise relating to Abraham’s ‘seed’.

334 See Daube 1956:438–444 esp. 444 on Gen. 4:25, where Eve greets Seth as “another seed instead of Abel”, cf. Bruce 1982:173; Alexander [internet version] 8-9.

335 De mutatione nominum 145, cited by Bruce 1982:172.

336 De mutatione nominum 145–47. The conclusion of the argument is evocative of Paul’s characterisation of Sarah/Isaac as against Hagar/Ishmael in Gal. 4, discussed below.

337 Indeed, he uses this concept only twice: in Gal. 4:21–31, discussed below, and 2 Cor. 3:3–18.

338 Paul’s terminology does not correspond to that of the LXX of these Deuteronomic verses. But Paul had no need for recourse to the LXX.
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children. (26) But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother. (27) For it is written [Isa. 54:1], “Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear; break forth and shout, you who are not in travail; for the children of the desolate one are many more than the children of her that is married.” (28) Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise. (29) But as at that time he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was born according to the Spirit (τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα), 339 so it is now. (30) But what does the scripture say? “Cast out (ἐκβάλε) the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit (κληρονομήσεται) with the son of the free woman.” [Gen. 21:10] (31) So, brethren, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman. 341 (5:1) For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery.

Here, it is clearly implied that the covenant of flesh/law (Hagar/Sinai), inherited by Ishmael as the older son, has been revoked 342 by disinheritance in favour of that of promise/freedom from sin (Sarah/Jerusalem), represented by Isaac. Again, the imagery of inheritance (here, disinheritance 343 ) is used in juxtaposition to the notion of covenant, here referring to the Genesis narrative of the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael – which is also used in early rabbinic literature in relation to claims to the promised land, 344 part of the very promise of God to Abraham in Gen. 17. Taking these two chapters of Galatians together, we see that the argument from the revocability or irrevocability of “testamentary” arrangements 345 depends very much upon the theologically desired outcome: the Abrahamic covenant is not revoked by that at Sinai, but that at Sinai is revoked (figuratively, by the expulsion of Hagar and disinheritance of Ishmael) by that represented by Isaac/Christ. But Paul does not pursue the mechanism of revocation or non-revocation, and in particular whether a later testament automatically revokes an earlier one.

The stress on death as the point at which a διαθήκη takes effect is most prominent in Hebrews 9:15–22 (a passage which has been described as “pivotal in the exposition of Jer 31”).

(15) Therefore he (Jesus) is the mediator (μεσίτης 347) of a new covenant (διαθήκης καινῆς), so that those who are called 348 may receive (λαβων) the promised eternal inheritance (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας), 349 since a death has

339 The opposition between κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα might appear to imply a divine conception for Isaac. However, Bruce 1982:217 strongly rejects this (though citing, e.g., Marius Victorinus ad loc.: non ex copulatione); Abraham’s real paternity is implied in v.22, and even more clearly in Rom. 4:18–21.

340 The whole quotation is identical to the LXX, with the exception of Paul’s omission of τοῦτο after παιδίσκη on each of its two occurrences.

341 Cf. Philo, as in n.336, supra.

342 Dunn 2003:146f. prefers to see the contrast as between two different conceptions of the covenant with Abraham: “Hagar represents the covenant misconceived. Only the free woman represents the covenant of promise” (146 n.94). Yet Hagar and Ishmael were firmly excluded (v.30) on the basis of this misconception.

343 The ψαλμί, here translated ἐκβάλε, is used of both divorce and disinheritance (which in a polygamous society often went together, as here). Cf. Jdg. 11:2 regarding Jephtha; Jackson 2008:126, 191.

344 See Jackson, “Prodigal” 123–26, on the fictitious lawsuit before Alexander the Great (Midrash Rabbah LXI:7; Babylonian Talmud, Sanh. 91a on Gen. 25:6), and more generally on the “dismission” of an heir by sending him away with gifts (based on Gen. 25:5–6).

345 On the comparison of the elect, those who are “called” (κεκλημένοι), with those named in a will, see Buchanan 1972:151.

346 Taken to refer to the world to come. For its association in rabbinic sources with the land, see Buchanan 1972:150ff.
occurred which redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant (πρῶ τη διαθήκη).

(16) For where a will (διαθήκη) is involved, the death of the one who made it must be established (θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου).  
(17) For a will (διαθήκη) takes effect (βεβαιάσθαι) only at death (ἐπί νεκροῖς), since it is not in force (ισχύει) as long as the one who made it (ὁ διαθεμένος) is alive.  
(18) Hence even the first (covenant) was not ratified without blood (ὅθεν οὐδ' ἡ πωρτή χωρίς αἰματος ἐνεκεκαίνισται).  
(19) For when every commandment of the law (κατὰ τὸν νόμον) had been declared by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying, “This is the blood of the covenant (τῆς διαθήκης) which God commanded you.”

350 Though not found as a technical term specific to wills (Allen 2010:482), it is used frequently in the legal context of evidence being “brought”: Koester 2001:418 cites Hunt and Edgar II, no. 310. See also Moffatt 1924:128; Bruce 1965:207; Attridge 1989:256; Halh 2005:73. Lincoln 1999:23 notes that φέρεσθαι in the LXX is usually a translation for מְצָא in the HB, though the context in the hiphil and hophal forms is predominantly cultic (making offerings and sacrifices). Similarly, Swetnam 1965:388: “attested” (approving the view that the grammar of v. 16, without a main verb, suggests a legal maxim). Hughes 1979:42, 65 and Halh 2005:80 (in the context of a “covenant throughout” interpretation of the passage) see the death of the covenant maker as symbolically “brought” into the picture. See further infra, text at nn. 367–377.

351 Moffatt 1924:127 notes that ὁ διαθεμένος (cf. in v. 17) is the technical term for “testator”. Cf. Attridge 1989:256. See also Bruce 1965:212, citing i.a. (in n. 126) Simpson 1946:189 on the use of διαθέτος for intestate; Hughes 1979:39, who acknowledges the legal meaning but still prefers to view it as reflecting the LXX use of διαθήματι to translate κατα τὴν θανατον. Cf. Lincoln 1999:21–24, noting Liddell & Scott, ad loc, for the usage “to arrange, distribute (pieces of a sacrifice)”.

353 Better, with Attridge 1989:256 (comparing Heb 2:2), “valid”. Cf. Digest 34.4.30.1, in n. 312, supra.

354 This last clause represents a major difficulty for the “covenant throughout” interpretation (discussed below).

355 How can a covenant not be in force so long as the covenant-maker is alive? Lincoln 1999:19f. cites with approval the translation of vv. 16–17 by Lane 1991: “For where there is a covenant, it is necessary for the death of the one who ratifies it to be brought forward, for a covenant is made legally secure on the basis of the sacrificial victims, since it is never valid while the ratifier lives.” But this last clause is falsified by the fact that once the sacrifice has been made, the “ratifier” does live, yet the covenant is valid. Hahn 2005:80 would like it to mean: “while the covenant-maker is still ritually alive, not yet having undergone the death represented by the sacrificial animals.” But at 81 he concedes that the language does not appear to be figurative and argues that “after a covenant has been broken... the only means of enforcing the covenant is to actualize the covenant curses, which ultimately result in the death of the covenant-maker-turned-covenant-breaker” (83, cf. 84), instancing the Sinai covenant broken at the golden calf apostasy (86).

356 Hyssop appears in a range Hebrew Bible texts: Exod. 12:22 (in preparing to smear the blood of the paschal lamb on the doorposts of the Israelites in Egypt), Lev. 14:4, 6 (in the rite for cleansing the “leper”), 14:49, 51–52 (in the rite for cleansing a “leprous” house), Num. 19:6 (in the rite of the red heifer, for cleansing those rendered unclean by contact with a dead body).

357 Apparently referring to the covenant ceremony of Exod. 24:3–8, though including some extra details that do not appear in Exodus (see, e.g., n.354, supra): “Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD and all the ordinances; and all the people answered with one voice, and said, ‘All the words which the LORD has spoken we will do.’ (4) And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD. And he rose early in the morning, and built an altar at the foot of the mountain, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. (5) And he sent young men of the people of Israel, who offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen to the LORD. (6) And Moses took half of the blood and put it in basins, and half of the blood he threw against the altar. (7) Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, ‘All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.’ (8) And Moses took the blood and threw it upon the people, and said, ‘Behold the blood of the covenant which the LORD has made with you in accordance with all these words.’”
(21) And in the same way he sprinkled with the blood both the tent and all the vessels used in worship.

(22) Indeed, under the law (κατὰ τοῦ νόμου) almost everything is purified with blood, and without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins.

Here, too, the comparison of covenant with testament, perhaps reflecting the influence of the passage in Gal.3,356 though widely acknowledged,357 has also been vigorously contested: there are those who argue strongly for a “covenant throughout” interpretation of the passage.358 The argument here is not based on any claim (as is made for Galatians) that the “legal analogy” interpretation is impossible,359 although it is attacked on the grounds that the plural form ἐν νεκροῖς (v.17) is inappropriate for the legal context: it is only one death, that of the testator, which is required to bring the will into force.360 There is, however, evidence of a singular reading, νεκρός.361 It is also argued that the figure of Jesus as μεσίτης does not fit well the context of comparison with a will.362 But, as argued above, the appropriate criterion is not that of “complete overlap” (which can lead to contortions363),

356 So Hoppin 2004:154, citing Witherington 1991.
357 E.g. Moulton and Milligan 1909:563f.; Hering 1970:79. Allen 2010:477f. provides a lineup of 12 scholars favouring the legal analogy and 9 favouring covenant throughout, and summarises the arguments at 477-81. See also Swetnam 1965 for an attempt to view vv.16–17 as comparing the new covenant to a testament, and the old as an imperfect testament which prefigures it (largely retracted in Swetnam 2008, in the light of Hahn 2004).
358 Notably: Anon 1968; Hughes 1979; Lane 1991; Lincoln 1999; Hahn 2005; Allen 2010.
359 Indeed, Campbell 1972 argues that “the author of Hebrews (and his readers) was familiar not only with the true Old Testament conception of bēth as disposition, but also with the contemporary Greek usage of διαθήκη as outlined above, and that the two words express fundamentally the same idea” (at 111).
360 Hughes 1979:43f., 46; Hahn 2005:80. But the interpretation of νεκροῖς as referring to the sacrificial animals is weakened by the fact, noted by Lincoln 1999:26, that the term is used in the LXX almost only in regard to dead people, the one exception being the dead lion of Eccles. 9:4.
361 See Tischendorf, 8th ed. (from the biblos apparatus).
362 Hughes 1979:64 cites Behm 1912:79 n.1 for the absence of the phrase (v 15) μεσίτης διαθήκης from the papyri “nor indeed in the legal sphere of testaments” and argues against an argument to the contrary based on Clement, Stromata V 8.55.4. Attridge 1989:255 argues: “...because the covenant/testament requires the testator’s death, and the “living God” (9:14) cannot, by definition, die, that is the mediator’s role.” But that would assume that, for the author of Hebrews, Jesus was not divine. One could, of course, view v.15 as indicating two distinct roles for Jesus: as μεσίτης of the new covenant on the one hand, and as a redemptive sacrifice on the other. Proponents of the “covenant throughout” position include McKnight and Church 2004:205; Hahn 2005:70, who sees Christ as a mediator (Heb. 9:15; 12:24), not a “testator”, and one, moreover, who “does not die in order to leave an inheritance to the Church, but rather to enter the inheritance himself” (Heb 1:3–4, 2:9, 9:11–12, 10:12–13), which he then “shares with his “brothers” (Heb 2:10–3:6).”
363 Thus Behm 1965:131f. sees the situation in Hebrews as “much the same as in Paul”, with here (again) the use of testament as “a general illustration from experience”. He nevertheless (perhaps because here “regard is paid to the fact that in the case of God’s testament the presuppositions of this validity...are very different from that of a human will, i.e. the death of the testator”) argues that this does not justify us in deducing that the term is used in the sense of “testament”. “To the depiction of the superiority of the high-priestly ministry of Christ in heaven, which through his sacrificial death accomplished an eternal redemption (9:1–14), the author adds (9:15f.) an explanation for the necessity of the death of Christ to salvation.” But what is the necessary connexion between the death of Christ and the new διαθήκη? The author answers in 16f... If a διαθήκη is to come into force, death is presupposed. In the light of the external similarity that there is both death and a διαθήκη, he jumps from the religious to the current legal sense of διαθήκη, even at the risk of involving himself in contradictions which show that there is no real parallel. The Christ, who is μεσίτης, must act as testator for God, whose will it is, but who does not die. [But] a consistent application of the testament metaphor (which he thinks is excluded by the term translated “ratified” in v.18) would lead to the absurd idea that in the institution of the first διαθήκη the death of the sacrificial beasts represented that of the testator, i.e. God. ... διαθήκη is everywhere else used in Hebrews in the sense of “disposition”... of God, which reveals to men His will, and especially His saving will, or it is the order thereby established as a divine institution.” He goes on (at 132) to discuss Heb. 8, based on Jer. 31:31 (see n.50, supra).
and it is clear that v.15, despite its use of κληρονομία, is concerned with διαθήκη as covenant, not will. In fact, the allusion in μεσίτης may well be to the patron/client relationship (as, even more clearly, in Gal. 3:19-20), in which, deSilva has argued, the patron often served as an intermediary or “broker” to a higher status patron, and which he sees as applied to Jesus as a mediator of God’s patronage.

The alternative, “covenant throughout”, interpretation of the passage involves taking διαθέμενος in vv.16 and 17 as the covenant maker, and the requirement of his death in those verses as a cultic requirement of covenant making. In the Hebrew Bible, animal sacrifice is often involved in covenant making. Equally, various biblical sources pronounce a curse on the covenant breaker. These sources are then combined to interpret the animal sacrifice as a symbolic self-imprecation by the covenant maker. by the animal sacrifice, he “brings into the picture” an image of his own death should he breach the covenant. Ancient Near Eastern documents are cited as recording such symbolic enactment of their death curses during covenant-making rituals. However, in the new covenant, Jesus takes the place of the animals; it is his blood that “redeems them [the covenant breakers] from the transgressions under the first covenant” (v.15). That, of course, is a rather different function from that of symbolically representing the penalty for breach of

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364 The “spiritual testament” genre, whose history is sketched in sections 4-5 above, serves as an important bridge between the two senses of διαθήκη.

365 See supra.

366 See DeSilva 1999:33 on the role of the “mediator” in patronage (but without connecting this to μεσίτης terminology); 1999:49 on Jesus as “sole mediator” who “connects those who make themselves his clients to another patron” (1999:53), with many sources from the synoptics as well as Paul (1999:56–61). He integrates this with a traditional theological understanding in arguing that “even such a mediator is God’s gift to the world” (1999:53), stressing in particular the gift of Jesus’s death, which “has opened up for his clients access to God the Father, the great Patron” (58).

367 Advanced, with some variations, by Hughes 1979, Lincoln 1999, Hahn 2005, Swetnam 2013:152–155. Contra, Bruce, who accepts that the basing of the new covenant on the death of Jesus is found elsewhere also in the NT: esp. (earliest) 1 Cor. 11:25 “This cup is the new covenant of my blood” (1965:209), while rejecting the view that the death of the sacrifice is the symbolic death of the maker of the covenant (1965:212).

368 See Weinfeld TDOT II.259–61 for the range of expressions, other than karat berit, for making a covenant. Nor does such sacrifice always denote a symbolic self-imprecation by the covenant maker; see Hasel, TDOT VII.350–51 on Gen. 15.

369 Conceded by Hahn 2005:80f., pace Lincoln 1999:5: “a covenant is always made over the death of a sacrificial victim”.

370 Hahn 2005:76f., “Covenant Oath as Conditional self-malediction”, citing Ezek. 17:16 and the covenant curses of Lev. 26 and Deut. 28. But we may note that these are all threatened curses for covenant violation, not actual self-maledictions. For the latter, the self-imprecator must either utter the curse him/herself or hear it and respond “Amen”, as in the sotah procedure against a wife suspected of adultery in Num. 5:22, and the curses of Mount Ebal in Deut. 27:14–26 (which may or may not form part of the anticipated covenant ceremony – if that be – after entry into the land, described in Deut. 27:1–8; in fact, the term berit is not used in this chapter at all).

371 Hughes 1979:41.

372 See supra.

373 Hahn 2005:78, citing the 8th cent BCE treaty of Ashurnirari V and Mat’îlu King of Arpad (Pritchard AVET 1969:532–33; the text was earlier quoted by Hasel, TDOT VII.350), which includes: “This head is not the head of a lamb, it is the head of Mat’îlu . . . If Mat’îlu sins against this treaty, so may, just as the head of this spring lamb is torn off . . . the head of Mat’îlu be torn off.” The treaty in effect pronounces a curse, but without using the word curse and without indicating that there was an oral curse. Cf. the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (at AVET 1969:539): “May the great gods of heaven and earth . . . curse you angrily . . .” (§36) . . . May these gods look on if we rebel or revolt against Esarhaddon” (§57). Lincoln 1999:16f. also refers to the ancient Near Eastern tradition of treaties, noting that all these cultic elements (including vows, blessings and curses, and a sacrifice) are not found in all of them.
the new covenant which Jesus is initiating. But since the function of the new covenant is in part to remedy the defects of the old (as in Jer. 31, but in a different way), adherents of this view attribute to the death of Jesus a dual role, on the one hand of “fulfilling” the old covenant, on the other of initiating the new. But if the new covenant anticipates (like that of Jeremiah, but in a different way) no future sin, why should its initiation require a death? It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there is an element of circular reasoning in this: the Hebrew Bible is interpreted in the light of the New Testament, and the New Testament is then seen as a fulfillment of the Old.

As in Galatians, it is clear here that the choice of legal model is driven by the theological message. This is a form of testation that takes effect only (and not merely partially, as in the meta ten teleuten / matenat bari model) on death — thus, as we shall see in the next section, the Roman model. The argument of the pericope is thus: (a) the new covenant (διαθήκη) initiated by Jesus, by virtue of which the elect receive an eternal inheritance (κληρονομία), involves a death which redeems them from the sins incurred under the first covenant (v.15); (b) [don’t be surprised at that], since [as you know] a will (διαθήκη) does not come into force until the death of the testator is established (vv.16–17); (c) and even the first covenant involved the sacrifice of blood, albeit the blood of animals (Exod. 24) (vv.18–20), which in the law of the first covenant, too, had the function of purification and forgiveness of sins.

In both Galatians and Hebrews, the Vulgate (as elsewhere) consistently translates διαθήκη as testamentum.

7. THE ROMAN TESTAMENTUM AND ITS THEOLOGICAL ATTRACTION

While the precise legal referent of the New Testament uses of διαθήκη in these passages (a function in part of the primary audience they are assumed to be addressing) may be subject to discussion, what is indisputable is that they use legal analogies from inheritance primarily for their connotations regarding (according to the theological context) revocability or irrevocability. Tertullian, who is credited with legal knowledge, must have been aware of this. But when we pose the same question of the precise legal referent to Tertullian’s use...
of testamentum, the answer appears less complicated. On the one hand, testamentum did not have a well-established theological meaning, unlike the LXX use of διαθήκη; on the other hand, the terminology and rules of the Roman law of succession were (by this time) more precise than those of their Greek, Hellenistic or Jewish predecessors.

It may be useful, first, to summarise (from the discussion in s.3) the different forms of testamentary disposition (Greek, Jewish and Roman):

- **Outright inter vivos gifts** which may be intended either as a pay-off, effectively disinheriting the donee from any later entitlement or as an advance or even a gift without any prejudice to later entitlement;\(^{381}\)

- **The spiritual “testament”** not involving property at all, but moral/religious advice;\(^{382}\)

- **The Greek μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν bilateral dispositions taking effect partially immediately and partially on death;\(^{383}\)**

- **The Greek διαθήκη** typically, a unilateral disposition but sometimes taking effect partially during the testator’s lifetime;\(^{384}\)

- **The Rabbinic matenat bari** an inter vivos, bilateral transfer (effective immediately and thus irrevocable), in which the donor retained a usufruct and the donee a future interest, which could be alienated (with the consent of the donor) during his lifetime; full ownership passed to the donee only on the death of the donor;\(^{385}\)

- **The Rabbinic shekhiv mera** an informal will, oral or written, by a terminally ill testator, effective on death, revocable and automatically revoked if the “testator” recovered;\(^{386}\)

- **The Rabbinic diatiki** a written document, whose precise history and legal significance for Jewish law remains unclear, but which apparently required delivery, and once delivered was irrevocable until after recovery.\(^{387}\) Automatic revocation by a later diatiki is unclear;\(^{388}\)

- **The Roman testamentum** various ius civile (ceremonial) forms, replaced in practice by Tertullian’s time by the praetorian written will,\(^{389}\) whose characteristics are discussed below.

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\(^{381}\) See n.344, supra.

\(^{382}\) Gen. 27, 49 (s.4, supra); the Testament genre (s.5, supra).

\(^{383}\) See text at nn.117–141, 150–180, 185–196, supra.

\(^{384}\) See text at nn.71–76, supra.

\(^{385}\) See text at nn.184–187, 192–196, supra.

\(^{386}\) See text at nn.188–191, supra.

\(^{387}\) See text at nn.197–204, supra.

\(^{388}\) See text at nn.205–206, supra.

\(^{389}\) And thus available also to peregrini, though this became irrelevant when the edict of Caracalla in 212 CE (18 years before Tertullian’s death) conferred Roman citizenship on all free inhabitants of the Empire.

\(^{390}\) On Roman wills in the papyri, see Taubenschlag 1955:193–200: he notes that up to Alexander Severus, Roman testaments generally were mancipatory wills written in Latin and translated into Greek, but thereafter they were written in Greek (193 CE).
We may now list the characteristics (several of them unique) of the Roman will, which may have proved theologically significant:

a) Writing: While the original forms of Roman will did not require writing, by the 2nd century CE this had become a *de facto* requirement: the praeatorian will, by granting *bonorum possessio cum re* (i.e. even against the civil law heir), was termed *testamentum*, and required both writing and sealing (by seven witnesses).

b) Whereas the *materat bari* came into effect (at least partially) immediately, the praeatorian *testamentum* came into effect only at death, and was therefore “ambulatory”: it included everything in the “estate” at time of death.

c) The praeatorian *testamentum* was entirely unilateral, requiring no consultation with or participation of the intended beneficiaries.

d) The Roman *testamentum* conferred complete freedom of testation, though the *disinheritance* of an heir who would have been entitled at civil law could be challenged through the *querela inofficiosi testamenti*.

e) The Roman *testamentum* was revocable. Indeed, as in modern law, a later will automatically (and completely) revoked an earlier one.

So viewed, it is not difficult to appreciate the theological attraction of describing the Christian scriptures as the “New Testament”. A written document was required (notwithstanding the oral teaching which preceded it), especially given the relation of the Christian teachings to the earlier written text of the Hebrew Bible. If Jesus was the supposed “testator” (with Lactantius), the significance of his death was not only that of a redemptive
but was also needed to render the new covenant binding and unchangeable. The “ambulatory” character of the testament also served to emphasise the totality of his teaching, up to and including the words on the cross. Its unilateral character would reinforce the teaching of grace or promise, as opposed to a bilateral covenant. Its freedom of testation served to bring within its terms a universal audience, but also to exclude those who did not fully subscribe to its teachings.

Most important, it completely revoked any earlier testamentum. Tertullian strongly states his supersessionism in Adversus Judaeos:

> Who else, therefore, are understood but we, who, fully taught by the new law, observe these practices – the old law being obliterated, the coming of whose abolition the action itself demonstrates. Therefore, as we have shown above that the coming cessation of the old law and of the carnal circumcision was declared, so, too, the observance of the new law and the spiritual circumcision has shone out into the voluntary observances of peace.

If so, we may ask, why was the ‘Old Testament’ included in the Christian Bible at all (evidenced at least from Origen’s Hexapla from the late 2nd cent)? We may recall that Tertullian’s reference to the two “testaments” was in the context of his rebuttal of Marcion, who rejected the “Old Testament” completely, on the more radical ground that its source was not the God recognised by Christians. For Tertullian equally to have abandoned the “Old Testament” entirely might have appeared to concede too much to his opponent (not to mention the value of the “Old Testament” as indicating prophesies which would be fulfilled in the “New Testament”). Or, more fully: the revelation to the Jews spoke of a covenant to them which would be replaced by a “new covenant” (Jer. 31:31), now revealed in the “New Testament”.

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401 See Heb. 9:15ff., discussed in the latter half of section 6, supra.

402 Adversus Judaeos III.10: Qui igitur intelleguntur alii quam nos qui in nova lege edocti ista observamus obliterated veteri lege cavis abolitionem futurum actus ipse demonstrat? Igitur sicut supra ostendimus, quod vetus lex et circumcisio carnalis cessatura pronuntiata est, ita et novae legis et spiritualis circumcisionis observantia in pacis obsequio eluxit. In the English translation of the Ante-Nicene fathers, ch.3 carries the title: “Chapter III. – Of Circumcision and the Supersession of the Old Law” (as at http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-19.htm#P2021_691723), though this does not appear in the Latin text at http://www.tertullian.org/latin/adversus_judaeos.htm.

403 Cf., in the sense of covenants, Vulg. Gal. 4:24: sunt duo testamenta.

404 See n.60, supra.

405 I have argued, for example, that Matt. 5:17-18 (“Do not suppose that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I did not come to abolish, but to complete/fulfil. I tell you this: so long as heaven and earth endure, not a letter not a stroke will disappear from the law until all that must happen has happened . . .”) alludes to the law of the prophet in Deut. 18:14–19; see Jackson, “The Prophet and the Law . . .” in Essays, 20.
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AN ARAMAIC DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONTHS
BY SAHLAN BEN AVRAHAM

Michael Rand*

ABSTRACT: The article offers an overview of the corpus of poetic disputes between the months composed in Aramaic, together with a critical edition of one such poem, "אתנהברר ירח שמות" by Sahlan ben Avraham (Fustat, 11th century). The critical edition is accompanied by translations of the poem into Hebrew and English. Part of the text given in the critical edition is based on a copy found in a Genizah document copied in the 13th century by Yedutun Ha-Levi, now known as אדר מפטאני. The history of publication of this document is reviewed, and a description of its remaining fragments (including a new fragment identified as part of the present edition) is given.

INTRODUCTION: ARAMAIC DISPUTES BETWEEN THE MONTHS

The corpus of Late Antique Jewish Palestinian Aramaic poetry may be conveniently divided into three categories on the basis of the Sitz im Leben of the poems: 1) poems that are connected in one way or another to the liturgical reading of the Aramaic Targum (i.e., so-called Targum poetry), 2) poems that are intended for para-liturgical occasions, in particular wedding poems and dirges, and 3) poems that are intended for incorporation into the liturgy proper. Cutting across this three-way distinction on the basis of locus (i.e., appearing in all three categories) is a literary type whose position within the corpus is quite prominent: the dialogue poem. In turn, a special sub-category of this type is the dispute poem. Dialogue poems in general and dispute poems in particular are of great interest to those who wish to trace the origins and development of Jewish Aramaic poetry on account of the fact that they are well attested in the roughly contemporaneous Christian Syriac poetic culture. Taken together with additional parallels between the two traditions, this shared feature points in the present state of our knowledge of the corpus, the third category is essentially restricted to qinot, i.e., poetic dirges composed for the liturgy of the Ninth of Av. For an analysis of this group of poems, see M. Rand, "Observations on the Relationship between JPA poetry and the Hebrew Piyut Tradition – The Case of the Kinot," in Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interactions, eds. A. Gerhards and C. Leonhard (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127–44. There is no reason to suppose that a relationship of dependence exists between the Aramaic and Hebrew qinot – i.e., that the former are somehow an imitation of the latter, or vice versa. It is quite likely that at some point in Late Antiquity, Aramaic and Hebrew qinot were simply composed alongside one another, with the Hebrew qinot eventually winning out by being incorporated permanently into the liturgy (with the result that the genre was cultivated and developed by successive generations of liturgical poets) while the Aramaic qinot were discarded, to be re-discovered among the literary remains preserved in the Cairo Genizah.

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1 This corpus has been conveniently collected in M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, "שירת בני תורה" (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999). Several of its aspects are the subject of an extensive and penetrating analysis by M. Kister, "שירת בני תורה – מבט ביקורי על שירת עולם", Tarbiz 76 (2006/07), 105–84.

2 The first two categories reflect the status of Aramaic as the vernacular of Late Antique Palestine. Given the present state of our knowledge of the corpus, the third category is essentially restricted to qinot, i.e., poetic dirges composed for the liturgy of the Ninth of Av. For an analysis of this group of poems, see M. Rand, "Observations on the Relationship between JPA poetry and the Hebrew Piyut Tradition – The Case of the Kinot," in Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interactions, eds. A. Gerhards and C. Leonhard (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127–44. There is no reason to suppose that a relationship of dependence exists between the Aramaic and Hebrew qinot – i.e., that the former are somehow an imitation of the latter, or vice versa. It is quite likely that at some point in Late Antiquity, Aramaic and Hebrew qinot were simply composed alongside one another, with the Hebrew qinot eventually winning out by being incorporated permanently into the liturgy (with the result that the genre was cultivated and developed by successive generations of liturgical poets) while the Aramaic qinot were discarded, to be re-discovered among the literary remains preserved in the Cairo Genizah.
the poetic corpora of the various relevant Aramaic literary cultures — Christian Syriac, Jewish Aramaic and Samaritan — and, by extension, in the traditions of Hebrew piyyut and Greek Church poetry, which are closely related to the Jewish and Christian corpora, respectively. In the case of dispute poems, moreover, the existence of the genre in both Jewish Palestinian Aramaic as well as Syriac is to be attributed to a common ancestry, since such poems are attested in the Mesopotamian, Sumero-Akkadian tradition, which constitutes a substratum of Aramaic literary culture.4

Among the dispute poems, a coherent group is constituted by those which describe a precedence dispute between the months of the year. One such poem is attested in Syriac,5 and the following examples are known in Jewish Aramaic:

- **itkannashu kol yarhayya** “All the months gathered together” (2): Published in M. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), 1.186-21. This poem is attested in ms. T-S NS 186.21, photographs of which are given in ibid., 2.163–64.
- **itkannashu kol yarhayya** “All the months gathered together” (7): Published in Sokoloff and Yahalom, *Genizah Manuscripts*, 1.201–5. This poem is attested in ms. T-S H 11.51, photographs of which are given in ibid., 2.165–171. Strictly speaking, it is not a dispute, as only Nisan speaks,

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3 See O. Münn-Manor, “Liturgical Poetry in the Late Antique Near East – A Comparative Approach,” *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010), 336–61.

4 For dialogue poems and dispute poems from a comparative perspective, see E. Hacohen, “Dialogue Poems and Dispute-Poems in Late antiquity and the Byzantine Period,” in *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature* 20 (2006), 97–171; O. Münn-Manor, “Aramaic and Syriac Dispute-Poems and Their Connections,” in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, eds. J. Greenfield, M. Geller, and M. Weitzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 157–87. For Syriac dispute poems, see S.P. Brock, “A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts,” *JSJ* 30 (1985), 181–211; idem, “Syriac Dispute Poems: The Various Types,” in *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East*, eds. H. Vanstiphout and G. Reinink (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), 109–19. For a discussion of the poetic debate in Hebrew piyyut, see E. Hacohen, “Heteronyms in Hebrew Dialogue Poetry: The Case of the doavad ha-shaḥarah,” *Maseoret He-Piyyut* 4 (2008), 61-83. A dispute between Passover and the Sabbath, beginning with its take on the question of which month is the first, has recently been added to the corpus of Hebrew dispute piyyutim; see M. Rand, “Qillirian Compositions for Double Liturgical Occasions: Linguistic and Iconic Aspects (Including an Appendix with Editions of Two New Shivatot for Shabbat and Pesah),” in *The Experience of Jewish Liturgy – Studies Dedicated to Menahem Schmelzer*, ed. D.R. Blank (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 222–5.

5 This poem is published in Brock, “Dispute of the Months.”

6 A similar list is provided in Murray, “Aramaic and Syriac Dispute-Poems,” 166–8. Murray did not have the advantage of being able to refer to Sokoloff and Yahalom, *Genizah Manuscripts*, 1.190–1. Where relevant, the number of the poem in Murray's list is indicated in parentheses immediately following the incipit in the list given above. Poem 6 on Murray's list is itbeh zahra le-qiddush yarhun “[...[N] at... ib-nay] be-rashe yarhun “The moon was chosen for the sanctification of the months” (Sokoloff and Yahalom, *Genizah Manuscripts*, 1.201–5) and poem 8 is itkannashu kol yarhayya “[...[N] at... ib-nay] be-rashe yarhun “I will [...] my sons on my new moons” (ibid., 234–9). Neither poem is a dispute, as noted by Murray himself.
addressing each of his opponents in turn and arguing for the inadmissibility of each to be the “Redeemer” month. The poem is therefore the exact opposite of a precedence debate, as each of the months (with the exception of Nisan) is (dis)qualified by reference to some negative feature. However, it shares enough features with the other items in this list to justify its inclusion (see below).

Where data are available, we see that the poetic disputes, which serve as targumic embellishments of (Exod. 12:2), are cast in the same basic mold. Each begins with an introduction, in which the gathering of the months is described. The theme of gathering is given expression in the opening lines of the poems, which are essentially stereotypical: איאתבור יוחי שמח, איאתנוש מלי חרוא, אגתניש חודה כל רדייה. The introduction is followed by a presentation of arguments by each month in turn, beginning with Iyyar (i.e., the month immediately following Nisan). In the case of אגתניש חודה כל רדייה, this feature is paralleled by the fact that Nisan begins his tirade against his opponents with Iyyar. There are several possibilities for the end of the debate. In איאתבור יוחי שמח the closing argument is given by Nisan, with the specification that his claim rests on the “authority of the Most High” (l. 60). The victory of Nisan is therefore implied rather than asserted explicitly. In אגתניש חודה כל רדייה Nisan does not present arguments. Rather God, the presiding judge, rules in favor of Nisan immediately following Adar’s arguments. In the case of אגתניש חודה כל רדייה, after Nisan finishes his harangue with Adar, he pronounces himself the victor, again on God’s authority: “The Mighty One made me a redeemer for his people” (l. 44; translation mine).

In addition to the poems listed above, the following two items should also be noted:

- זפא והווה ק’dיק דיטגלה י”י “And when the Lord was revealed” (1, 5): This dispute between the months is not cast in a poetic form, but rather in that of a prose targum expansion (tosefta) to Exod. 12:2. The literary structure of this expansion, however, entirely corresponds to that of the poetic disputes. It is attested in two versions, which are recensions of the same basic text. The first recension is published in M. Klein, The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 1.72–3. A translation is given in ibid., 2.37–39. An alternative translation, including suggested emendations to the Aramaic text, is provided by Brock, “Dispute of the Months,” 209–211. The second recension, beginning with והוה דכ אנתי קליס va-hawa kad itgele qiris “And when the Lord was revealed”, is published in Klein, Genizah Manuscripts, 1.194–5. It is attested in ms. Ox. Heb. e.73, photographs of which are given in ibid., 2.173–74.

- איטרם פלוסטוס [transcription following the vocalization in the manuscript] “A dispute arose” (4): This short targumic poem to Exod. 12:2, which at present consists of four stanzas, has been published on several occasions, the two latest being: Kister, "הבטימס", 115 A. Berberian, "תנ”ך, תקנ”ות/תַּקנְו: דִּיוֹלָה דַּוָּחֶשׁ פָּצוּס", Leshonenu 75 (2012), 112. It is attested in ms. Ox. Heb. e.73 (see previous item). In its present form, it appears foreshortened, with the first two stanzas describing the gathering of the months and their resolve to cast lots so as to determine which of them will be the month of

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7 This poem is further distinguished from the other debate poems by the fact that in it the months are identified with their respective zodiac signs.
8 The latter two incipits are simply textual variants. In the case of the third incipit the word חודה is crossed out in the manuscript.
Israel’s redemption, while in the third and fourth stanzas Nisan summarily dismisses his opponents, claiming the prize for himself.

SAHLAN’S POEM

The poem ihabbaru yarah shatta “The months of the year joined together” was composed by Sahlan ben Avraham, whose acrostic signature appears in the last stanza: סהלן. Sahlan was a prominent member of the Babylonian community in Fustat, and was active in the beginning of the 11th century. His poem therefore postdates the other, Late Antique, poetic disputes listed above by some 500 years. However, its inclusion within the present corpus is amply justified on the grounds of its structural similarity to the Late Antique poems. In terms of overall structure, we have already seen that all of the poems begin with Iyar and end with the victorious Nisan. More specifically, Sahlan’s poem contains a number of verbal parallels to the poems אֹּקְנָנָשׁוּ קול יָרֹהְגָּיָה “All the months gathered” (see the commentary to ll. 8, 27, 53) and יָבַרְךְוּ נַפְתָּש בֶּן אָבִּרְחָם “... and in me Moses went up” (see the commentary to ll. 13–14, 19, 28, 29, 32, 35, 38, 48). In fact, Fleischer, who first published Sahlan’s poem (see below), noted the parallels between it and יָבַרְךְוּ נַפְתָּש ... and correctly judged the latter to have served as a model for the former.

Finally, as with the Late Antique poems, Sahlan’s poem also seems to have been originally intended as a targumic embellishment of Ex. 12:2, as indicated by the fact that the targum to this verse is referred to in its last line (see the commentary, ad loc.). As a faithful imitation, therefore, Sahlan’s poem may be considered an additional witness to the essentially Late Antique genre under discussion here.

Sahlan’s poem is distinct from the Late Antique debate poems in the matter of dialect. Whereas the latter were intended for use with the Palestinian Targum and (for the most part) reflect the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic idiom in which it was composed, the former was to be employed with Targum Onqelos (see note 14), and is composed in an Aramaic that imitates that of this Targum, with occasional slips into Babylonian Aramaic: מָזָּךְ “before” (l. 12), מָזָּךְ “the Lord” (l. 37), מָזָּךְ “He taught” (l. 41), and מָזָּךְ “authority, permission” (l. 60; see the commentary, ad loc.).

For Sahlan, see E. Bareket, "סהלן", Tarbiz 52 (1982), 17–40.

See E. Fleischer, "ד”ל עַל” יִמְנוּ אֶרֶץ וַיִּשְׁמָה יִשְׁמָהוּ", Silva 7 (1991), 56–57, note 18.

Sahlan composed a second Aramaic poem in honor of Nisan: נַפְתָּשׁוּ אָבִּרְחָם elaha addira shemeh “His name is Mighty God” – published in E. Fleischer, "ד”ל עַל” יִמְנוּ אֶרֶץ וַיִּשְׁמָה יִשְׁמָהוּ", Tarbiz 37 (1968), 269–70. This poem, however, does not belong to the dispute genre.

The poem also contains two morphological Hebraisms: רָע הַשָּׁמַע “all of them” (l. 51), ותָּשֵׁם “He expounded” (l. 53) together with two apparent lexical Hebraisms: רָע “wearing” (l. 27), ותָּשֵׁם “He spoke” (l. 58). Incidentally, the latter usage seems to also be attested in יָבַרְךְוּ נַפְתָּש בֶּן אָבִּרְחָם (l. 21). In their commentary, the editors opine that the meaning of ותָּשֵׁם is unclear in the present context. It seems likely, however, that the correct translation is ותָּשֵׁם spoke great things (or: spoke at length). This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the first line of every strophe of this poem contains some verb of speech, and line 21 is the opening line of the strophe dedicated to Heshvan.
THE FIRST ORDER OF FUSTAT

At present, Sahlan’s poem is attested within the context of a qiddush ceremony in honor of the New Moon of Nisan that was celebrated on the eve of the New Moon in the “Palestinian” synagogue of Fustat in the beginning of the 13th century. This ceremony is primarily attested in a document of central importance for the study of (the last phase of) the Palestinian liturgical ritual, the bulk of which is preserved in ms. T-S H 12.11. The document is currently known as אדר מייס, “The First Order of Fustat.” In the course of preparing an edition of Sahlan’s poem, it became evident that more fragments of this document have been preserved than has hitherto been recognized. In order to underscore this point, it is necessary to briefly review the history of its publication.

In an article entitled "ארשי והמשים" (1968), Fleischer called attention to ms. T-S H 12.11, a liturgical document consisting of three bi-folia, which he divided into two groups of three folia each (i.e., the three bi-folia belong to the same quire, with a gap between the first three and the last three folia): 1) Purim, Parshat Parah, Parshat Ha-Hodesh, Rosh Hodesh Nisan; 2) Simhat Torah, Shabbat Ve-Ẓot ha-Berakha, Shabbat and Rosh Hodesh, Shabbat Parshat Yitro, Hanukkah. Fleischer later published a facsimile of this manuscript, in which the order of the two groups is reversed, so that the material for Rosh Hodesh Nisan now appears at the end of the preserved quire (rather than in the middle, at the end of the first three folia). As we will see presently, the latter is the correct order. In the same article, Fleischer announced the discovery of an additional bi-folium belonging to the same document, only the bottom halves of whose leaves are preserved: T-S 13 H 3.11. One leaf of this bi-folium contains material for Rosh Hodesh Nisan, while the other leaf contains the remains of text in the upper portion of the recto, the rest of the recto and the verso being left empty. The material for Rosh Hodesh Nisan follows the material for the same occasion contained in T-S H 12.11.

In his publication, Fleischer ignored the fact that T-S 13 H 3.11 is a bi-folium (here and in subsequent publications, he consistently refers to the manuscript as a שטף, “folio”), whereas...
this fact actually solves the problem of the order of the two groups in the three bi-folia of T-S H 12.11. As noted above, the second leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11 is blank in the bottom of the recto and in the entire verso. The most likely assumption, therefore, is that this leaf constitutes the end of the original codex. This being the case, the only possible juxtaposition between the two manuscripts is one in which the material for Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan contained in T-S 13 H 3.11 follows the material for the same occasion contained in T-S H 12.11, while at the same time the second, partially blank, leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11 is positioned last among the leaves of the two manuscripts. These two criteria can only be satisfied if the three bi-folia of T-S H 12.11 are grouped together in one quire with the material for Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan last, while the bi-folium T-S 13 H 3.11 is positioned as the outer bi-folium of the following quire, with the leaf containing material for Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan coming first.

In his article, Fleischer published the material for Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan contained in the first leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11. At the preserved top of the recto he recognized the damaged remains of the tail end of a poem containing a dispute between the months, surmising that it might belong to the poem אֲדוֹנָי אִישׁוֹת.18 At the beginning of the corresponding verso, he identified the damaged text of the qiddush itself.19 As we will see presently, the end of the poem actually belongs to Sahlan’s את הנבירה והר שלחן.

In a follow-up article, "חפושת ענני אש ראש חודש" (1981), Fleischer published ms. Mosseri VIII 394, a leaf that immediately follows the first leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11.20 The number of known manuscripts belonging to the First Order of Fustat thus rose to three.

In a third article on the subject, "דוו ענני ראש ראש חודשיש" (1991), Fleischer identified ms. T-S NS 236.5, which does not belong to The First Order of Fustat, but also contains (poetic) material pertaining to Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan.21 The parallel to the First Order of Fustat was established on the basis of a poem appearing in both documents: את הנבירה והר שלחן elaha addira shemeh “His name is Mighty God” (see note 12). After this poem, T-S NS 236.5 contains the beginning of את הנבירה והר שלחן, which Fleischer published.22 He then published the continuation of את הנבירה והר שלחן on the basis of ms. T-S NS 125.96, and its direct continuation, ms. T-S NS 325.69.23 However, it escaped Fleischer’s notice that T-S NS 325.69 is the missing upper portion of the first leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11, so that the damaged tail end of the dispute poem appearing at the top of the recto of T-S 13 H 3.11 belongs to this copy of את הנבירה והר שלחן.24

Accordingly, the number of known manuscripts containing fragments of the First Order of Fustat is five. These constitute the remains of two adjacent quires, the latter presumably

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18 Fleischer, "ארשי ראש חודש", 272, 277.
19 Fleischer, "ארשי ראש חודש", 274, 277.
20 E. Fleischer, "חפושת ענני ראש ראש חודשיש", in Studies in Aggadah, Tarbut and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann, eds. J.J. Petuchowski and E. Fleischer (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981), 111–32 [Hebrew section].
21 Fleischer, "דוו ענני", 49–65.
22 Fleischer, "דוו ענני", 52.
23 Fleischer, "דוו ענני", 53–5.
24 Fleischer came tantalizingly close to recognizing that the two manuscripts represent the same source. In his discussion of את הנבירה והר שלחן he cites as a typological parallel the tail end of the dispute poem in T-S 13 H 3.11, again opining (this time without any hesitation) that it belongs to את הנבירה והר שלחן – see Fleischer, "דוו ענני", 56, note 17. Furthermore, he recognized that the actual qiddush ceremony described on the verso of T-S NS 325.69 is parallel to the qiddush ceremony described in the verso of the relevant leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11, without realizing that these are two halves of one and the same text – see ibid., 56 (in the notes to the transcription).
being the last of the original codex. The first quire is constituted by the three consecutive bi-folia making up T-S H 12.11, with the material for Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan coming last. The last folio of this quire is represented by the leaf preserved as T-S NS 125.96. The first folio of this quire, i.e., first leaf of the original bi-folium whose second leaf is T-S NS 125.96, is missing. (If, therefore, we assume a quire consisting of five bi-folia, it necessarily follows that a single, inner bi-folium is missing from this reconstructed quire.) The second quire, which immediately follows the first, consists of the bi-folium T-S 13 H 3.11, which constitutes its outer bi-folium. The upper portion of the first leaf of T-S 13 H 3.11 is T-S NS 325.69. This first leaf is followed by another: Mosseri VIII 394.

In a final article treating of the document under discussion here, Fleischer summarized his findings and named it סדר פסנテン. In an important discovery, he also identified the compiler/copyist of this document: Yedutun Ha-Levi. Yedutun was the ḥazzan of the Palestinian synagogue in Fustat in the first quarter of the 13th century, a poet in his own right, whose career is chiefly identified with his unflagging and ultimately unsuccessful efforts to save the remaining vestiges of the Palestinian liturgical rite from being abrogated in favor of the triumphant Babylonian rite. The First Order of Fustat was drawn up by Yedutun as part of his campaign.

CRITICAL EDITION

Below I provide a critical edition of Sahlan’s dispute poem, on the basis of:

- T-S NS 236.5 (ll. 1–15)
- T-S NS 125.96, T-S NS 325.69/T-S 13 H 3.11 (ll. 19–63)

A composite image of T-S NS 325.69/T-S 13 H 3.11 may be viewed on the website of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit. As the two manuscript witnesses do not overlap, restorations in square brackets are always conjectural. A Hebrew translation is provided alongside the Aramaic text. An English translation is provided in the following section.

Editorial Sigla:

- [..] = less than one word missing
- [...] = one word or more missing (may be repeated in order to fill out a line)
- < > = restoration of a scribal abbreviation
- ８ = doubtful reading

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25 E. Fleischer, “הלדר הפותה בביית היהלום shel Ben Aruni-Sharla, מופשות ב crises of the month תשרי", Asufot 7 (1993) 217–60.
26 For Yedutun and his career, see Sh. Elizur, "פרי רידת מתכנת" in Diné Israel – Studies in Halakhah and Jewish Law 26–27 (2009/2010) 301–8 [Hebrew section].
27 Website: http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter/fofm/november-2011/index.html (Fragment of the Month, November 2011).
полнение בחזרה
新材料
בניגוד למקרא
במקרא
כל זהأمر בильноיא סbsite
말ות

תנו לה原标题
ברואים נשות היה
Outlined otherwise unspecified שכתב קרולי
לפיisible במקרא: [ ...
ינשנה_hal תג
רזרזת שבעה

[...]
AN ARAMAIC DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MONTHS (MICHAEL RAND)

[55] ונהוקת והברה לפנינו
[53] טעמים את אע
[51] שבב נע שדברי עמו

[50] שבת [שמםahu]
[49] על כל התנאים אשר עשה
[47] אע כי ידע אחרים ואל אחרים
[45] שלם קינא דיברעברית / על ד מיוש ואותו[1]
קלואים

(2003)
M. Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Ramat Gan/Baltimore/London 2002

אשתנש רוזיא": המהד"י קליין (ראהشرטועופיסיםב辙המאמר)

(ובספר "מגדה" Sokolof זקהל לברכיםופיסיםב辙המאמר)

In: ת"ת = חורון אנקדוטים 1886, עמ' 25; [2003] ( edição אמא ונרי [ ג' בvation עודא הא, י"ת 1886 , עמ' 25; ( qed ותרש"ו .)

פדרה פסוק

לפנינו שלט של חכמי צהריים והשניים他们 על אסם, ג: "אני (סמך) והשניים
לשקן הכות עשת, לא כיון הכות יושב, תהלים מהד"י אל הכות הסלע שלשף [ירא, ז], על הכות הנחלות בו ובהשלמה הנחלות ובשכורת של תרשים הכות
ולשל工程技术, הלכתיות, הלכתיות הרותי, כלכליים תבות תבות, לשתה וchez הכות, עד אולם ח venir, צדש שמח: "

[מדרש אמא ונרי, ג' בvation עודא הא, י"ת 1886 , עמ' 25; [2003] ( qed ותרש"ו .)

組圖

8 - 'מע, 'מע, מנוולת בה כתובה, ירושלים 1986." (2003)
M. Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Ramat Gan/Baltimore/London 2002

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TRANSLATION

The months of the year joined together
In the length of time, when the moment arrived.
In bandying about words
Each one said, “Preeminence is my due.”

5 Refrain
Iyyar lay bare the meaning of his talk
And spoke, his fellows before him.
“In me the Merciful One led out the people borne by Him,
And brought down for them manna and food.”

10 Refrain
Indeed Sivan answered them,
“As is fitting, the deed of one worthy is reckoned before the High One.
And in me Moses ascended on high
And brought down the two Tablets of the Covenant.”

15 [Refrain]
[…]
[…]
[…]
[…] to gather the harvest.

20 Refrain: In bandying about
“Blessed am I,” said Av, “among all the months.”
And he esteemed himself above them, giving himself praise.
“In me the praised nation will rejoice
For in me mourners will be consoled and in me the Messiah will be born.”

25 Refrain
When Elul heard these words,
He wearing the crown,
[He said,] “In me the heart of stone will pass from the congregation
And the precious city will be rebuilt to perfection.”

30 “Who is like unto me amongst you all,” said Tishrei,
For it is in me that my Lord and Master takes pleasure.
His people are radiant in me, at the going out of […]
And they multiply feasts in me, and my splendor waxes.”

Refrain

35 Marḥeshvan multiplied a plethora of words.
He said to them, “I am he who made garments.
The Lord performed miracles in me
And the sons of Hashmonay were victorious over the kings of Greece.”

Refrain

40 Kislev opened his mouth and said,
Instructing his fellows in his meaning.
“The people’s prayer […]
And their oppressor was smashed and disappeared.”

Refrain

45 [Ṭevet] arose […]
“And as for me, in me the Merciful One saved the nation.
In me […] became great,
And I abrogated the decree of Haman the son of Hamdata.”

Refrain

50 Shevat […] and invented […]
And he esteemed himself above them all […]
“Praise […]
For in me Moses expounded the teaching of this Torah.”

Refrain

55 […]
And spoke, his fellows before him.
“The crown is mine […]
For in me the humble one was born, with whom [God] spoke.”

Refrain

60 […] of Nisan […] by authority of the Most High.
“Am I not the head and every [other] month last?
Preeminence and kingship are my due, and I am the prince.
My light is a great light, and I am the first month.”
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