An Offering of Wine:

An Introductory exploration of the role of wine in the Hebrew Bible and ancient Judaism through the examination of the semantics of some keywords.

A Thesis submitted for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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Preface

"In wine there is truth."

- Pliny The Elder [A.D.23-79] Natural History Book XIV, Sect. 141

In 1997 as I was contemplating starting a PhD Prof AD Crown suggested I should focus on an area where I could bring some outside knowledge to my research. Some weeks later it occurred to me that there was really only one field which met this criterion, wine.

It is now more than a dozen years since I gained my first hands-on experience of wine production as a cellar hand at the Hunter Estate winery during the summer of 1988-89. With such practical experience I became involved in the running of my College's Wine Cellar and easily found work in the retail and wholesale sectors of the wine business. Throughout, I read everything about wine which came my way and developed my knowledge of things vinous.

The use of wine in Jewish ritual has meant that throughout history Jews have been involved in wine production. My first thoughts covered wine from Noah to the influence of the Rothschild family on wine in Bordeaux and Israel. Such a broad period of history could never be covered in depth by a single volume and so the coverage has gradually been reduced to approximately Noah (pre-history) to the Second Temple Period, with the focus on the Hebrew Bible and the words associated with wine and its production.

Thus began the work which led to the volume before you. There are any number of paths this work could have taken and many people who helped shape my ideas. My thanks go to all these, I hope I have already thanked you personally.

The Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database gave my research the required focus as I struggled with the limited research on the meaning of words related to wine in the Hebrew Bible. Prof T. Muraoka's reading of draft entries to the Database has contributed much to this work.
In writing this preface I thought of many people I should thank individually. I apologize to anyone I have carelessly forgotten. Many scholars around the world have replied to my e-mails making my research much more efficient including: Profs Oded Borowski, Victor Matthews, John Reeves, Jack Sasson and Lawrence Stager. Rachel Lentin who is completing a PhD on Wine as a metaphor in the Old Testament was a valuable sounding board as this work progressed. Dr Philip Norrie of Pendarves Estate gave of his time and knowledge of wine's role in medicine as I contemplated debunking the temperance movement's claims that wine has no benefit. Erl Happ of Happs answered my questions on making wine without preservatives. The faculty and students of the Semitic Studies Department of the University of Sydney especially Emeritus Prof Crown (my undergraduate and Masters supervisor) who hooked me on this field of study initially. Family and friends must not be forgotten even those who were more inclined to say "what on earth are you doing that for?"

Two people stand out for special thanks at the end of the long process towards this work. Firstly Dr Ian Young, my supervisor, who managed to put up with my ravings, encourage me and assist me in developing the focus of this work. Most importantly Margaret, my wife. Only she heard the dozens of ways this thesis may have turned out and read many of them. Without her this would not have been possible.

Unless otherwise stated all quotes in translation come from the following sources:
The Bible "The New Revised Standard Version"
"The Mishnah" trans Danby
Babylonian Talmud "The Soncino Talmud"

Before the Second Temple Period, it is a matter of debate whether it is possible to use the term Jews to refer to the people of the Hebrew Bible and ancient Palestine. Until the end of the United Monarchy the term Israelites can be used. There is no simple term for the people of the Book from the emergence of the Israelites to the fall of the Second Temple. In this work, despite the acknowledged difficulty, the terms Jews and Judaism are used when discussing the broad time frame.

1 The proposed title of this thesis is Seeing Double: Strategies for Understanding Imagery, with
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew Bible</th>
<th>Reference to the Wine-Related Images of the Hebrew Bible.</th>
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<td>Ex Exodus</td>
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<td>Hb Habakkuk</td>
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<td>Zp Zephaniah</td>
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<td>Ml Malachi</td>
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<td>Ps Psalms</td>
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<td>Jb Job</td>
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**Versions and other early works**

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<td>Septuagint</td>
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<td>MT</td>
<td>Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible</td>
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<td>Pesh</td>
<td>Peshitta (Major Syriac version)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir</td>
<td>Book of Ben Sira / Ecclesiasticus</td>
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<td>Tg</td>
<td>Targum(s)</td>
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<td>Targum Neophyti</td>
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<td>TgO</td>
<td>Targum Onkelos</td>
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<td>TgPsJ</td>
<td>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</td>
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<td>Vg</td>
<td>Vulgate</td>
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**Journals**

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<td>BAR</td>
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<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<td>BR</td>
<td>Bible Review</td>
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<td>BRJL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAD</td>
<td>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBQ</td>
<td>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSD</td>
<td>Dead Sea Discoveries</td>
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<td>HTR</td>
<td>Harvard Theological Review</td>
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HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual  
ICC International Critical Commentary  
IEJ Israel Exploration Journal  
ILN Illustrated London News  
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society  
JBL Journal of Biblical Literature  
JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient  
JHSET Jewish Historical Society of England: Transactions  
JJS Journal of Jewish Studies  
JQR The Jewish Quarterly Review  
JSJ Journal for the Study of Judaism  
JSNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament  
JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament  
JSS Journal of Semitic Studies  
JTS Journal of Theological Studies  
PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly  
RB Revue Biblique  
RdeQ Revue de Qumran  
UF Ugarit-Forschungen  
VT Vetus Testamentum  

Major Works  
AB Anchor Bible  
ABD Anchor Bible Dictionary  
ANEP Pritchard. Ancient Near East in Pictures  
BDB Brown, Driver and Briggs  
BHS Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia  
DDD Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible  
DDJ Discoveries in the Judaean Desert  
DNSWI Hofijzer, J. & Jongeling, K. Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions  
DSSSE Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition  
EJ Encyclopaedia Judaica
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<tr>
<td>GKC</td>
<td>Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Critical Commentary</td>
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<td>JM</td>
<td>Joüon, P &amp; Muraoka, T; 1993; <em>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.</em></td>
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<td>LSJ</td>
<td>Liddell and Scott; 9th edition.</td>
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<td>NIDOTTE</td>
<td>Van Gemen, W.A. et al (eds); <em>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</em>; Vol 2; Grand Rapids: Zondervan</td>
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<td>OAHW</td>
<td>The Origins and Ancient History of Wine</td>
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<td>OCW</td>
<td>Oxford Companion to Wine</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAHD</td>
<td>Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDOT</td>
<td>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (English translation of TWAT)</td>
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<td>TWAT</td>
<td>Botterweck, Ringgren et al (eds); 1974-; <em>Theologisches Worterbuch zum Alten Testament</em></td>
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<td>WBC</td>
<td>Word Biblical Commentary</td>
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<td>MS</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
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<td>EV</td>
<td>English Version</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
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<td>OUP</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<td>in parallel with</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

‘only where there is no wine are drugs required’
Talmud - Mas. Baba Bathra 58b

Wine is a central part of much of Jewish culture. The Bible records viticulture\(^2\) as one of the major sources of the agricultural wealth of Palestine. From the vine come grapes and from grapes wine. A search of the Babylonian Talmud results in thousands of references\(^3\) to wine. Wine is an unusual and significant beverage in the history and diet of the land and peoples of Palestine and the Jewish Diaspora. A study of wine, its use and production provides insights and illustrations of a large cross section of the circumstances of the Jewish people, ancient Palestine and modern scholarship. The place of wine is unique in the variety of its uses. Wine is used in diet, sacrifices, trade, prophetic metaphors, medicine, and festivals, to name but a few of the roles of wine. In modern studies wine serves as a strong illustration of the difficulties facing scholars. Reconstructing the agricultural life of ancient Palestine is largely dependent on the Bible text, the Gezer Calendar and archaeological finds. There is no "agricultural text book" to provide detail on agricultural practice. Wine has been the subject of temperance attacks which have clouded basic research, a demonstration of how over time some people have attempted to impose preconceived ideas on the interpretation of the Biblical text. The language of wine in the Hebrew Bible is used in such a way that scholars must speculate as to how the words relate, with the distinctions between words often being inconclusive and or contradictory.

"Neither can the romanticist, connoisseur, and historian really know wine without a knowledge of the grape-growing and winemaking practices which result in the myriad kinds of wine."\(^4\)

\(^2\) Viticulture technically only refers to grape growing. Some commentators use it to refer to wine production as well (eg, Walsh; 2000.), but this should be avoided.
\(^3\) Search of Davka Soncino (Freedman, H.; 1991-96) produces 3530 occurrences. However as this includes the footnotes it can only be used as a guide.
\(^4\) Amerine and Singleton; p. 2.
Unintentionally or not, this observation by Amerine and Singleton discards much of the scholarship on wine. The importance of wine in ancient Palestine has been the focus of a large number of studies, yet few show any in-depth understanding of the processes which take grapes and produce wine. The aim of this study is to shed some light on wine, its production and significance in ancient Judaism, especially in Palestine, through the application of a strong understanding of winemaking practices. Even with a greater understanding of winemaking practices, any work of this size cannot be comprehensive as too many issues are raised in the course of research. This is but an offering to the further understanding of wine and Judaism - hence the title of this work.

If a linear history of wine in Judaism is possible, the only available starting points are the Hebrew Bible and the archaeological record of ancient Palestine. To some extent this is the starting point of this work. The archaeological record demonstrates the significance and volume of wine production through the large number of winery installations. However, it is limited in how much detail it provides about the culture. Thus, for information research turns to the written texts, principally the Hebrew Bible. A simple starting point for the examination of wine in the Hebrew Bible is a compilation of the occurrences of all wine related words. Such a compilation is not as simple as it initially sounds. Deciding which words are relevant, and then how relevant they are, has many complications. This is perhaps best illustrated by the way shekar (שֶׁקָּר) is translated "intoxicating drink, strong drink," "intoxicating drink, beer," "date wine" by various modern translators, but the earliest translators either transliterate it or translate it with a word meaning "wine." Thus, the search to define and understand the language of wine in the Hebrew Bible evolved to be as important as historical matters in this study.

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5 See Literature Review below.
6 BDB. p. 1016.
7 HAL. p. 1501.
9 The translators referred to here are those of the LXX, Targums, Peshitta and Vulgate. The way shekar is translated in these versions is discussed in detail below.
Wine was not the only alcoholic beverage of the Ancient Near East, yet there is no firm evidence of any other alcoholic beverage playing any significant role in Judaism until the time of the Talmuds. Beer was the principal alcoholic beverage for the common people in ancient Egypt and Babylon and likewise there is evidence that date wine and mead were known. Wine is an agricultural product. Why should wine have had such a significant role in Judaism? Part of the answer must be in the agriculture of ancient Palestine. This places at least part of this study in the context of modern research into the agriculture of ancient Palestine.

Methodology

The aim of this work is to develop the understanding of the place of wine and its production in ancient Palestine. Much of the initial stage of this process comprised seeking out what is known and or claimed about the topic at hand. With a large amount of material it became apparent that the major focus would have to be the examination of the words related to wine. The words, however, could only be understood in their setting and this would need some preliminary examination.

The Hebrew Bible presents its own potted pre-history of viticulture and wine production beginning with the story of Noah's vineyard and drunkenness (Gn 9.20-21). When Moses led the people out of Egypt viticulture was well established in Canaan (Nu 13.20-24). However, the archaeological record suggests that the grape vine was not native to Palestine. A brief examination of the prehistory of wine is thus used as a check that winegrowing was a long term part of the culture of Judaism and ancient Palestine.

An introduction to the conditions and what is known of agriculture in ancient Palestine form an important part of this work. Some details about the setting of wine use and production is essential in developing an idea of what is known. If wine production was not possible or economically viable then we would be forced to presume the terms understood to refer to wine would most likely have been misinterpreted. As will become apparent, this is not the case, and wine production is not only possible but a significant part of the economy of ancient Palestine.
There must be a more detailed understanding of the words related to wine for studies in wine, Judaism, and ancient Palestine to progress. Studies on the understanding of the wine related words in the Hebrew Bible are relatively rare. Fewer still have taken into account the advances in linguistics in the 20th Century or compared the glosses (translations) offered by traditional dictionaries with the early translations or versions. This work aims to bring together some of the developments in linguistics and all other relevant information about eighteen words of varying significance related to wine and its production in order to shed light on wine and ancient Judaism and suggest paths for further investigation.

The approach taken to the understanding of the words under investigation has a number of contributing factors. The linguistic aspects are introduced in chapter five. Much of the linguistic material offered in this chapter has been influenced by the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database. The initial approach taken in this study, examining every aspect known about the wine related words, had a great many parallels with the approach taken by the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database. Thus the linguistic approach taken in this study was expanded to follow SAHD. An SAHD entry follows this format:

Grammatical Type:
Occurrences:
BH - occurrences: (Biblical Hebrew occurrences)
Sir - occurrences: (Hebrew Book of Ben Sira occurrences)
Q - occurrences: (Dead Sea Scroll occurrences)
inscr - occurrences: (Inscription occurrences)
Text Doubtful:
Qere/Ketiv:
1. Root and Comparative Material
2. Formal Characteristics
3. Syntagmatics
4. Versions
a. LXX:

10 The early translations are often referred to as versions because they are not a direct translation of the Masoretic text and are thus a version of the Biblical text.
11 Henceforth SAHD. The project's homepage is: http://www.ed.ac.uk/~dreimer/SAHD/
b. Pesh:
c. Tg:
d. Vg:
5. Lexical/Semantic Fields
6. Exegesis
7. Conclusions
Bibliography
The major divergence from SAHD in an examination of a word in this work is the inclusion of and focus on technical information which may give greater understanding. An example of this is the fact that כֵּסָר cannot refer to a spirit or fortified wine as these require distilled alcohol which was not available until about the 12th Century CE. However, this information primarily occurs in chapters seven to nine.

Following this examination of linguistic tools, the basics of wine and other alcoholic beverage production are examined in chapter six. This provides the basic physical information against which all suggested meanings need to be tested.

Chapters seven to nine are word studies on the semantic field of wine; the vine and the vineyard; and winemaking installations. Chapter eight does not examine all words relating to the vine and vineyard, but focuses on the vine נֶגֶר, vineyard מַרְכֶּה and grape בְּנַי.

A major difference in approach of this study compared with previous ones is the way in which material from surrounding cultures is used. In the past, many reconstructions of wine production in ancient Palestine have attempted to understand wine making by using the writings and wall decorations of the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome.12 This has been avoided where possible as while these sources are valuable, they can be misleading not giving details which are basic to wine production. Pliny's famous description of the different wines of his time13 details how wines vary, but not the basic process of production. The juice emerging from

12 E.g., Albright, J; 1980.
13 Pliny; Natural History Book XIV.
the press in the Tomb of Nakht\textsuperscript{14} is a similar colour to the dark grapes in the press inferring some maceration\textsuperscript{15} (which requires fermentation) has taken place. This is contrary to many basic outlines of wine production as used by most commentators on ancient wine production.

The field of viticulture and wine has a language all of its own. Care is required in the use of this language. A complication is the limitations of English. English developed in a land where there was virtually no wine production. Thus relatively common wine related words in German and French have no real parallels in English. Adding to this problem is the poor use of the terminology which does exist. Some common examples of the poor use of terminology include: "Vintner" is all too often being used when "vigneron" is meant. "Vintner" is defined by both the Oxford English Dictionary\textsuperscript{16} and Webster's as "a wine merchant". "Vigneron" is a "wine grower." "Winepress" is a difficult word in biblical studies as it is often used to refer to the whole wine making installation when "winery" is a better term. "Winepress" should be reserved for the part of the winery used to separate grape juice or wine from solids through pressing. No doubt sometimes this was synonymous with the treading floor, but in later wineries it was a separate piece of equipment.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} ANEP 158. Some more recent pictures (Dayagi-Mendels. 1999. p. 21) do not show this, but the picture appears to have had some sort of conservation work carried out. Notably, cracks have been filled.

\textsuperscript{15} Maceration is the extraction of colour from the skins of grapes which only fully occurs after fermentation has commenced. See chapter six for further details.

\textsuperscript{16} OED online: http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/oed/

\textsuperscript{17} Jordan; 2002.
Chapter 2

Literature Review\textsuperscript{18}

"… in wine talk there is an enormous amount of humbug"\textsuperscript{19} 
TG Shaw; 1863.

Words on wine are as old as writing itself. From brief mention in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* to the wine column in yesterday's newspaper, wine and other alcoholic beverages appear in a vast cross-section of the literature of the world. It is no different in Jewish literature. Every major source for the study of pre-Islamic Judaism\textsuperscript{20} mentions wine.

Those studying Palestine have no records detailing the practice of viticulture, in contrast those studying ancient Rome or Egypt. Various Roman sources and Egyptian tomb paintings provide much, if somewhat incomplete, information. Applying non-Jewish/Palestinian sources to the situation in Palestine can only be done with extreme caution. Although the basic winemaking process is almost unchanged even to modern times, the detail of viticultural practice and winemaking technology varies enormously. The study of wine in ancient Palestine is thus dependent on searching the sources of Judaism, and to a limited extent archaeological finds, for mentions and hints of the viticultural practice of the period. The mentions are many. The Hebrew Bible has over 200 mentions of wine and the Babylonian Talmud over 3500. The Bible is the only major source to have received more than a cursory examination of what it records.

To be completely comprehensive in reviewing the many and varied writings about wine, Judaism and the various other subjects which influence this research project across all time and languages is virtually impossible. In 1927 Raymond recorded that the New York Public Library held 3000 volumes and pamphlets from the

\textsuperscript{18} The reader is referred to the Bibliography for details of each work cited in this review. Only when more than one work by a given author are cited, greater details are footnoted.
\textsuperscript{19} Shaw, T.G.; 1863.
\textsuperscript{20} The rise of Islam was an early limitation of the scope of this work, thus post Islamic literature has not been considered. It is acknowledged that much later works have significant discussions of wine.
Temperance movement\textsuperscript{21} and most of these articles would have used Biblical material as their reference point.

The different uses and roles that wine has in a society mean that important discussions appear in many fields. Categorising material examined in this study is inevitably limited in its usefulness, but has some value in attempting to gain an overview of the complex nature not only of the subject, but of the approaches taken and the topics related to wine, demonstrating its broad significance and importance.

**General histories of Wine and technology**

Despite the Bible and Judaism being major influences on modern western society, histories of wine have not always looked at Palestine other than to mention that Noah was possibly the world's first winemaker. Two of the earliest histories of wine in English, Barry (1775) and Henderson (1824), demonstrate this phenomenon.

Much "wine writing" is populist and does not aim to be scholarly. Other works such as those of Hyams, Seltman and Weinhold are partly scholarly, but cover many periods and places in a short span and so fail to be particularly insightful for any but that which they see as most important. Two general histories stand out in their coverage of things Jewish/Palestinian: Johnson's *The Story of Wine* and Younger's *Gods, Men, and Wine*. Nevertheless both these works are limited by the amount of coverage they are able to give to Palestine and what aspects of Jewish influence and or thought they concentrate on.

Perhaps the most significant book on wine in general is *The Oxford Companion to Wine*\textsuperscript{22}. It not only provides technical information but brief histories of most of the significant wine areas including Canaan (Pre-Israelite Palestine), Israel, Egypt and Mesopotamia. OCW also includes valuable articles on the Bible and Religion and Wine. In a study such as this the greatest weakness of OCW is that it does not examine the self-preserving property of wine, perhaps its most significant feature as an element of the ancient diet.

\textsuperscript{21} Raymond; p. 21; n. 5.
\textsuperscript{22} Henceforth OCW.
Wine is an important part of humankind's technological development and is a major topic of discussion by both Forbes and Singer in their discussions of technology. Both these works are flawed by their attempt to synthesise the practices and developments of the Ancient Near East into a single model. There are many problems with this model, not least of which that there is reasonable evidence for winemaking being performed at greatly varying stages of technological development at any given time in history.

Origin of Wine
The precise origins of wine will never be known. Nevertheless, advances in archeochemistry and greater care in the reporting of botanical remains from archaeological sites is pushing back in time the record of man's production and use of wine. The works of Renfrew, Zohary and Stager observe the relatively early evidence of the cultivation of the grapevine in the Mediterranean and Near East. Palestine is an important area within these studies although not the earliest. The conference volume *The Origin and Ancient History of Wine* is probably the most significant contribution in this field. This volume covers many of the issues in the field. Its contributors include many leaders in the search for the earliest history of wine such as McGovern, Renfrew and Zohary. Even though it is not the principal focus of any given article in the volume, the importance of Palestine in the history of wine is reflected in a number of articles.

Biblical Studies
Most of the examinations of wine in the Bible have been a result of the temperance debate, both for and against. Although some of the anti-temperance writing crosses over into academic writing, these categories will be considered separately. As the Bible is the main literary source for any study of Palestine, the division between Biblical studies and Jewish or Palestinian studies is very blurred.

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23 As Forbes contributed much of the material in Singer on the production of wine and other food products, the similarities are not surprising.
24 Henceforth OAHW
25 While it is the norm in this thesis to use the term Hebrew Bible, occasionally it is referred to as the Old Testament reflecting the terminology of the work being reviewed.
German scholars in the first half of the 20th century were the first group to examine in any depth the role of wine in the Bible and ancient Judaism. While some, like Busse, were unable to be traced during the course of this research, the importance of these studies is great. Dar26 refers the reader to Krauss, Löw and Dalman rather than provide a detailed discussion of the place of viticulture in ancient Palestine. Other major contributors of this period included Zapletal, Kircher and Doller. Despite the importance of these works, at times, they are dated.

Daube’s Wine in the Bible and Jastrow’s Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes both concentrate on wine in a section of the Biblical text. Daube concentrates on drunkenness in the Old Testament and the Eucharist. Daube's examination of drunkenness reflects an unrecognised interest in the "Great Jewish Drink Mystery."27 His main thesis is that in the Bible excessive drinking leads to the endangerment of the drunk, which he believes is largely a response to "the nomadic attitude and the Wisdom attitude."28 Jastrow presents one of the most interesting studies, even if its not always completely convincing. Aware of both the favourable and negative views of wine in the Old Testament, Jastrow asks whether this might reflect the different sources of the Pentateuch and changes in the developing culture of the Jews as they go from being nomads to having a more settled way of life.

Sasson's is the best of those articles, which concentrate on the Hebrew Bible, in that it examines the different issues involved in studying wine in the Bible. However, as Sasson himself acknowledges he is unable to be comprehensive in what is a many faceted area of research.

J. Albright's thesis is a reasonably comprehensive survey of the ideas about wine in the Bible and surrounding cultures of the period. Its main weakness is a failure to be critical about his source material.

26 Dar; 1986; p. 147.  
27 Discussed below.  
28 Daube; p. 7.
Matthews' study is a little difficult to categorise as it sets the scene of wine and beer production in the Ancient Near East before examining some of the major biblical texts regarding wine. This article could serve as good general introduction to wine in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, however, it suffers from the common misuse of vintner for vigneron and winepress for too many parts of a winery.

Dommerhausen provides an encyclopaedia style article outlining wine in the Bible. While a useful article, it is becoming dated especially in the area of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Galling's article on Wein in the Biblisches Reallexikon is similar in style.

The ambiguous place of wine in Biblical scholarship is perhaps best demonstrated not by what is said about wine but what is not said. The Anchor Bible Dictionary fails to examine wine as a separate entry. Other Bible Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias vary greatly in their coverage of wine. The most comprehensive is probably the Encyclopædia Biblica, which examines production, language and associated beverages amongst its eight pages on "Wine and Strong Drink." Most of the Bible Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias are not particularly useful in a serious study as they are designed to be quick references and are neither well referenced nor critical of their sources.

Biblical commentaries provide another form of discussion on wine. Nevertheless, it is unusual for wine to be of more than passing interest to their writers. Thus, a review of the impact of their work on the study of wine has not been attempted. Where relevant parts of commentaries are examined in this thesis, critical appraisal will for the most part accompany the examination. Commentaries that have a strong interest in wine such as the Lees & Burns Temperance Bible Commentary tend to be part of the Temperance literature and are considered with like material.

**Other Literary Sources**

Other than the Bible, the literature surrounding wine and Judaism / Palestine has received scant attention. Although generally from a later period than the Hebrew Bible, many other sources can be examined. These include the Dead Sea Scrolls, the
Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, and the Rabbinic literature (Mishnah, Talmud, etc).

Raymond is principally interested in the Early Christian Church but acknowledges Christianity's debt to Jewish writings and examines Philo and some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Goodenough's examination also includes some Rabbinic material, but nevertheless he only samples the many references to wine in these texts. Preuss' exploration of wine in Bible and Talmud is valuable as wine is considered both as a medicine and an important part of dietetics.  

The Dead Sea Scrolls supply new material for the study of many aspects of ancient Judaism including wine. Vermes' claim that the sectarians drank grape juice and not wine owes more to the temperance debate than to a serious study of wine in ancient Palestine. A high proportion of the wine words that appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls appear in the Temple Scroll. Many of these references are in the context of a Feast of the First Fruits of Wine. Reeves discusses the implications of this previously unknown festival and its potential significance.

**Jewish studies**

As an aspect of religious ceremony, diet and the economy in ancient Palestine, wine is examined by scholars studying many different aspects of ancient Judaism and Palestine. The broad and difficult nature of wine and Judaism is perhaps best demonstrated by Broshi's article. Broshi has some forty-one headings showing some of the many aspects of wine and its place in Jewish society in ancient times, but nevertheless, he finds that the most comprehensive survey of wine in the Bible at that time was Teachout's thesis which one can only consider as a temperance document rather than a serious contribution to the field.

The magnum opus on the symbolic place of wine in Judaism is Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols of the Greco-Roman Period*. Goodenough's examination of wine takes one and half volumes of this thirteen volume set. Goodenough aims to demonstrate the

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29 Preuss defines dietetics as more than diet but the "rules which a health person should follow in order that he not become ill." p. 553.

30 Vermes; p. 7.
parallels between the symbolism used in Judaism and that of surrounding cultures. For all Goodenough's insights there are many problems with this work. Smith's criticisms are based on the fact that Goodenough is dependent on Rabbinitic tradition for a period when the Pharisees and their successors the Rabbis were far from dominant. Hoffman's *Covenant of Blood* explores the symbolism of circumcision within Judaism. Wine has an important place in the associated symbolism. In relation to this study the main period that concerns Hoffman is rather late for consideration but nevertheless demonstrates the continuing importance of wine in Jewish symbolism.

Language studies continue to play a major role in any investigation of the Biblical text and other documents in Jewish studies. There has not been a great increase in our knowledge of wine terminology since the composition of the classic lexicons by Brown, Driver and Briggs, and Koehler and Baumgartner. The commonly quoted exceptions are Brown and van Selms. Brown's seminal article demonstrates similarities between common words for such words as wine, drinking-hall, to mix, winejar and drinking cup amongst languages from different language groups around the Mediterranean Basin. However, van Selms fails to convince his readers that *yayin* must be a Semitic word with a rather forced reconstruction of its origin. Lutz\(^{31}\) records that Hommel previously speculated on the origin of words for "vine", "wine" and "vineyard" and found they were non-Semitic.

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica's*\(^{32}\) article on wine concentrates on the Talmud. Given the large number of mentions of wine in the Talmud and other documents, this article is somewhat superficial and does not provide a great deal of information useful to this study.

The economy of ancient Palestine was dependent on agriculture. The importance of this to the life and development of ancient Palestine and its peoples and the general increase in interest in economic history has lead to a number of significant studies in the field. Goor and Nurock is typical of many "Plants of the Bible" type books.

\(^{31}\) Lutz; p. 40. Hommel *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* p. 93 was unable to be traced in the course of this work.

which, while they provide useful surveys of the Biblical text, are limited in critical apparatus for their conclusions. Stager\textsuperscript{33} presents the sparse information about Bronze Age Palestine which demonstrates the problems in reconstructing this period. Borowski has a simpler task in his seminal *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*. The Iron Age provides much greater resources both literary and archaeological than earlier periods. Walsh's examination of the role of viticulture in ancient Israel and the Hebrew Bible follows on from Stager and Borowski's studies of Palestinian agriculture. While Walsh extracts the Biblical information on viticulture, her limited knowledge of winemaking sometimes prevents her arguments from being conclusive.\textsuperscript{34}

Economic historians such as Safrai and Sperber have produced mixed results. Safrai tries to estimate the importance of wine in the diet, but is unconvincing. Sperber notes wine's importance in the Palestinian economy. Sperber is faced by the problem of few sources over long periods in his attempts to reconstruct the value of products in ancient Palestine. The centrality of agriculture to life and cultural development in ancient Palestine has produced a large body of material which is beyond this literature review. This review has only attempted to cover those studies that have wine or viticulture as a focus.

The role of wine in ancient Jewish medicine has been touched on by a number of authors. The most important work on wine in Jewish medicine is that previously mentioned, namely Preuss, although as the translator of this work, Rosner, observes, this work does contain minor errors. Preuss records many treatments which have wine as a component. The importance of wine in the diet of ancient Palestine, those who abstained, and the problems associated with excessive consumption are all topics of Preuss' discussion. Brim appears to be temperance orientated and is of little value. Lucia depends entirely on Lutz and Brim for his small section on Judaism.

\textsuperscript{33} Stager; 1985A.
\textsuperscript{34} E.g., pp. 108-109 The argument depends on the old misconception that the yeast occurred on the skins rather than everywhere in the natural environment OCW; p. 1079. For an in depth examination of Walsh see my review (Jordan; 2002). When Walsh is discussed in this work it is referring to the published edition of her thesis (2000) although initial work was carried out using her dissertation (1996).
Lutz's *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* has been the most significant work on wine in ancient times. Lutz is limited in that not all of his claims are substantiated and his work reflects the fact that there is a much greater volume of material about wine from Egypt than Palestine. Nevertheless, the importance of Lutz in the development of research into wine in the Ancient Near East cannot be underestimated with many authors referring to his work as though it were primary source material. Dayagi-Mendels' catalogue for The Israel Museum exhibition *Drink and Be Merry* provides a populist survey of wine and beer in ancient times. It suffers from limited understanding of wine making and using unreliable sources such as Lucia.

Many of the above aspects of research into wine and ancient Judaism have been paralleled by the work of Feingersh and Eitam, Shapira and Cohen in Modern Hebrew.

**Archaeology**

Archaeology provides tantalising, but difficult to assess, hints of wine and its production. Zohary, in the form of grape pips, presents the early evidence of viticulture rather than winemaking proper. The most prominent feature of the archaeology of wine in ancient Palestine is the relatively large number of installations identified as winepresses or wineries. Often the difference between an installation identified as a winepress and one identified as a winery is no more than size and, as the installation probably covered all stages of production, winery would be a more accurate term. The nature of the archaeological reports is as varied as the installations they describe. Ahlström presents those installations from the Jenin-Megiddo Survey, normally the simplest press cut into rock. Recording the excavation of Gibeon and Ashkelon, Pritchard and Stager respectively describe much larger, almost industrial complexes. The wineries described by Mayerson and Rolls and Ayalon infer a re-emergence of wine making following the devastations of the Bar-Kochba Revolt. Dar's chapter on viticulture and winemaking in his archaeological survey of Samaria is expanded with one of the better explanations of the place of

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35 E.g., Lucia. Albright, J as mentioned above, also depends quite heavily on Lutz.
36 Dar; 1986; pp. 147-164.
wine in the society and economy of ancient Palestine and what was involved in its production. Dar's model accounts for maceration unlike most others. The most comprehensive survey of the different types of winery and the developments in winepress technology are presented by Frankel. All examinations of winery type installations suffer from the difficulty in reconstructing the ancient wine making process. There is rarely allowance for any difference between crushing (the initial breaking up of the grapes) and pressing (extraction of wine/juice remaining in the skins) nor the fact that after the initial crushing most wines would have had to be fermented on the skins to allow for the extraction of the colour and tannin components of the grapes, which are necessary for the successful preserving of wine especially before sulfur became widely used and in those regions which did not use tree resins as preservatives. The most telling difficulty in understanding any developments is Frankel's observation that a simple timeline of agricultural development cannot be developed as most ancient techniques will be used side by side with newly introduced technology.37

Other than winery installations, a small amount of information about wine can be gleaned from the distribution of amphorae, their seals and handles and the few ostraca and inscriptions which mention wine or agricultural practice. Amphorae in Egypt suggest the export of wine from Palestine since Canaanite times. The lmlk seals provide debate as to the role of wine in taxation and or the production of wine on royal estates. The Gezer Calendar has aspects of viticulture in its list.

Temperance
The greatest volume of material pertaining to wine and the Bible/Judaism has been produced by the so-called Temperance debate. In this debate temperance has lost its meaning of moderation and come to mean total abstinence or prohibition. Most of those promoting abstinence use the Bible to "support" their arguments. From a scholarly viewpoint most of this material is worthless, being uncritical and repetitious. The history of and reasons that the Temperance movement evolved are separate field of study, nevertheless, a comprehensive survey of wine and the Bible cannot completely ignore it. The main contribution to critical examination of wine

37 Frankel, R; 1999; p. 25.
and the Bible is the highlighting of the different attitudes to wine in the Bible. It is common among temperance writers to claim that the Bible is inspired and inerrant.\textsuperscript{38} To reconcile the apparent differences in attitudes to wine, a number of commentators\textsuperscript{39} claim that when the Bible refers to wine in a positive manner then it is grape juice, but when wine is mentioned in a negative manner it is the alcoholic beverage we call wine. Given the conditions in Palestine it is extremely unlikely that grape juice could be preserved for more than a day.\textsuperscript{40} Nevertheless, Teachout and others present methods of preserving grape juice, which they suggest could have been used in ancient times. It is never shown that any of these methods were used in ancient Palestine and often the conditions required for them to work would never have existed. That Teachout's argument fails is not disputed by some temperance supporters,\textsuperscript{41} although if they have clearer alternative arguments they have not been uncovered by this research.

For as long as there have been temperance writers, there have been anti-temperance writers. Although there are many anti-temperance authors, very little has changed in the basic arguments since Wilson published his book in 1877. Wilson observed that little had changed in the past century of debate, largely because the temperance movement never critically examined the findings of its own and its critics' arguments.

One claim of the temperance movement has even less credibility now than in Wilson's time. Without denying that an excess of alcohol is harmful, the blanket claims that alcohol has no health benefits, that it is addictive and necessarily destructive, are no longer credible. In the 1940's Keller and others documented the "Great Jewish Drink Mystery." This phrase describes the unusual phenomenon that alcoholism was almost unheard of amongst observant Jews. It would appear that training from a young age in the use of wine and alcohol in ritual and daily life

\textsuperscript{38} E.g., Teachout, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{39} Teachout, Lees & Burns, Patton. That this was the fundamental argument put forward by the temperance movement is supported by Sarna, J.D.; p. 278. Witmer says that there is another argument without providing details.
\textsuperscript{40} Aspects of which are discussed in Chapters four and six.
\textsuperscript{41} Witmer.
effectively eliminates the chances of alcoholism.\textsuperscript{42} During the past twenty years there has been an increasing volume of research which shows that consumption of a moderate regular amount of alcohol is extremely beneficial to human health. Some studies show that wine has a greater benefit than other forms of alcohol. Moderate drinkers show reduced rates of heart and vascular disease over abstainers and heavy drinkers. Similar results are beginning to be reported for mental health\textsuperscript{43} and many other diseases.

Jewish prohibition is unusual. However, during prohibition in the USA in the first part of the twentieth century a Jewish apologist produced a temperance work. Koplowitz used Rabbinic material as well as the Biblical passages used by Christian temperance writers and strongly supported temperance amongst all. More often Jews spoke out against prohibition.\textsuperscript{44} Ginzberg's responsum is quoted by some temperance writers as being prohibitionist. However, Ginzberg was suggesting that it was permissible for grape juice to be substituted for wine in Jewish religious ceremonies, but never required. That Ginzberg's article was considered pro-temperance by some is demonstrated by Hertz's refutation of its validity.

Although the temperance debate is ongoing,\textsuperscript{45} its main importance is in the history of research into this field.

The role of wine in ancient Judaism has many aspects and many commentators. Despite the many words already written on the topic, many questions remain. This thesis aims to begin the task of answering some of these questions.

\textsuperscript{42} With the rise in the search for genetically based disorders some may see this as evidence as of no genetic tendency amongst Jews. However the research seems to show that there is no difference in other compulsive behaviours, such as gambling and drug addiction, between Jews and non-Jews. Also as groups became less observant the rates of alcoholism began to match those of the rest of American society.

\textsuperscript{43} The Lancet; Vol 352; Sept 12, 1998; p. 877.

\textsuperscript{44} Sarna, J.D.; p. 285.

\textsuperscript{45} E.g., Wine Spectator July 31, 1999 [US senator] Strom Thurmond's Crusade Against Wine.
Chapter 3

The Origins and Ancient History of Wine - Not quite the story of Noah’s Vineyard

Perhaps the most fundamental question in examining the role of wine in the Bible and ancient Palestine is whether wine actually existed in Palestine during biblical times. The understanding of the words related to wine would be subject to significant change if the grape vine and wine were unknown in Palestine in any period depicted in the Bible. The evidence for the existence of wine is overwhelming, however it is important to identify the origins and history of wine especially in relationship to Palestine.

Origin of the Grape Vine
Wild grapes exist in a large area, centered around Transcaucasia, and wine is relatively easy to produce from grapes. It is generally accepted that the grape vine was first domesticated in this area. In line with the Noah story and its association with this area of the world, the suggestion that the grape was domesticated in a single place and time is commonly known as the "Noah hypothesis." This hypothesis is impossible to test.

A major factor in the ability to trace the origins and spread of viticulture is the ability to identify wild or cultivated grapes, or their remains. This is possible as minor differences in the pips of grapes allow pips to be identified as coming from wild or cultivated varieties. On the basis of the pip remains and the modern distribution of the wild vine, botanists believe, that despite early evidence of viticulture in Palestine and Egypt, the grape vine was native to neither of these areas.

The development of vineyards and orchards is often associated with the shift from nomadic hunter gatherers to settled farmers. Certainly in the vast majority of cases successful horticulture is dependent on a long term investment in the land. Thus,

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46 McGovern; 1995; OAHW; pp. x-xi.
47 Mt Ararat is often identified as being somewhere in Transcaucasia.
48 Zohary, D.
49 Stager; 1985A; p. 177.
the history of wine is unlikely to predate 8000-7000 BCE when humans first started farming.\textsuperscript{50} It is probable that the grape was domesticated and wine production begun in a number of locations.

Despite the possibility that the grape vine was domesticated as early as the Neolithic period (8000-7000 BCE), there is no evidence of its domestication until much later. Grape vines cannot be reliably grown from seed. Thus, successful viticulture required technical advances in propagation, and sufficient incentives for the long term investment required for horticulture.\textsuperscript{51}

The earliest archaeological evidence for the cultivation of the grape vine in Palestine is in the form of grape pips found in Jericho dating to c 3200 BCE. Egyptian evidence is not much younger than this.\textsuperscript{52} There is no conclusive evidence at this stage of where viticulture evolved before being exported to Palestine and Egypt. Nevertheless, discoveries of grape pips from the Chalcolithic (4300 – 3300 BCE) period show a probably rapid expansion of viticulture in areas of modern Greece and Turkey which has suggested to some that this was the possible source.\textsuperscript{53}

Origin of Wine
The origins or initial discovery of wine by humankind is lost in pre-history. Unlike beer making, grapes can ferment on the vine. Animals are known to seek out fermented fruits, as no doubt did early humans. Thus the origin of wine is the time when humans first worked to produce useful quantities of wine.

The earliest confirmed evidence for wine dates back to c 5000 BCE.\textsuperscript{54} This evidence is in the form of tartrate deposits\textsuperscript{55} on a pot from the Zagros mountains of Iran. It is questionable whether wine could predate this discovery by more than a thousand years as it, perhaps, required the advances in pottery which took place at this time.\textsuperscript{56}

Before this discovery, the oldest confirmed evidence for grapes within human

\textsuperscript{50} Whittle; p. 136.
\textsuperscript{51} Stager; 1985A; p. 181.
\textsuperscript{52} Zohary and Hopf; pp. 148-149.
\textsuperscript{53} Op. cit.
\textsuperscript{54} McGovern et al; 1996; pp. 480-481.
\textsuperscript{55} In nature tartrates only occur in significant quantities in grapes.
settlements was in pips from wild vines dating from c 4500 BCE.\textsuperscript{57} Some claim that there is evidence for cultivated grapes dating back to c 8000 BCE,\textsuperscript{58} but there is no evidence to ascribe finds from this period to cultivated varieties and the finds are so few as to make this date doubtful.

The archaeological evidence for the origins of wine is so scarce that ancient myths and legends are almost useful. The story of Noah (Gn 9.20-1) is probably the most definite example of an origin of wine story (see below). In Greek and Roman mythology wine was said to be a gift of Dionysus. In Egypt some texts parallel Dionysus with Osiris while others link wine to Re, Horus or Thoth of Pnubs.\textsuperscript{59} A Persian story tells of a woman trying to poison herself with a liquid from grapes, which were no longer sweet. The liquid caused her to sleep and refreshed her from the pain she had been trying to escape. This miraculous cure was the discovery of wine.\textsuperscript{60}

The first mention of wine in the Hebrew Bible is Noah's planting of a vineyard and drinking wine from it: "Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and he lay uncovered in his tent" (Gen 9.21-22). It has been interpreted by some as the first occurrence in the world of winemaking or at least viticulture. Even before modern research linked the story of Noah and the Flood with the Flood epic of Mesopotamia, the problems with the Noah story and the origins of wine were noted by commentators. Some Rabbis believed that Adam's downfall was as a result of consuming wine or at least the fruit of the vine.\textsuperscript{61} A number of stories reflect the knowledge that vines need to be grown from off cuts if they are to be productive. Rashi quotes R Abba b Kahana in Genesis Rabbah 34.3 who thought that Noah found a vine shoot to plant after the flood, which had washed it out of the Garden.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{56} McGovern et al.; 1997; pp. 3-4.
\textsuperscript{57} Zohary and Spiegel-Roy; p. 322.
\textsuperscript{58} Johnson; 1989; p. 10.
\textsuperscript{59} Egypt; OCW; pp. 356-7.
\textsuperscript{60} Younger; p. 27.
\textsuperscript{61} B Berachot 40a & Sanhedrin 70a.
\textsuperscript{62} Rashi; Commentary on Gn 9.20.
Spread of Grape Vine and Wine
There is very little firm evidence about spread of viticulture and wine. The distribution of grape pips, which have been discovered and carbon dated, is too limited to provide firm evidence of when or how the grape vine spread. Hints such as the spread of common words must be treated with caution in a study such as this. Nevertheless, the suggestion that there are common elements in the language of wine in the Mediterranean may demonstrate a single area where viticulture and wine emerged to influence the Mediterranean.

Traces of Wine in Texts concerning Palestine (Canaan)
The collection of an enormous bunch of grapes in Numbers 13.22 suggests the viticulture of Canaan was established and prosperous as the Israelites returned from Egypt. Regardless of the historical accuracy of the Exodus, viticulture and wine making predates recorded history in Palestine. Despite the important place of wine in Palestine, the grape vine is not native to this region. Thus the pre-history of wine in Palestine is not a simple case of the domestication of a useful wild species, but an early importing of a valuable crop.

There is a number of texts from Canaan which give further evidence that viticulture and wine were well established in Palestine at the time the Israelites emerged.

One of the most important insights into wine growing in Palestine comes from a brief passage in The Tale of Sinuhe. "It was a good land, named Yaa. Figs were in it, and grapes. It had more wine than water. Plentiful was its honey, abundant its olives. Every (kind of) fruit was on its trees. Barley was there, and emmer. There was no limit to any (kind of) cattle. Moreover, great was that which accrued to me as a result of the love of me. He made me ruler of a tribe of the choicest of his country. Bread
was me for me as daily fare, wine as daily provision.⁶⁸ Yaa is identified as Syria-Palestine.⁶⁹ Although The Tale of Sinuhe dates from about 1900 BCE this passage reflects the importance of wine and the prevailing agricultural situation in Palestine since at least 3000 BCE until the present day. Palestine was far more vulnerable to low rainfall⁷⁰ than either Egypt or Mesopotamia with their annual floods. Sinuhe highlighting wine as part of the daily provisions illustrates a major difference between Egypt and Palestine. In Egypt wine was a luxury and beer the drink of the daily provisions. However beer requires five to ten litres of water for every litre of beer produced,⁷¹ not a practical product in a land such as Palestine with limited water supply.

At one time it was suggested that there was evidence of Israelite vignerons in Egypt. On the walls of the palace of Thebes one of the activities depicted is wine production. The workers are the 'Apiru.⁷² While it would be poetic for a study on wine and Judaism to be able to show that the connections between the Israelites and wine pre-dated the Exodus, unfortunately, the link between the 'Apiru and the Israelites is at best dubious.⁷³

Between the Tale of Sinuhe and the grape cluster of Numbers 13 there are but tantalising hints as to the importance of viticulture in the economy of Canaan. McGovern and Harbottle⁷⁴ estimate some two million "Canaanite Jars" are to be found at Tell el-Dab’a alone. The results given do not yet include analysis of the contents or the origin of the Jars⁷⁵ but even if a small proportion contained wine from Palestine this would represent a significant wine production. Some of the jars found in the tombs of Egyptian kings and nobles from as far back as the Early Bronze Age appear to have been oil and wine containers from Palestine.⁷⁶ It is rare for an economy to produce an agricultural product only for export so these finds suggest that wine was produced in volume at least from the Early Bronze Age in Palestine.

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⁶⁸ Pritchard; The Ancient Near East; Vol 1; p. 7. Extract from lines 80-90.
⁶⁹ Stager; 1985A; p. 172.
⁷⁰ Hopkins; 1985; p. 267.
⁷¹ Rose; p. 59.
⁷² Goor; 1966; p. 47.
⁷³ ABD; III; pp. 6-7.
⁷⁴ McGovern and Harbottle; p. 145.
⁷⁵ Leonard; OAHW; 1995; pp. 233-254. Canaan was only one source of Jars.
⁷⁶ Stager; 1985A; p. 179.
Thutmoses III (1479 - 1425 BCE) took grapevines from Canaan to Egypt. This is unlikely to be the first importation of vines to Egypt, but rather an attempt to improve the existing stocks.\(^{77}\)

Ugaritic texts provide evidence for the extent of viticulture on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. At Ugarit we have records related to the sale of wine, eighty-one vineyard owners in a single village, and the sale of a vineyard.\(^{78}\) The Ugaritic Pantheon has more than one deity with links to wine. Pagat is a wine-goddess.\(^{79}\) Gapnu 'the vine' is a divine name linked to the Hebrew \(\text{גאמט} (grapevine).\(^{80}\) \(\text{גאמט} a Hebrew wine word, is linked by some commentators with another Ugaritic divine name.\(^{81}\) Caution must be taken when linking Ugarit with Palestine of the Hebrew Bible, given the separation of time and to some extent distance. Nevertheless, Ugaritic evidence for wine in the area is valuable to show some of the history of the region. However, Barton\(^{82}\) believes that one text demonstrates the role of wine in Palestine in this early period. It is a liturgical text describing a festival which includes wine drinking and a libation. If Barton's assessment is correct this text describes practices in Palestine, perhaps even Jerusalem (if the Salem of the text is correctly identified), prior to 1600 BCE.

One Amarna Letter, EA 367, mentions wine in Canaan: “6-21 The king herewith sends you to Hanni, the son of Maireya, the stable overseer of the king in Canaan. And what he tells you heed very carefully lest the king find fault in you. Every word that he tells you heed very carefully and carry out very carefully. And be on your guard! Be on your guard! Do not be negligent! And may you prepare before the arrival of the archers of the king food in abundance, wine (and) everything else in abundance.”\(^{83}\)

\(^{77}\) Borowski; 1987; p. 102.
\(^{78}\) Younger; p. 68.
\(^{79}\) Younger; pp. 67-69.
\(^{80}\) DDD; p. 341.
\(^{81}\) DDD; p. 871. Discussed further within study of \(\text{גאמט}\).
\(^{82}\) Barton; pp. 61ff.
\(^{83}\) “Canaan”; \(\text{OCW}\); p. 184. Moran; p. 365. My thanks to Dr Jeremy Black of Oxford University, who helped me track down this reference at a very late stage of this thesis.
Smith and Dahood find traces of Canaanite wine gods in the Hebrew Bible. This is not unrelated to the place names, which are words related to viticulture such as Eshkol “cluster”. These names were apparently already established before the Israelites emerged as a force in Palestine.

Archaeological Evidence of Wine Production in Palestine
Agricultural installations identified as wineries or wine presses are relatively common in archaeological digs and surveys in Palestine. As important, but less commonly reported, are finds of grape pips.

While many discoveries of wineries have been reported, tracing the development and earliest use of wineries through archaeology is difficult. The installations tend to be sited on bedrock with nothing to aid in their dating. These installations could have been used over a long period of time. Thus, it is possible that wineries surveyed by Ahlström or described by Frankel could have been used in the Bronze Age, but proof is elusive. The archaeological evidence for wine production, namely winery installations, in Palestine increases until, by the time of the Exile, wine production is on an industrial scale at places like Ashkelon and Gibeon. Nevertheless there is evidence of wine production from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the period in which the Israelites are thought to have emerged as a force in Palestine.

The oldest evidence for viticulture in Palestine is in the form of grape pips found in Jericho dating to c.3200 BCE. This is the most significant find of grape pips in Palestine.

Conclusion
Some knowledge of the origin and history of viticulture and wine making is an important precursor to the examination of the Biblical words for wine. Such an examination provides background against which to check the meaning of the Biblical

84 Smith, M.; 1974; pp. 825-829.
85 Dahood; 1974; p. 387.
86 Stager; 1996A.
87 Pritchard; 1964.
88 Zohary and Hopf, pp. 148-149.
text. This origin and history tells us that while wine was well established in Palestine when the Israelites emerged, it was unlikely that the grape was domesticated from a wild progenitor in this area, but was an imported species.\(^89\)

\(^89\) An example of this value may be in Jr יַבְרָכָה "a choice vine" is planted but it becomes יַבְרָכָה "a wild(?) vine." This "wild vine" was unlikely to be the wild progenitor.
Chapter 4

Agriculture and Diet - the context of wine in ancient Palestine

Examining the place of wine in ancient Palestine, and identifying the Biblical Hebrew words associated with wine, is affected by many factors. Wine is primarily an agricultural product and an element of the diet. In an society based in agriculture, examining any aspect of wine should be reference to the society and conditions under which wine was produced. This chapter aims to serve as guide to the main issues surrounding the agricultural setting of the words and the related factors which need to be considered when examining these words in depth.

In examining the agriculture of ancient Palestine, this study seeks to understand the factors which meant that viticulture and wine production played a major role in Palestine. The factors which affect agriculture determine the diet of the people. These factors influence the beverages, which were available and, thus, the understanding of the words in the lexical field of beverages in the Hebrew Bible. Likewise the understanding of the lexical field of vineyard, its products and components and the lexical field of agricultural installations is dependent on the agricultural conditions of the time.

Traditionally, the focus of studies on the Bible and Judaism has been on the historical and religious aspects. Not least of the reasons behind this is the simple fact that these are the aspects of primary significance to the main source material. Nevertheless, within the sources agriculture is a major theme of symbolism and laws. Although these sources do not provide an agricultural text book, the volume of agricultural imagery and laws demonstrate the importance of agriculture to ancient Judaism.

In the course of this chapter, a number of areas are examined. Climate and Landscape introduce the factors, which have the most influence on agricultural viability. The Main Crops, Agricultural Tasks and Animals explores the key aspects of farming in ancient Palestine. If wine was not a part of the diet it would not have been made so an examination of its contribution is made. This work does not attempt
to reconstruct a historical time line for the role of wine to any great extent, nevertheless, some historical and archaeological aspects must be considered if wine production and use is to have any context. The Hebrew Bible cannot be separated from a religious context. Somewhat arbitrarily in this chapter the religious aspects have been divided into “Judaism and Agriculture” and “Theological Aspects.” Each has a significant influence on the agriculture of ancient Palestine and wine. Each of these areas are to a greater lesser extent related to wine and viticulture in ancient Palestine and or effected the understanding of wine in the Hebrew Bible.

The study of Jewish agriculture, before the rise of Islam, is inevitably largely restricted to Palestine. Although the Jewish Diaspora developed relatively early in the history of the Jewish people, even less information remains about agriculture in the early Diaspora than Palestine. Newman’s study of agriculture in Babylon is focussed on the Amoraic period as the Babylonian Talmud is the only significant source for Jewish agriculture outside of Palestine. Agriculture in Palestine is also more significant in the search for understanding of the origins and identity of the Jewish people and the Hebrew sematic field of wine.

The addition of sociology, and more especially anthropology, to the tools of the Biblical scholar has had a profound impact on many aspects of the study of ancient Judaism, not least with topics such as the influence of agriculture on the development of Judaism. The study of agriculture has been further advanced by the contributions of geographers and botanists examining the probable conditions under which Israel and Judah evolved. Improvements in archaeological methods mean a much more significant proportion of agricultural remains are recorded than a few decades ago. Each of these tools has affected modern understanding of ancient agriculture, Judaism and the Bible.

**Climate and Landscape**

The fundamental determining influence on agriculture is the landscape and climate in which it is undertaken. The standard approach in the study of ancient Palestine is the presumption that there is no detectable nor significant change in climate since about
7000 BCE. However, the accuracy of this presumption is questionable as a period of quite unstable weather patterns may have occurred between 5000 and 2000 BCE. Nevertheless, during the period relevant to the Biblical text the weather conditions were relatively stable and can follow the model of minimal change up to the present day. Thus, it is generally thought that the rainfall and temperature patterns can be reconstructed for ancient times through the observations made since the middle of the nineteenth century. Reconstructing the ancient environment is not as simple, however, as almost no evidence is available for patterns of deforestation and other large scale impacts of humanity on the environment. On a smaller scale, the impact of humanity on the environment is possible to observe through archaeological remains from cities on the plains to farm settlements and terracing in the hill country.

In terms of geology, natural vegetation, and climate, Palestine is a meeting place. One result of this interaction is the landscape of Palestine "contains large numbers of regions and subregions." These regions are traditionally divided into four: 1) the Coastal Plains; 2) The Western Mountain Zone; 3) the Rift Valley; and 4) the Transjordan Plateau. Climatically, Palestine is a transitional zone situated between the subtropical arid zone of Egypt and the subtropical wet zone of Lebanon. Alternatively, Palestine can be examined as a strip of land between sea and desert. These great contrasts result in many and varied landscapes and agricultural conditions within a relatively small area of land.

Unlike the lands surrounding the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates river systems, Palestine is dependent almost entirely on local precipitation for its water supply. The average annual rainfall in Palestine is approximately the same as falls in agricultural countries in temperate zones (300 to 600 mm). The reason Palestine is only marginally viable as agricultural land is the nature of the rainfall pattern. While in temperate zones the annual precipitation is spread throughout the year occurring on

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90 Newman; 1932.
91 Frick; pp. 70-71.
93 Stager; 1985B; p. 4. While scholars are looking to remains of pollen, plants and fauna to aid in such reconstructions, the evidence is too sparse for any detail.
94 Raphael; p. 965.
95 Orni and Efrat; p. 28.
96 EJ; Israel, Land of: Physiography.
97 EJ; Israel, Land of: Climate.
about 180 days, in Palestine all the precipitation falls in 40 to 60 days in a rainy season of between six and eight months.\textsuperscript{98} (The classic example of this is that both London and Jerusalem have approximately the same average rainfall at 550 mm.)\textsuperscript{99} Water retention is thus vital for year round water supply and the crop types tend to be limited to those which can mature within this precipitation pattern. The other major factor of precipitation in Palestine is the variability of actual rainfall both in volume and pattern for any given year or group of years. Rainfall data, available for almost every period from 1846 to present, is thought to provide a fair indication of the rainfall patterns over the past nine millennia. The "normal" pattern of rainfall in the highlands occurs only 33 percent of the time.\textsuperscript{100} This affects the viability of crops, which need rain both at planting and during a latter stage of their development. The variability in volume of rainfall results in a tendency for there to be drought conditions. It is not uncommon for the annual rainfall to drop below 30 per cent of the average. When this occurs for more than one year and/or is combined with irregular rainfall pattern agriculture becomes even more marginal.\textsuperscript{101}

The Coastal Plains are one of the most densely populated and intensely farmed parts of Palestine. The annual average rainfall, on the plains increases from approximately 400 mm in Gaza, in the south, to 600 mm in the more northern areas.\textsuperscript{102} In the highlands, the Negeb receives almost no rain, whereas Parod in Galilee averages 1,000 mm per annum. While it is possible to observe the extremes of rainfall, the boundary between the wetter and drier zones is difficult due to changes over time.\textsuperscript{103}

No doubt viticulture was practiced in some marginal circumstances in ancient Palestine. Nevertheless, for commercially adequate yields modern viticulture requires around 500 mm per annum in cool climates and up to 750 mm in hot climates.\textsuperscript{104} The range of rainfalls in Palestine suggest that the state of the vineyards

\textsuperscript{98} Op. cit.
\textsuperscript{99} Hopkins; 1985; p. 86.
\textsuperscript{100} Hopkins; 1985; p. 87.
\textsuperscript{101} Frick; pp.70 - 74. The combination of different studies in this article leads to some problematic statistics (rainy years do not balance out dry years to produce average on p. 72). As I understand Frick's article there is strong evidence for the regular occurrence of the type of droughts which lead to famine.
\textsuperscript{102} EJ; Israel, Land Of: Physiography.
\textsuperscript{103} Raphael; p. 965.
\textsuperscript{104} Rainfall; OCW; p. 777.
would have reflected whether an area was marginal for all agriculture, given the estimated 300 mm per annum required for successful agriculture.

The timing of rainfall can also have a significant affect on wine production. Heavy rain at or close to vintage is detrimental to wine quality as, at best, the juice will be diluted with the possibility of a myriad of other problems.\textsuperscript{105} Typically harvest in the Northern Hemisphere occurs between September and October.\textsuperscript{106} The annual rains in Palestine typically start in November,\textsuperscript{107} so in regions with enough rainfall, viticulture would have suited the climate of Palestine.

There is a large number of soil types in Palestine. Typically the soil types reflect the landscape. The coastal plains and highlands have the greatest proportion of soils useful to agriculture.\textsuperscript{108} Soil types do not play as large a role in the viability of agriculture in Palestine as precipitation. The extent of the influence of soil types on viticulture is a matter of debate. Soil characteristics do influence wine quality and so may have influenced those sites for larger vineyards. “However, in most situations the effects of soil are subsidiary to those of climate, vine variety and vine management. Of the influential soil characteristics, the most important are those governing the supply of water to the vine.”\textsuperscript{109}

To some extent all of the landscape of Palestine has been affected by human intervention. With no wilderness remaining the nature of the landscape before human intervention is a matter of conjecture. Stager suggests that the land probably contained "open woodlands rather than dense forests with thick undergrowth."\textsuperscript{110} In agricultural terms the most visible human modification of the landscape is the terracing from various periods allowing increased farmable land and reducing erosion. The land is particularly vulnerable to erosion especially as the rainfall tends to be intense. Terracing can reduce erosion as it allows greater control the flow of water through the landscape.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{105} Rainfall; OCW; pp. 777-778.
\textsuperscript{106} Harvest; OCW; p. 481.
\textsuperscript{107} EJ; Israel, Land of: Climate.
\textsuperscript{108} EJ; Israel, Land Of: Physiography & Frick; pp. 77-82.
\textsuperscript{109} Soil and Wine Quality; OCW; pp. 884-886.
\textsuperscript{110} Stager; 1985B; p. 5.
\textsuperscript{111} Borowski; 1987; pp. 15-20.
The use and control of water may well have been the factor which allowed the Israelites to expand and later gain control of Palestine. The factor identified by Stager is the development of cisterns or water storage devices, which allowed expansion into areas without permanent water sources.\footnote{Stager; 1985B, Borowski; 1992; p. 95.}

The variation in the availability of water for agriculture in Palestine meant that a risk reduction strategy was valuable for successful human habitation.\footnote{See following section.} The greatest impact on the place of wine in ancient Palestine was the fact that grapevines are well suited to this weather pattern. This may also have meant that the luxury of excess water for beer production was not available. These factors make it unlikely that the production of beer played any significant role in ancient Palestine and thus, influence the possible meanings of words linked to wine.\footnote{Walsh; 2000; pp. 26-27. See also a more in depth analysis of the factors leading to an identification of יִשְׂרָאֵל.}

The Main Crops, Agricultural Tasks and Animals

Research on the crops of ancient Palestine has often been in the form of a "Plants of the Bible" type study. Although the Bible remains an important source for agriculture, it is by no means comprehensive, especially in origins of crops, changes in technology, the agricultural yearly cycle and so on. Nevertheless, the Bible when combined with other ancient texts, archaeological finds and comparisons with other pre-industrial societies has allowed much information to be gleaned about Palestinian agriculture.

For those interested in the Bible, the Jewish People and their origins, the cultivated species of agriculture in Palestine had been relatively stable. Cereals and legumes were domesticated by 7000 BCE and fruit trees circa 4000 BCE.\footnote{Agriculture; ABD; II; p. 96.} It is clear that not all the species grown in Palestine were native to that region. However, it appears that most of the spread of species occurred before the Iron Age.\footnote{Agriculture; ABD; II; p. 96.}
The identification of various agricultural products mentioned in the Bible and other ancient texts is not always easy, if indeed possible. The work of scholars such as Zohary and Borowski covers much of this material. It is valuable to note that the problem of identification is a difficulty in the understanding of agriculture in general and not just a problem associated with wine and viticulture.

Normally, agriculture covers a variety of crops to reduce risk, increase nutrition and provide produce throughout the year. In Palestine this led to the cultivation of a large number of plants. The types of plants cultivated may be classified as field crops, fruit trees and vegetables. Each of these crop types had its place in the agriculture of ancient Palestine. The place of each is briefly examined below. However, it is probable that Dt 8:8 records the key crops: "a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey."  

The field crops can be further categorised into cereals (wheat, barley, millet), legumes (broad bean, lentil, bitter vetch, chick-pea, pea, fenugreek), spices (black cumin, cumin, coriander) and other crops (flax, sesame). Nevertheless, only wheat, barley and the more general grain are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible more than three times. These grains are part of the basic diet of all the Mediterranean peoples and their cultivation is amongst the key tasks of the agricultural year. The most common agriculture installation of the Bible is the threshing floor and the most common food, bread.

Fruit trees, unlike the other forms of agriculture, are not annuals but established resources for potentially many generations. While a source of wealth for those farmers with established vineyards and orchards, fruit trees are not a short term investment and are vulnerable in times of war. Dt 8:8 reflects the fruit trees which

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116 E.g., the grape vine. See section on prehistory of viticulture.
117 Zohary; 1982.
118 Borowski; 1987; pp. 87-139.
119 Following Borowski; 1987 and similar Zohary.
120 "Honey" may suggest dates. See Borowski; 1987; p. 127.
121 Borowski; 1987.
122 36 times. *Gat* (see below for argument about its meaning) appears more often but all but 5 of these are place names.
123 299 times.
are most frequently mentioned in the Bible. The most frequently mentioned, especially when combined with its products, is the grape vine (see later chapters), followed by olives, figs, pomegranate and dates. A number of other fruit and nut trees are known from the Bible and archaeology, but they did not have the importance in the diet and economy of the aforementioned trees. Fruit trees were very valuable, however, their cultivation involved a large degree of initial risk. For example the olive took about seven years before it began to bear fruit and 15 - 20 years before it reached maturity. The date palm began to bear fruit at about 35 years old. The fact that a farmer could expect a crop from a grape vine in only five years is a contributing factor in its importance to the agriculture of ancient Palestine.

The place of vegetables is hard to define. They are not often found in archaeology as they tend to readily decompose. The difficulty in irrigating in Palestine may have limited their production. Incidents such as Ahab wanting Naboth's vineyard for a vegetable garden (1 Kg 21) demonstrate that they were not insignificant, however, they are not mentioned nearly as often as field crops and fruit trees, nor make it to lists of key products in the Bible. Borowski suggests that Daniel 1:11-16 may show that vegetables were "not as highly regarded" as other crops. Dt 12:10-11 certainly demonstrates that Palestine was not as conducive to growing vegetables as Egypt.

Agriculture is by necessity a seasonal occupation. Much of the ancient agricultural year has been determined on the basis of the aforementioned climatic conditions and the growth patterns of the above crops. Hopkins demonstrates how crop rotation could have improved the productivity of the land, but nevertheless acknowledges that there can be no conclusive proof of such a practice. Thus, studies must (and do) concentrate on a general overview of the tasks and calendar of the agricultural year and not individual practices. The Bible is limited in the information it provides about the agricultural year. While it does mention many agricultural tasks there is no attempt to place them in the context of the agricultural year. The major hints of an agricultural calendar within the Bible are in the festivals. While Passover, Shavuot and Sukkoth are strongly linked to theological-historical happenings in the text there

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125 "Flora"; ABD; II; pp. 807-808.
126 Borowski; 1987; pp. 87-139. & Agriculture; ABD; II; pp. 95-98.
remains clear evidence of their links to the agricultural year and agricultural festivals. Passover is linked to the spring festival and the first new season crop of barley. Shavuot commemorates the first wheat harvest and the end of the barley harvest. Sukkoth is the feast of ingathering by which time most of the year's produce should have been collected.\textsuperscript{128}

The clearest record of the agricultural year in Palestine comes from an inscription found in 1908 in Gezer commonly known as the Gezer Calendar. Borowski presents the following translation:

L. 1 two months of ingathering (olives)/ two months
L. 2 of sowing (cereals)/ two months of late sowing (legumes and vegetables)
L. 3 a month of hoeing weeds (for hay)
L. 4 a month of harvesting barley
L. 5 a month of harvesting (wheat) and measuring (grain)
L. 6 two months of grape harvesting
L. 7 two months of ingathering summer fruit.\textsuperscript{129}

It is important in the context of any reconstruction of the agricultural year of Palestine to remember two issues: firstly that the translation of "month" and "two months" is a matter of conjecture;\textsuperscript{130} and secondly that this inscription was found in Gezer, a warmer area than the highlands. This may mean that any agricultural calendar would vary depending on the location to which it refers. This may mean that in Gezer the grapes would be harvested in the middle period whereas in the highlands the grapes would ripen later.\textsuperscript{131} On the other hand, the rainfall upon which the cereal crops were dependent would fall at similar times throughout Palestine so a simple linear shift cannot be made to apply the Calendar to the highlands. Thus, the Gezer Calender cannot provide an accurate picture for the conditions throughout Palestine, but it does provide an outline. Given the stability of the agricultural conditions in Palestine, this outline can be presumed to be reasonably accurate from the Bronze Age to the rise of Islam if not longer.

\textsuperscript{128} "Festivals"; \textit{EJ}.
\textsuperscript{129} Borowski; 1987; p. 38.
\textsuperscript{130} Young; 1992, Emerton; 1999.
\textsuperscript{131} Highlands are cooler, which means that the grapes take longer to ripen.
The agricultural tasks identified in the Bible largely parallel the seasonal tasks set out in the Gezer Calendar. In a few areas more detail can be deduced. The agricultural tasks found in the Bible include: plowing (eg, Dt 22:10, 1Sm 8:12); with harvesting or reaping comes threshing (Lv 26:5) and winnowing (Ru 3:2). The processing of fruits was another major task, of which grapes were probably the most significant, followed by the processing of olives for oil (Mc 6:15).

Most other agricultural tasks involve infrastructure, technology and their maintenance. Thus, the construction and maintenance of dwellings and storage facilities was a constant. Likewise the construction and repair of terraces is an agricultural task which increased in the Iron Age as this technology spread.

The separation of land cultivation and animal husbandry within agriculture is somewhat arbitrary. Specialist pastoralists are dependent on farmers and it is an unusual farm that has no livestock. There is no question that domestic animals played a significant role in the cult and economy of ancient Palestine. It is probable that animals were used in wine production in roles such as transporting grapes to the winery and possibly ploughing the vineyard.

The most important group of animals in ancient Palestine was those which are both ruminants and ungulates. These are divided into two main groups: small cattle (sheep and goats); and large cattle (bovines). All these produced milk, meat, dung (fertiliser or fuel) and skins and the small cattle also provided wool or hair. Large cattle were used as draft animals. Large and small cattle provided the animals for the Temple sacrifices.

Equids (horses, donkeys and mules) and camels were perhaps initially domesticated for milk and meat, but proved to be more valuable as draft and pack animals.

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132 See below.
133 Stager; 1985B.
134 For the purpose of this chapter a farmer is considered to be one who cultivates the land. The fact that most farms have a mix of agricultural activities means that while there are words for specialists like orchardists and market gardeners there is no word in English for those that cultivate the land in general.
It is suggested that Palestine was particularly suited to the raising of the above two groups of animals. The records of tribute and booty extracted from Palestine by both the Egyptians and the Assyrians includes large numbers of all these animals.\textsuperscript{135}

It is thought that doves and pigeons must have been domesticated and raised in number to meet the requirements for sacrifices. That doves and pigeons could be used as a substitute for expensive live stock (Lv 5.7, 12.8, 14.21-22) infers that they were relatively cheap and readily available. In ideal conditions a pair of doves will produce 6-8 chicks per year - a high rate of return on investment especially for an animal which can scavenge for a certain proportion of its food. Although the domestic chicken is attested in the archaeological record from the Late Bronze Age it does not appear to have played as significant a role as doves and pigeons.\textsuperscript{136}

Dogs were used for herding (Is 56.11) and as watchdogs (Is 56.10). The dog within Biblical imagery represents the foolish and unclean (Pr 26.11).

Pigs are attested in the archaeological record of many periods. While Jews were forbidden to eat pork, their breeding was not forbidden.\textsuperscript{137} The pig is unusual amongst domesticated animals in that meat production is its only major use and did not provide milk, wool or some other by-product.

The importance of animals within the ancient Palestinian economy is difficult to estimate. The frequency of use of Biblical terms related to pastoralism is one indicator. Taking as an illustration some of the terminology related to sheep, the frequency of their use is astounding when compared with grain crops or the other aspects of cultivation practised. The main word for sheep (or flocks) רועי occurs 275 times, כבש (sheep or lambs) 47 times, כבשון (lamb) 107 times and כבשון (ram) at least\textsuperscript{138} 149 times. A very high proportion of the uses of these terms occur in the sacrificial rosters (especially כבשון and כבשון) and in the pastoral aspects of the Patriarchal narratives. מזון (bread) and יין (wine) occur 299 and 141 times

\textsuperscript{135} Borowski; 1998; pp. 68-9. Quoting ANET.
\textsuperscript{136} "Zoology"; ABD; VI; p. 1145.
\textsuperscript{137} Dar; 1995; p. 332.
\textsuperscript{138} 20 uses not translated as ram or rams in NIV.
respectively. (grain), (wheat) and (barley) occur only 40, 30 and 34 times, respectively. Thus, while it can be inferred that pastoralism was extremely important to the authors of the Bible, it is likely that it was only as important as agriculture in settled Israel.

Diet
Most of the crops and some of the animals mentioned above formed part of the diet of ancient Israel. Nevertheless, certain crops played a more significant role than others. The diet of ancient Palestine is likely to have followed the classic Mediterranean diet of grain (bread), wine and (olive) oil. The Hebrew Bible offers a number of pieces of evidence for these three products forming the majority of the diet, the most direct is the phrase, which reflects these products, dagan tirosh vĕyitshar (וֹיִתְשָׁר). In a study such as this the key question is just how important was wine.

The addition of 700 grams of wine would have added about 600 calories to the diet, a figure which appears probable in Rome. Estimates of wine consumption in ancient Palestine vary greatly. Dar follows Yerushalmi Sheviit 5.7.36 which records that the minimum a family stored was between 330 and 375 litres of wine a year which would have provided 600 to 1000 calories a day for the diet.

The Hebrew Bible does not record any details of a normal diet. However, Mishnah Ketubot 5.8-9 records the minimum levels and food types to be provided for a woman by her husband on a weekly basis. Following Dar the food supplied is tabulated below and converted into modern figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Allocated</th>
<th>Weight in kg</th>
<th>Calories provided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>2 kabs</td>
<td>2.037</td>
<td>6111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legumes</td>
<td>½ kab</td>
<td>0.597</td>
<td>2035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive oil</td>
<td>½ log</td>
<td>0.162</td>
<td>1458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried Figs</td>
<td>1 kab</td>
<td>0.713</td>
<td>1640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>11244</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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139 Broshi; 1984; p. 33.
140 Dar; 1995; pp 331f.
The conversions are based on 24 logs = 6 kabs = 1 seah = 8.565 litres. On this basis an average daily intake of 1874 calories would be available which can be compared with 2000 to 2200 calories per day which the UN recommends as the minimum daily intake for a woman of child bearing age. The conversion of the ancient units of measure is rarely accurate. Dar also offers the energy value of this maintenance diet if an alternative conversion factor of 1 seah = 13 litres is used. This produces 3032 calories per day. This large variation in conversion factors demonstrates the difficulty in accurately understanding the ancient diet.

The most curious element of the above rations for a wife's maintenance is that no wine is included. The examination of this portion of the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud (BT Ketubot 65a) demonstrates that wine was an expected element of the diet. The Mishnah presents the minimum maintenance and this does not include wine especially if wine was not part of the regular diet of the woman being supported. The Talmud also displays some concern for the possibility of a woman becoming inebriated, especially a woman being maintained by a party other than her husband.

The 1000 calories per day that wine would provide would add a significant energy contribution to the diet, as well as a large number of trace elements. In addition the minimum daily intake does not take into account the extra calories required for someone working the land. Thus a relatively small volume of wine would have been extremely valuable in the ancient diet.

After the three major products and the dried figs mentioned in the Mishnah, the role of other products in the diet is very difficult to fully estimate. It has traditionally been believed that very little meat was eaten although meat was certainly eaten as part of festive occasions, most famously at Passover. This view of the role of meat in the diet is currently being re-examined due the relatively large numbers of animal remains found on archaeological sites. Milk and other dairy products are certain to have been part of the diet. Milk (םַּלְקָה) is mentioned 44 times in contexts such as a

141 Dar uses Danby's translation of the Mishnah and the logs/kabs/seah conversion rates are thus based on Danby; p. 798.
142 Dried legumes such as lentils were probably included in the generic term for grain.
143 E.g., "Food"; EJ; subheading "the Form of the Meal".
144 Dar; 1995; p. 332.
food, as one of the blessings of the land and as a metaphor. The most common processed milk product is הָגוֹן identified as curds or butter. While the frequency of references to milk in the Bible compared with processed forms may infer that milk was the more important, the preservation properties of the processed form make it likely that a large proportion was processed. Vegetables, fruits and nuts were clearly all known, but whether they were luxuries or regular parts of the diet is not clearly established.

In Palestine as in much of the Mediterranean, wine was a significant part of the diet. The wine added much needed calories and other nutrients to the diet. When examined with the, above mentioned, agricultural calendar, wine played a significant role in the life of ancient Palestine.

**Historical / Archaeological Aspects**

The exploration of wine and for that matter any other aspect of agriculture would ideally show how it evolved over time. As is shown by Frankel there is no question that winemaking incorporated new technologies over time. However, it is also certain that technical innovations did not necessarily replace older methods of production but were often used alongside them. Nevertheless, the most significant technological development was the screw press which did not occur until the 1st century BCE, which is too late to influence the words under consideration in the later chapters. While tracing the development of production technology does not provide much information to this study, a clearer picture of the historical influences can be developed.

While the basic crops and processes of agriculture in Palestine remained fairly constant during the period under consideration, the success and productivity of agriculture remained vulnerable to the social and political history of the Land. The most difficult aspect of demonstrating the influence of political events on the

145 BDB; p. 326.
146 Borowski; 1998; p. 55. NIV uses as butter once, curds six times.
147 Halav may cover processed forms the way yayin may include shekar and tirosh. See below.
149 Frankel; 1999; p. 51.
agriculture and economy of Palestine is reconciling written record with the archaeological record. This is complicated by the relatively limited archaeological records concerned with agriculture and the revision of the understanding of the historical aspects of the Bible and other ancient texts.

As agriculture and the state of the land is not always recorded by the Biblical authors, the text often fails to give details of the impact of invasion, siege and other factors on the land and agricultural productivity. Archaeology can shed light on the success or intensity of agriculture in different periods. Demonstrating historical factors can play a major role in agriculture. Thus, the following examples serve as an illustration of another major factor in the success of agriculture in Palestine.

Perhaps the oldest evidence for the damage to the economy and agriculture is not strictly for Palestine but for Canaan. The Amarna Letters record a number of wars detrimental to agriculture and the regions along the eastern Mediterranean. The author of EA 204 writes "I have neither oxen nor sheep and goats … And there is no grain for food." Whether the town was genuinely unable to feed itself or this claim is merely part of the rhetoric of the letter is uncertain, nevertheless, the claim is that the situation is desperate.

Current research suggests a significant shift in the population of the highlands from about the start of the Iron Age. If the increase in highland population reflected a large influx of population from outside Palestine we would expect differences in the material culture of their archaeological sites from the rest of Palestine. However, the sites do not show any significant deviations from the rest of Palestine. The emergence of the highland population is significant as it is from the highlands that many believe the Israelites emerged. In viticultural terms the highlands are significant as the conditions were often more borderline for successful grain growing while being ideal for vineyards.

150 Frankel; 1999; p. 107.
151 Moran; p. 204.
152 Levy; p. 363.
Archaeological evidence for changes in agricultural practice, climatic conditions or humanity's impact on the environment over the course of history are tantalising. For example in a survey of the bones of birds found at Tell Jemmeh it was observed that for the Middle and Late Bronze Ages water birds are seven times as frequent as ground birds. However, following the start of the Iron Age, ground birds are one and a half times more common than water birds.\(^\text{154}\) Borowski attributes this change to environmental factors. Yet, without further collaborating evidence such a shift could also be the result of ground birds being domesticated, reduced flocks of water birds due to over hunting, and or cultural change.

It is to be expected that the various revolts, invasions and wars would have affected the productivity of agriculture. However, in most cases the impact on food supplies during conflicts appears more often to reflect a siege situation rather than specifically record agricultural devastation.\(^\text{155}\)

The invasion and destruction wrought by Sennacherib and the Assyrians (c. 700 BCE) clearly had an impact on the agricultural economy of Palestine. For example the destruction of the city of Ashkelon eliminated a major wine producing facility.\(^\text{156}\) The fall of all Palestine to Babylonian control under Nebuchadnezzar (c. 586 BCE) presumably also had a significant impact on the agricultural economy.\(^\text{157}\)

In 1Mac 6 the war takes place during a Sabbatical year when supplies were low. In a land prone to drought it is not always possible to discern whether the war influenced the agricultural productivity or whether agriculture influenced the war.

Archaeological surveys of cities such as Jerusalem\(^\text{158}\) document the devastation of the Great Revolt. This is collaborated when Josephus records the impact on the environment and thus agriculture in War 6:

"after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. (6) And,

\(^{154}\) Borowski; 1998; p. 158.  
\(^{155}\) E.g., 2Kg 25, 1Mac 13.  
\(^{156}\) Stager; 1996A & 1996B.  
\(^{157}\) 2Kg 24-25, 2Ch 36; ANET 304-305.  
\(^{158}\) E.g., Geva, H; "Searching for Roman Jerusalem"; \textit{BAR}; 23:6; pp 34-37.
truly, the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down: (7) nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judaea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change; (8) for the war had laid all signs of beauty quite waste; nor, if anyone that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.\textsuperscript{159}

The destruction caused by the Great Revolt (66-70 CE) and the Bar-Kochba Revolt (132-135 CE) was multiplied by a general trend of agricultural decline in the Roman Empire. Impossibly high taxes and possible over farming meant that many farms could not produce a profit and were abandoned.\textsuperscript{160}

The bleak period for agriculture continued through to the third century and quite possibly reached its lowest point during this century. However in the fourth century CE there appears to have been a resurgence in agriculture in Palestine.\textsuperscript{161} Oil and wine are recorded as being exported from Palestine during this period.\textsuperscript{162}

The Moslem invasion of Palestine in the seventh century was probably the next major change in the fortunes of agriculture in Palestine. The Islamic prohibition against drinking wine alone changed the agricultural landscape causing substantial reductions in vineyards.\textsuperscript{163}

The examples cited above serve to illustrate the complications encountered by the farmers of pre-Islamic Palestine. The fortunes of viticulture would have followed that of the rest of agriculture through the Biblical period. It is only in later times that the ideology of the invaders had a significant impact on wine production.

\textsuperscript{159} War 6:5-8 (6:1:1); trans. Whiston.  
\textsuperscript{161} Sperber, D.; 1978; p. 64.  
\textsuperscript{163} Mayerson; 1986; p. 79.
Judaism and Agriculture

The primary purpose of agriculture is the production of food with secondary products providing materials for shelter and utensils. Within Judaism, especially as seen through the Biblical text, the production and provisioning of food cannot be removed from the blessings of God. God is the source of all food and the land's bounty is his blessing and agriculture's failure is his punishment or serves as a message. The three great pilgrim festivals of Judaism have strong agricultural associations. These factors demonstrate the strong ties Judaism and its theology have with agriculture. It is within this context that wine takes its place within Judaism and the Biblical text.

While Judaism evolved into an ethical religion, traces of its origins reflect that it was a religion firmly based in the land and its agricultural produce. Historically Judaism was often understood to exist because its adherents were open to the revelation of the monotheistic ethical god.164

Although many aspects of agriculture in ancient Palestine can be seen in sources other than the Biblical text, in examining the relationship between Judaism and agriculture one is almost entirely dependent on the Biblical text. Any of these aspects of Judaism, agriculture and theology could provide a separate topic for research. Nevertheless, the understanding of wine in the Hebrew Bible is dependent on so many aspects that is probably not possible to survey them. However, some of the key factors must be examined to provide an initial setting for the examination of wine words which follows.165 The following discussion cannot hope to be comprehensive but aims to introduce and survey many of the issues and suggest possible aspects for further research.

Land

The idea that God not only chose the Jews as his people but that Palestine was God's special place, is central to much of Jewish law and belief. Identification with the land and its produce is not uncommon amongst religions and societies. In basic agricultural terms, everything comes from the land and the prosperity of an

164 Hiebert; ch1.
agricultural economy such as ancient Palestine was dependent on the land and its fertility.

The frequency of terminology related to land in the Hebrew Bible gives some indication of its importance in Jewish thought. *Eretz* (אֶרֶץ), which is typically used for a geographical location, territory of a people or the realm of human habitation occurs some 2505 times. *Adamah* (אדמָה), which occurs c. 250 times, refers to agricultural or arable land as opposed to wilderness or desert (*midbar*, מִדְבָּר), which occurs c. 270 times. The dominance of the use of *eretz* reflects that for the Biblical authors the land was more important than agriculture. The ties of the people with the land were greater than the land's ability to provide produce as is illustrated by the story of Naboth's vineyard. Naboth would not give up his family land as it was given to him by YHWH, despite offers of other more productive land. Nevertheless, to some extent the land was synonymous with agriculture for without productive agriculture the land would have limited value.

Some commentators have observed that the land and the people's relationship with it may well be the central motif of the Hebrew Bible. Certainly it has been argued that a major component of J is the defining of the boundaries of the land promised by God to Abraham and his descendants.

*Nature - from which God provides*

In the ancient world, control of most natural phenomena was ascribed to a god or gods. Modern statistical meteorology notes the large fluctuation in conditions from flood to extreme drought as being expected variations. The fertility of ancient Palestine was not so great that the times of drought were easily withstood by the inhabitants.

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166 "Land"; *ABD*; IV:144.
167 Goodrick & Kohlenberger; p. 1382.
169 "Land"; *ABD*; IV:146.
170 Hiebert; p. 94.
171 Frick; pp. 71-75.
The role of God in nature is important in the Hebrew Bible for many reasons, not least of all because it was essential that the people knew that God (YHWH) controlled the weather and not the Canaanite storm god Baal. This is illustrated by Elijah's success in breaking the drought by calling on YHWH after pleas to Baal had failed (1 Kg 18).

In both creation stories, God provides humankind with vegetation for food (Gn 1.29 & 2.16, respectively) and after the flood allowed the consumption of animals (Gn 9.3). When examined with the food laws this provision leads commentators to the conclusion that the Hebrew Bible's theology says "God is the Power who provides food for human life." This understanding is further demonstrated by the prophets who understand that God controls the fertility of the land and the rain (eg, Ho 2.10 (EV 2.8)), while at the same time the anger of God with his people is expressed in the form of the failure of crops and drought (eg Hg 2:15ff).

The Israelites are obliged to observe the covenant with YHWH, so YHWH will favour them with proper ecological conditions. However, it is clear that not all Israelites followed the covenant, Dt 28 contains the curses that result in breaking the covenant, which produce catastrophic conditions. While the observation of the covenant was interpreted as a major factor in the agricultural outcomes, it also impacted as Biblical laws developed, which impacted on agriculture.

**Biblical Laws**

Tradition states that there are 613 biblical commandments. Of these more than 220 concern diet, agriculture, land or the sacrifice of produce. If it is possible to separate out those, which relate only to agricultural practices, thirty are listed. This is another indicator of the significance of agriculture, especially given that the other laws concern most aspects of life within the society, including those aspects such as

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172 ABD; II; p. 251.
173 Dt 28; Borowski; 1992; p. 98.
174 Wigoder (ed); pp. 208-235.
the criminal code which should not play a role in the daily life of most of the population.

The sacrifices in the Temple dominate the laws which involve agriculture and its produce, which reflect dominance of religious matters within the biblical laws. Nevertheless, the continuation of the food supply was extremely important. The destruction of fruit trees was forbidden even in times of war (Dt 20.19). Sowing different species of seeds together was forbidden (Lv 19.19), a logical provision given the different times the main crops were ready for harvest. In fact, sowing more than one species in a single area would probably have reduced production.¹⁷⁶

Securing food for the poor was done through the commands to leave a certain portion of crops for them to gather food from (Lv 23.22, 19.9-10) and for a tithe in the third and sixth years to be allocated to them (Dt 14.28).

The impact of these laws on the diet and agriculture of ancient Palestine cannot be ignored. Certain laws impacted on the agriculture in the land. Agricultural practice was set in some laws, such as leaving the land fallow in Jubilee years. An awareness of the implications of the laws on agriculture is essential in seeking the possible meanings of some words associated with wine.¹⁷⁷ Probably the biggest influence on viticulture was the prohibition of pruning the vines (Lv 25.4) nor harvest them (Lv 25.11) during the Jubilee year. Pruning, elsewhere, is done annually, to produce fewer but larger bunches of riper grapes.¹⁷⁸

_Festivals_

The links between the three great pilgrim feasts of Judaism, Passover, Shavuot and Sukkoth, and agriculture is perhaps one of the clearest indicators of the importance of agriculture in the life of ancient Palestine. Although each of these festivals has an associated historical event, it is generally agreed that they have their roots in the agricultural festive times of spring, first fruits and end of harvest.

¹⁷⁶ Borowski; 1987; pp. 31-44, 148-151.
¹⁷⁷ E.g., see below on הַחֲרֶבֶּן.
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Although Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread are tied to the Exodus stories, the practices of this combined festival reflect their place in the Jewish year which corresponds to the northern hemisphere's spring. Originally separate festivals, the current consensus is that Passover was celebrated by the transient shepherds and Unleavened Bread by the sedentary farmers. While this does not take into account fully the advances in the understanding of the relationship between farmers and pastoralists, it may reflect that the two festivals derived from different sources. The original meaning of the Passover rite is lost. It is, however, thought that it was a domestic ceremony consisting of the slaughter and eating of a sheep or goat (later only a sheep was allowed). The Feast of Unleavened Bread was probably adapted from the Canaanites' spring agricultural festival centred on the barley harvest.

Shavuot was probably adapted from another Canaanite festival marking the end of the barley harvest and the start of the wheat harvest or the midsummer festival. Shavuot is based on Leviticus 23 and its command to bring the offering of new grain fifty days after the wave offering on the day after the Sabbath of Passover. The festival is now associated with the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai, however, this link is a late development, probably only originating in Rabbinic times.

Sukkoth celebrates the end of the agricultural year after the oil and wine have been produced, and thus it is sometimes known as the "feast of ingathering." Like the other two agricultural feasts, Sukkoth has links to Canaanite festivals with Jdg 9.27 (among others) recording this parallel. Lv 23.33-43 details how the festival should be commemorated. The characteristic of this festival is the commemoration of the time in the wilderness by living in booths for a week (Lv 23.42). Thus, the other name for the festival "Tabernacles" or "Booths." Sukkoth appears to have been modified from the Canaanite agricultural festival to a more significant festival which celebrated the renewal of the covenant with YHWH. This emphasises that God's role in the covenant was to provide for his people. It was at this time that the dedication of

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178 Pruning; OCW; p. 766.
179 "Passover"; EJ and "Unleavened Bread"; ABD; VI:756.
180 See above. Failing to take this into account continues, see McConville; 2000; JBL; 119:1; pp. 47-58.
181 "Passover"; EJ.
182 The exact day is debated. "Shavuot"; EJ.
183 "Shavuot"; EJ.
Solomon's Temple (1Kg 8) was celebrated, which can be possibly traced to the dedication of the Tabernacle in the desert.¹⁸⁴

Sacrifices

The central role sacrifices played in the religious practices of the Jewish Temple and the large volume of material in the Pentateuch regarding sacrificial requirements demonstrates the importance of sacrifice within the ancient Jewish practice. The importance of sacrifice to a study of the agriculture of ancient Palestine has many aspects. Not least amongst these is that all the sacrifices consisted of agricultural produce.

The place of sacrifice rests uneasily in scholarship as it has done since at least the time of Maimonides.¹⁸⁵ The origins of and reasons why sacrifice was important are subjects of much conjecture. Thus, in an introduction to the importance of agriculture one can only hope to demonstrate the importance of agriculture to sacrifice and the belief of the importance of sacrifice to the continuation of agriculture.

The most important part of the sacrifices was the slaughter of animals. These animals had to be blemish free (Lv 22.17–25). Only in a society with domesticated animals could the large numbers of blemish free animals required be supplied.

Flour and wine also played a role in the sacrifices. While a relatively minor component of the sacrifices of the altar, wine is normally the product of sedentary society. This perhaps provides information regarding the society from which the laws of sacrifice were decreed or evolved.

Prosperity in the Bible is often depicted in agricultural terms. Prosperity was considered to be dependent on the covenant with God and the following of his laws. As sacrifice was required under the Biblical Laws, it can be argued that sacrifices were thought to be required for successful agriculture.

¹⁸⁵ “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings”; ABD; V:870.
Agricultural Imagery

The Hebrew Bible is full of agricultural metaphors, symbolism and similes. These range from the incidental to the Song of Songs, where the entire book can be considered to be an allegory filled with agricultural images. Viticulture and wine making play no small part in this.

As observed above, the Land is one of the main themes of the Hebrew Bible, and not a small part of this is the Promised Land. The initial Promised Land as depicted in the Hebrew Bible is that land promised to the Patriarchs and those returning with Moses. This Promised Land is described primarily in terms of its agricultural wealth. The often used phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Ex 3.6 and others) is the best known of these descriptions. More detailed descriptions occur (eg, Dt 8.7-9), detailing the crops and fruit trees in the land.

Many aspects of life are examined through agricultural metaphors. In Jdg 8.1-3 the value of a military victory is compared with the grape harvest. Jdg 9.8-15 compares the dangers of kingship with theocracy, through a metaphor of the type of trees one would wish to be ruler in contrast to the type prepared to be ruler.

The unfaithfulness of God's people is compared in Is 5.1-8 with a vineyard in which every care has been taken in its establishment, yet it does not bear fruit. Likewise the tale of the sower in the New Testament (Mt 13) demonstrates how this type of metaphor, or parable, maintained its meaning in ancient Palestine across the generations.

The ability to have access to food and drink is the principle outcome of agriculture. Thus, the imagery of eating and drinking has overtones significant to the study of agriculture. Ezekiel provides a number of examples, "trees that drink water" (Ezk 31.14), and "famine and pestilence devour them" (Ezk 7.15).

God's role in nature and the need to obey his law for agriculture to be successful has been discussed above. Closely related to this is that the rewards for faithfully following God are often agricultural or expressed in agricultural terms. "The LORD will open for you his rich storehouse, the heavens, to give the rain of your land in its
season and to bless all your undertakings" (Dt 28.12). Likewise the punishment for failing to keep the covenant is disastrous conditions for agriculture (Dt 28.22). In many occurrences it is difficult to separate the reward of the Promised Land from the reward of bountiful agriculture.

The ideal future is a major theme of the prophetic material of the Hebrew Bible. In Amos 9.13 the yields are so great that the reaper and ploughman have caught up with each other, indicating miraculously high yields. The description in Hosea 2 of the unfaithfulness of God's people, their punishment and redemption, is littered with agricultural images. In this period of redemption, agriculture once again flourishes. The image of the peaceful kingdom of Isaiah 11.6 depicts a pastoral scene where the wolf and the lamb and the calf and the lion live in harmony. In most depictions of the ideal future it is either stated or implied that food is available in quantities to satisfy everyone. Eschatological overtones already exist in some of the later Biblical material. In Isaiah 25.6-8 the banquet is part of the end times along with elimination of death. The eschatological material of non-Biblical writings continues to use food and agricultural imagery. 2 Baruch 29.4 depicts yields of ten thousand fold. The banquet of Isaiah is seen in Messianic terms in 3 Enoch 48A:10 and in the Dead Sea Scrolls (eg, 1QSa 2.11-22). The influence of agriculture can be seen throughout the Hebrew Bible and most other ancient Jewish writings. The regular use of agricultural imagery demonstrates the impact of agriculture on all aspects of life in ancient Palestine.

Anthropological & Sociological Reconstructions

Over the last century the social sciences of anthropology and sociology have attempted to devise models of the ways in which human societies develop and evolve. Although Biblical Studies has not always been able to keep pace with the advances in these fields, increased understanding of the conditions under which societies evolve has led to many attempts to understand the evolution of the Jewish people.
The difficulty in modelling ancient Judaism is that we are dependent on the Bible for most of our information concerning it. Regardless of where one falls in the Maximalist-Minimalist debate, modern scholarship recognises many hands in the construction of the Hebrew Bible and that the final form of most books is probably post-exilic.

Modelling the origins of the Israelites is largely impossible as the historical records are not complete enough for any model to be thoroughly tested.\textsuperscript{187} From an anthropological point of view there is no reason to eliminate an immigration or conquest model,\textsuperscript{188} yet the archaeological record seems to dismiss the conquest model.\textsuperscript{189}

Models which attempt to examine the origins of the Israelites seem to be based on some break with the Canaanite cities perhaps with an added element of some immigration probably from Egypt.\textsuperscript{190} However, these are not greatly significant in a study of agriculture and can only act as a guide to the historical reason behind a historical shift in the regions under cultivation in ancient Palestine.

The models which are meaningful in the context of early Judaism or ancient Palestine and agriculture examine the development of an agricultural society. These models concentrate on those elements which allow the greatest chance of successful agriculture through the minimisation of risk and increased productivity. Initially, this involves diversification which reduces risk. Only in later stages is specialisation possible which improves productivity.\textsuperscript{191}

As to the question of how Judaism evolved from these changes, no real conclusions can be reached. Mendenhall proposes that the changes which established this new group were a result of a new religious ideology, whereas Gottwald argues the

\textsuperscript{187} Rogerson; p. 26.
\textsuperscript{188} Rogerson; p. 30.
\textsuperscript{189} Levy; p. 363.
\textsuperscript{190} Rogerson. Finkelstein in Levy.
\textsuperscript{191} Frick; pp. 67-68. Hopkins also discusses this in his various articles. See above with historical developments.
reverse, suggesting the new religion was the result of a formation of the new society. 192

Although this area of research does not provide any conclusive answers, anthropology and sociology provide valuable tools for the exploration of possible ways Judaism evolved.

A major part of Walsh's 193 work is attempting to develop a sociological model of the wine producer in ancient Palestine. This model is successful in demonstrating the importance of wine production as part of the strategy of risk management for the family farm. Despite the value of this work in understanding a fair proportion of wine production it does not take into account the production of other wine producers such as the royal estates. 194 This demonstrates both the value and limitations of using sociological and anthropological models in attempting to understand ancient Palestine.

Canaanite Influences

The Canaanite influences on the origins of the three great pilgrim festivals demonstrate the failure of the simple revelation of a higher religion model for the formation of Judaism. When combined with the observation that the culture of the highland farmers (from whom the Jewish people are currently believed to be descended) is not significantly different from the Canaanite, Canaanite agriculture and religion begin to demand to be considered as potentially important parts of the evolution of Judaism and its agricultural culture.

Drawing generalised parallels between Canaanite beliefs and practices and ancient Jewish ones can only be done with caution as Canaan was not a homogenous society. Likewise Judaism, was not as purely monotheistic as its religious reformers would have liked. 195 Nevertheless Judaism and the Canaanite religion have many parallels

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192 Rogerson; p. 21.
193 Walsh; 2000.
194 1Ch 27.25-28.
and many of these relate to the agricultural cycles of the land. Thus Canaanite influence cannot be ignored in a study of the importance of agriculture to Judaism.

The clearest example of Canaanite practice which was adapted to Jewish use is in the three great pilgrim festivals. The degree to which other Canaanite elements can be traced within Judaism varies greatly. Given the Biblical emphasis on the uniqueness of YHWH it is of note that one of his names El (אֱלֹהִים) is the name of the chief god of the Canaanites. For the student of agriculture the suggestion that the Canaanite god Dagon (דָּגוֹן) is in some way linked to the Hebrew word for grain dagan (דָּגָן) is intriguing even though the evidence is inconclusive. In a study of wine the possibility that türōš (טָרֹש) may have links to an Ugaritic divine name provides a tantalising hint of the significance of wine, but unfortunately the link is very tenuous.

In the past it was argued that "Canaanite religion was closely tied to the cycles of the agricultural year, and thus remained indebted to magical practices, Israelite religion was based upon history and upon ethical monotheism … and there was no place for magical thought." The agricultural background of the pilgrim festivals alone is enough evidence of the error of this. Hayman's study which concludes that Judaism attests heavenly beings other than God is further evidence that the distance between Canaanite and Jewish practice is not as great as traditionally believed.

Theological Aspects

The impact of agriculture on biblical theology is an area which has received relatively little attention. The place of nature and the environment was often shunned by theologians and Biblical scholars who concentrated on the redemptive and spiritual themes of the Bible. Nevertheless, increased information about the setting in

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196 See above.
197 "Canaan, Religion of"; ABD; I:834. Examples of the use of El include Gn 17.1, 35.1.
199 "Tirash"; DDD; pp. 871-872.
200 Rogerson; p. 18.
201 Hayman; 1991.
which the Bible's theology evolved gives other insights into the development of Judaism and is gaining increasing importance.

One of the aims of biblical theology is to understand the context in which the Bible's theological and ethical ideas evolved.\textsuperscript{202} Not least of the difficulties associated with agriculture and theology is the circular nature of the investigation: interest in theology is one of the factors which led to a greater interest in agriculture. Nevertheless, as the economy of ancient Palestine was primarily dependent on agriculture, agriculture must be examined as a major influence on ideas in the Bible. Whether it is the fundamental influence or just one of a number of influences, such as, for example, the interaction with neighbouring societies, may never be resolved.

Biblical theology recognises that the Bible has a number of different historical settings and thus the theological agenda of the different authors within the Bible means that there is not a single simple biblical theology, but a multiplicity of theologies. Biblical theology has two major components: the "descriptive," which just documents the theology of the biblical authors; and the "normative," those theological ideas which should stand throughout time.\textsuperscript{203} "Descriptive" theology is most closely linked to the reconstruction of the role of wine and agriculture in ancient Palestine and Judaism. However, the influence of the study of agriculture in the Bible on some modern "normative" theologians has affected their understanding of the biblical theology, which has thus affected how the Bible is examined for information about agriculture.\textsuperscript{204} Thus "normative" theology cannot be entirely ignored.

Trying to summarise biblical theology here as a sideline to this understanding of agriculture is an impossibility. Nevertheless, the interaction between the human community and God can be seen as summary of the basis of biblical theology from which to explore some aspects of the interaction of biblical theology and agriculture.

\textsuperscript{202} Clements; p. 7.
\textsuperscript{203} "Theology(OT)"; \textit{ABD}; VI: 449-456.
\textsuperscript{204} This is a somewhat circular process. But has produced interesting results. Hiebert to some extent shows this influence.
The covenant between God and his people is a central theme of biblical theology, to the stage where Eichrodt has suggested that all biblical theology can be linked to covenants. The covenant has definite links to agriculture. As discussed above, agriculture was significant in the rewards and punishments involved in the fulfilment or otherwise of the covenant.

All changes in agricultural conditions could be linked to the covenant between God and his people, yet this would be somewhat limiting. In a world in which there was no conception of a secular society every part of life was impacted upon by the theologies of the society. How agriculture impacted on these theologies is difficult to separate from how agriculture impacted on Judaism. Such a separation is often arbitrary.

Understanding the place of humankind in a world created by God is an aspect of theology, which has been influenced by and has driven forward the study of agriculture in the Bible and ancient Judaism. White suggested that humanity's lack of care of the natural environment was based on the idea that Genesis 1.26 allows humanity to dominate the natural environment. While this idea might be an over simplification, it has been influential in the thinking of scholars such as Hiebert and Murray. Hiebert and Murray question the relationship between humankind and the environment and whether this is an appropriate response to a world created by God. Thus the study of agriculture in the Bible and ancient Judaism provides information as to whether biblical theology includes a normative aspect on how mankind should interact with the natural environment.

**Conclusion**

Examining the place of wine in ancient Palestine and identifying the Biblical Hebrew words associated with it is affected by many factors. This chapter has attempted to bring together some of the key aspects which should be considered in such a search.

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205 Clements; p. 8.
Wine production makes up a part of the diet and agricultural calendar of ancient Palestine. All aspects of life in ancient Palestine were influenced by the people’s understanding of God or the gods’ interaction with the people and the natural world. The practices and belief that result from both agriculture and religion had a significant impact on the main record for the Hebrew semantic field of wine, the Hebrew Bible. Setting wine in this context, provides a basis on which to develop an understanding of the wine words in Biblical Hebrew.
Chapter 5
Towards the Semantics of the Hebrew words for wine and related fields

"We do not know whether the word means beverage in the general sense, or whether it is specialized. Prov 3:8 indicates that it is a healthy drink, especially good for bones. When we contrast this meager attestation with, say, the dozens of words for different kinds of beer found in cuneiform sources, we have to be content with ignorance." While Andersen and Freedman were here discussing יָכַּד, similar problems occur for most of the words related to alcoholic beverages attested in the Hebrew Bible. The limited amount of information means that every clue to the identity of terms for alcoholic beverages in the Hebrew Bible needs to be pursued if a clear picture is to emerge. This chapter explores the linguistic options available in this study alongside the information which can be gained from the early translations and other written sources.

The principal aim of examining in detail the Hebrew words associated with wine is to develop tools which may provide extra information in the search to understand the role wine played in the society of ancient Palestine. In a society that produces wine, the words, which are relevant, will include words associated with wine from the vine and grapes to the equipment used for its production. If the primary interest were in wine as a tradeable product then the containers and measures used in its trade might be a necessary addition to the words under investigation. The focus of this work, however, is the wine products with a consideration of the vineyard and winery.

With the words for wine as the focus, this study attempts to use all available tools and information about these terms to attempt to provide insights into their meaning. This chapter aims to introduce the semantic/linguistic aspects of this study. This is by no means an attempt to trace the complex history of the application of semantic and linguistic theory to the study of Hebrew and the Biblical text. It is rather an outline of the influences on the approach taken in this study.

208 Andersen and Freedman; 1980; p. 233.
Semantics is "the study of meaning." The nature of 'meaning' is rather ambiguous and shifting. An example is the common translation of כַּבָּד as 'corn'. 'Corn' in English from the United Kingdom refers to the grain crops of wheat and barley, which were staples in ancient Palestine, as well as later introduced grains from the maize family. In the USA and Australia 'corn' is now understood to refer to grain crops only from the maize family. Maize is a native of the Americas and, thus, was unknown in ancient Palestine.

In studying ancient texts one has a defined set of works through which to investigate the meaning of words. Compared with the study of a living language this limits greatly the techniques available for semantic analysis. From a core group of techniques for semantic analysis: Intuition; Texts; Elicitation; Experiments; and Observation, Labov argued for the need for a variety of methods to yield verifiable results. With no native speakers, observation and elicitation cannot be used nor can experiments. This has the advantage of not having to take into account ongoing changes within the language nor the prejudices of any speaker of that language. The disadvantages include lacking the ability to test the understanding of the meaning of words with a native speaker.

Linguistics has seen a number of approaches developed to investigate meaning. The Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database (SAHD) does not focus on a single approach, but aims to compile many approaches to develop a fuller understanding of the meaning of a lexeme. This approach is the one taken by this study. The format of an SAHD entry is followed in the examination of the terms under investigation. The exception is the expansion of the area of Exegesis to include other investigations of the text and meaning, which fall outside the layout. This occurs either as a part of the Exegesis study or occasionally as a separate section. Thus each approach is here examined in the context of how it appears in an SAHD entry.

209 Lehrer; p. 1.
210 כַּבָּד probably also includes other grains such as millet which are no longer common in a European diet.
211 Lehrer; p.5.
It would be inappropriate to attempt a full history of the SAHD project here, given that this has already been documented by Hoftijzer. Nevertheless, some observations about the impact on the study of Biblical Hebrew by modern linguistics provides background to SAHD and the approaches taken in this work. As Bodine observed in 1992 "contributions to research are still in their initial stages." The study of individual languages dates back to Biblical times. Hebrew was certainly a subject of study by the late ninth and early tenth centuries CE, when Saadia Gaon produced what was probably the first vocabulary and grammar of Biblical Hebrew. However, the study of language itself was not established until the early 19th century. Linguistics has seen the development of many forms of analysis of language, many of which are of limited value to the Biblical scholar as they depend on the spoken word. Semantics is the principle focus of this work although morphology and syntax play a role.

In the first half of the 19th century CE William Gesenius produced a Hebrew grammar and a lexicon, later editions of which are still in print today. Gesenius and his successors generally reflect a philological approach based on classical models and the historical comparative approach of the 19th century. The shift to a semantics based approach began after the Second World War. Barr's seminal works, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* and *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*, marked the beginning of Biblical Hebrew being examined with greater consideration of the information gained through linguistics, especially semantics, and awareness that etymology, while considered by most scholars to be a valuable tool, should not dominate the understanding of Biblical Hebrew.

More advanced application of linguistics to the study of Biblical Hebrew is to some extent at the stage of a dialogue. In 1992 Bodine edited a volume discussing linguistics and its application to Biblical Hebrew derived from the Society of Biblical

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212 Hoftijzer; 1995.
213 Bodine; 1992B; p. 327.
214 Bodine; 1992A; p. 2.
215 Bodine; 1992B; p. 331.
216 Barr; 1961.
218 Emerton; 1997. Emerton, as part of his affirmation of the value of etymology, examines some of those who claim etymology has no value.
Literature Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew unit over the previous decade.\textsuperscript{219} At a similar time in Europe scholars saw the need for a new Thesaurus of Ancient Hebrew. This was to result in a number of workshops which investigated aspects of the semantics of Classical Hebrew and in turn led to the development of the SAHD project.\textsuperscript{220}

**Approach of SAHD**

SAHD attempts to compile all available information on the word under consideration. For completeness, all sections of an entry will be considered here, however, it is only those sections which have been the subject of linguistic debate which will be considered in detail.

The word (or lexeme) under consideration is named before an introductory section in which its grammatical type is given. The words under consideration in this study are all the same grammatical type, namely nouns. If there are any questions about the gender or number of the noun these tend to be discussed below in the section on formal characteristics, although they may be noted at this point. The occurrences in ancient Hebrew are then listed. The sources considered are the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew fragments of the Book of Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and inscriptions. The format is designed for any other sources to be added should they come to light, although it is worth noting ancient Hebrew for this project may be approximated to pre-Mishnaic Hebrew. As the Database aims to take into account all possible occurrences, the places where the text is doubtful or scholars have suggested alternative readings are noted and discussed. Throughout the sections of an entry, all suggestions, whether considered likely or not, are noted. Likely are placed under paragraphs A.1, A.2, etc and unlikely are under B.1, B.2, etc. (This method of paragraph marking has not been followed in this work as it aims to have a more essay-like style).

\textsuperscript{219} Bodine; 1992A.
\textsuperscript{220} http://www.sahd.uklinux.net/
**Root and Comparative Material**

One of the most dominant traditional approaches in lexicons of Biblical Hebrew, such as Gesenius and related works such as DBD and others like *HAL*, has been to order lexemes by their roots. While for many words the root is easy to determine and the root is also attested, the etymology for many words is difficult to determine using only Biblical Hebrew. This highlights two factors: that the number of words attested in Biblical Hebrew is not large enough to include all the words used in ancient Israel,\(^\text{221}\) and that there is a tendency to attempt to link most nouns to verbal roots when some nouns are either primary nouns or loan words from other languages. To better understand the Hebrew and to find possible roots, the Hebrew is compared with cognates in other Semitic languages. However, this comparison is rarely the main source for understanding as many, if not most, words have a well attested and generally accepted meaning.\(^\text{222}\)

The examination of roots and comparative material has provided a lot of valuable material in the study of ancient Hebrew. Nevertheless, the comparative methods have limitations. These limitations have at times been tested to breaking by scholars such as Dahood. This taking to extremes of the comparative approach led Barr to re-examine the methods used in understanding Biblical Hebrew.\(^\text{223}\) Barr sought to make sure that scholars using the comparative method used it in a critical and scholarly manner rather than in the speculative way which was gaining credibility. A more extreme reaction to the direction the comparative approach had taken was to reject it out of hand, and claim that meaning could only be derived from the context. The proponents of this approach tended to be somewhat inconsistent, especially with words which are only able to be understood using some comparative material.\(^\text{224}\)

Thus, the suggested comparative material is examined as a means to assist in the further understanding of a word under consideration, but it is only one of a number of tools used.

\(^{221}\) Emerton; 1997; p. 2.

\(^{222}\) Emerton; 1997; pp. 1-3.


\(^{224}\) A solid overview of these problems is offered by Emerton; 1997; pp. 9-12, in his critique of Elwolde et al.
Formal Characteristics

Formal characteristics provide a succinct method of summarising the forms the term under consideration can take. The type of noun (e.g., Qal, Qil, Qatl, etc), its gender and number are the areas under consideration in this section. Within SAHD some minor variation occurs depending on the type of term under consideration.

Syntagmatics

 Ideally each word would appear in one of the texts with an explanation either linking it to one of the other words or describing how it is produced. In addition, the other related evidence would not contradict this occurrence or if it did it would be in such a way that a change in meaning over time could be traced. An example of this style of evidence may be the occurrence of רֹקָפָה at 11QT 21.10. In this occurrence רוקפ is linked to נִיָּה, however it is said to be 'new' whereas the early translators almost always said it was 'old'. Thus, a contradiction in the evidence about רוקפ means the evidence is not ideal. As the ideal situation does not occur unchallenged very often, words under consideration need to be examined in context. Thus, the syntagmatic relationship of the word in question is examined. Many pieces of information are gained in this examination: Words, which are part of the same semantic field, may appear in parallel; the nature of a noun may be hinted at from the verbs it interacts with, for example, a noun consistently the object of a verb 'to drink' is likely to be a liquid. The information gained depends on each word, often being close to or leading to exegesis.

Versions

In examining the Biblical text we have a source of information unusual in the study of ancient texts, namely translations as old, or almost as old, as the oldest copies of the Biblical text. For the Biblical text there are four major groups of translations or versions to consider: the Greek Septuagint; the Aramaic Targums; the Syriac Peshitta; and the Latin Vulgate. Strictly speaking, each of these versions is not a single translation, but a number of translations, the study of which is a separate field

\textsuperscript{225} See Chapter 7.3 for details.
of study outside the scope of this work. In the search to understand how the translators who created these versions understood the words under examination, each version is examined.

Differences within the version group are noted when relevant to the words under consideration. In most cases the versions follow the Biblical text very closely, however, there are notable exceptions to this rule. The reasons the versions diverge from the Biblical text are many, although there are probably three major reasons: a translator may have attempted to make plain a difficult reading; the translator may have given an understood rather than a literal translation of the text; and in some cases the text being translated appears to vary from the received or Masoretic version.

In summarising the way the translations treat the words under examination, two terms regularly appear which call for a brief explanation: paraphrase; and midrashic. The verse in which a word under consideration appears is noted to be a paraphrase if, while the general sense of the verse follows the Masoretic text, the word is not specifically translated or reflected. Midrash is a "method of interpreting Scripture to elucidate legal points (Midrash Halakhah) or to bring out lessons by stories or homiletics (Midrash Aggadah)." Thus, passages in the Versions which are midrashic tend to interpret the verse in which the word under consideration would otherwise appear in one of these styles of midrash. On some occasions the word under consideration appears in a verse, or indeed a book, which does not occur in a particular Version. These instances are marked by the phrase "No Text".

**Lexical or Semantic Field**

In an ideal language, the words might have a rigid hierarchical structure of levels of meaning, which would make it possible to categorise words into related fields. This clearly is not the case in reality and the taxonomy (classification) of words can be extremely difficult. The level at which the semantic field should be considered and whether the field under consideration is a true lexical field, where the terms are

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226 Encyclopaedia Judaica; CD-ROM; Glossary.
227 E.g., there is no known Targum of Nehemiah, etc.
very closely related and precisely defined, or an associative field, which can include all words with any association, is also problematic. To some extent, in ancient languages where there is no opportunity to test linguistic ideas with a native speaker, it is impossible to differentiate between lexical and associative fields. Similarly, differentiating between them is not a priority in this study as the examination of semantic fields is not being done in isolation, but is being used as one of many tools to attempt to clarify meaning. For instance wine is a food stuff, agricultural produce and part of the sacrificial roster, to mention but three of its roles. Should it just be categorised in the lexical field of alcoholic beverages? Clearly not, if all information about its use and role within the society of ancient Palestine is to be understood.

Thus to attempt to uncover the semantic fields with which any given word has an association, all parallels and associations with the word under consideration are recorded as a guide to those semantic fields.

There is no clear method of searching out words in the associative field for the words under consideration. In the course of this research it became obvious that a high proportion of the words under consideration were derived from verbs meaning "to drink" or "to be drunk". Thus, an obvious extension or test of completeness for the field would be to examine any nouns deriving from verbs with this meaning. Thus, an initial list of verbs meaning "to drink" or "to be drunk" was compiled: רְדֶּמֶּה; בְּשֵׁם; שֵׁם; מְשֻׁקָּה; סְעֵר. It was interesting to note that three out of the five verbs had a word under consideration derived from them, the exceptions being רְדֶּמֶּה and שֵׁם.

רְדֶּמֶּה appears to have cognates related to it meaning moisture (רְדֶּמֶּה), watered (רְדֶּמֶּה) and saturation (רְדֶּמֶּה), but perhaps more interestingly appears to be related to the words sometimes used by the Targums and Peshitta to translate רְדֶּמֶּה, רְדֶּמֶּה and רְדֶּמֶּה. It has the derived noun מְשֻׁקָּה which is a logical extension of this work because it represents the consumption aspects of wine, however, this study has its focus on wine products and their production rather than the social place of wine.

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228 Lehrer; p. 18.
229 Sawyer; 1972; p. 30.
230 See below for details.
A full examination of the semantic field of verbs related to the action of drinking has the potential to produce many other terms. Examples include "drain" which includes an aspect of drinking. However, such examples are at the extremes of the associative field and provide little extra information about the words under consideration.

Some terms are very difficult to place. Should "vinegar" be included in the semantic field of wine? This study has examined "vinegar" as a word under consideration partly because it requires a full analysis in order to begin to have enough evidence to place it. As the word study shows, "vinegar" has many of the characteristics of a member of the semantic field of wine. Questions remain as to when wine technically becomes vinegar and as vinegar is a beverage made from fermented grapes it is probably necessary to categorise "vinegar" as a member of the semantic field of wine. This example serves to illustrate how often the taxonomy is dependent on the intuition of the person categorising the words and how easy it is to miss or dismiss words which may rightfully belong in any given field.

This study focuses on three related semantic fields: wine; the vine and vineyard; and wine making installations. These three should provide the basis for a study of wine production in ancient Palestine. An attempt is made to cover comprehensively the semantic field of wine, which is to say someone else may have included or excluded certain terms from the list. The terms examined in the fields of the vine and vineyard, and wine making installations are not an attempt to be comprehensive (although wine making installations may be comprehensive). The examination of these two fields aims to bring greater understanding of wine production in ancient Palestine through the key words in the sources.

Exegesis

Although *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* attempts to derive the meaning of each word solely from the context in which it is used, the Hebrew Bible has been examined and expounded for centuries (if not millennia). As a result of this the
perceptions of those examining the Biblical text have been affected by the considerations of earlier generations of scholars. Thus, any examination of the meaning of the words in question should consider the commentaries and exegesis of the text. This section attempts to compile the various points made about the words under examination.

Conclusion

An SAHD entry ends with concluding remarks and a bibliography. Only the conclusion is reflected in the entries in this study. In summarising the findings on the word under consideration, an SAHD entry also allows space for the author to make observations which are not covered in previous sections.

This work attempts to check all information gained from semantic investigations against what is physically possible in wine making. As a result, one of the most important tools in understanding the words under consideration is the basic principles of wine making, as discussed in the following chapter. Following the format of SAHD serves as a check list and as part of the methodology used to collect as much information about a word under consideration as possible.

231 Clines, D. (ed.)
Chapter 6

Wine Making and Related Beverages: some technical aspects

A project such as the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database demonstrates how many linguistic aspects must be considered in understanding the meaning of words in ancient texts. In the examination of abstract terms we are largely limited to an investigation of meaning through linguistic methods. However, in the examination of concrete terms there are often factors that influence the understanding of meaning, which may or may not have changed significantly over time.

When it comes to alcoholic beverages\(^{232}\) certain key factors are fundamental to their production. All alcoholic beverages can be classed into three types: those based on natural fermentation only; those produced by distilling a fermented substance; and those which are a combination of the previous two. In terms of wine products these three are known as table wine, brandy, and fortifieds (such as port or sherry). Thus, should any culture produce wine but not have discovered distillation the number of ways of identifying alcoholic grape juice within that culture is reduced by two thirds.

Historical factors must be taken into account. An example is the significance of the eucalyptus tree, an Australian native, in modern Israel.\(^{233}\) The tendency to extrapolate modern practice into Biblical times has at times been prone to such simplification that potentially someone might suggest a Biblical Hebrew word could refer to the eucalypt. This would, of course, be a historical impossibility.

A further consideration is the use and misuse of specialist language. Brown, Driver and Briggs\(^{234}\) suggest "wine-press" as a possible translation for each of the terms \(\text{tg@} a\), \(\text{bqeye}\) and \(\text{hrfw@p}\). BDB\(^{235}\) also notes that \(\text{bqeye}\) may be a "wine-vat" which comes after the \(\text{tg@}\), however, Frankel\(^{236}\) says that all three terms refer to the "winery." For a full

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\(^{232}\) Note: throughout this chapter the term "alcohol" is used to refer to Ethanol. Ethanol is the alcohol that is characteristic of alcoholic beverages, which can be consumed safely by humans.

\(^{233}\) Encyclopaedia Judaica CD-ROM.

\(^{234}\) BDB; pp. 387, 428, 807.

\(^{235}\) BDB; p. 428.

\(^{236}\) Frankel; 1999; p. 185.
and accurate picture of the possible translations of these three terms, one of the starting points needs to be an understanding of the relevant terms related to the system under examination. In this context one needs to know that a wine-press is a specific piece of equipment within a winery. With a knowledge of the setting of a given term there is an improved chance of accurately understanding its meaning.

Thus, in this chapter some of the fundamental practical and historical aspects of the production of alcoholic beverages, which should impact on the understanding of the related words within Biblical Hebrew, will be presented.

**Previous Approaches**

Two main approaches have been taken in past studies of wine in the Bible and ancient Palestine. The first uses classical sources (such as the Greek and Roman authors) and ancient depictions of wine making (such as that found on the walls of the tomb of Nakt, Thebes). There are a number of difficulties with this approach. An example is the use of Pliny's *Natural History*. While Pliny is clearly aware of a large number of different wines being made in the ancient world, he never provides enough information so these wines could be reproduced with any degree of accuracy. The wall painting on the tomb of Nakht at Thebes potentially has more useful information in attempting to reconstruct ancient wine production, subject to one very important caution. Early pictures show a dark liquid emerging from the vat of grapes being trodden, however, in more recent pictures this area only shows what appears to be the artist's outline with all the colour having deteriorated. This change has the potential to change completely the understanding of the place of a key component of wine making in the ancient world. The other approach is to make observations of a pre-industrialised society and attempt to draw parallels with ancient times. This potentially would have value, however, the studies available from which to draw information about wine making are very limited. Walsh uses Calabresi to illustrate the life and work of the pre-industrial wine maker. Nowhere, however,

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237 E.g., Albright, Jimmy L. (especially Ch 8 ff).
238 Pliny; *Natural History*; Book 14.
239 Pritchard; 1958; pl. 19.
240 Dayagi-Mendels; p. 21.
241 See below on wine making. The significant process alluded to is maceration.
242 E.g., Walsh; 2000; p. 177.
does Calabresi offer anything more than observations of practices with an emphasis on the social aspects, the practical side of wine making is only a side issue with key practices glossed over. Dalman\textsuperscript{244} made a fair attempt at observing the practices in Palestine in the early twentieth century, but lacked the technical and historical knowledge of wine production needed to be thorough. An example is his mention of phylloxera,\textsuperscript{245} an exotic pest from the Americas not known in Europe and the Near East until the middle of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{246}

Thus, the role of this chapter is to provide the basic technical information against which all theories about the types of alcoholic beverages produced in ancient Palestine must be tested.

**Distillation**

If distillation had been known in ancient Palestine the range of alcoholic beverages available would have been extensive. However, there is no evidence for distillation of alcohol in useful quantities before the twelfth century CE. Primitive forms of distillation can be seen in the experiments of the alchemists as far back as Aristotle.\textsuperscript{247} Aristotle is sometimes quoted as distilling wine, but it appears that he was only able to recover water and not alcohol.\textsuperscript{248} As alcohol boils at 78°C\textsuperscript{249} and water at 100°C, two major factors affect the successful separation of alcohol: alcohol requires a lower temperature to liquefy from its gaseous form; and with a relatively small difference in vapour points between water and alcohol a certain degree of accuracy is required for the capture of only one component. The next development in distillation was the invention of the still in the first or second century CE,\textsuperscript{250} but there is no evidence that alcohol was successfully separated until centuries afterwards. The oldest record of the successful distillation of wine to produce alcohol comes from

\textsuperscript{243} Calabresi; 1987.
\textsuperscript{244} Dalman; 1964.
\textsuperscript{245} Dalman; 1964; IV; p. 297.
\textsuperscript{246} "Phylloxera"; \textit{OCW}; p. 725.
\textsuperscript{247} Rose, A.H.; 1977A; p. 6. Rose mentions the possibility that distilled beverages were made in China c1000BCE, however on checking his source (Legge, J.; pp. 273-275.) it is clear that the beverage is intoxicating but there is no evidence for distillation other than the suggestion of one commentator.
\textsuperscript{249} Table 26: Physical Properties of Selected Alcohols; \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}; 1999; CD-ROM.
\textsuperscript{250} Younger; 1966; pp. 323-324.
twelfth century CE Italy. It can therefore be safely assumed that distillation played no part in the production of alcoholic beverages in ancient Palestine.

What beverages may have been known
Without any means to increase the strength of alcoholic beverages above what was produced by natural fermentation, the range of alcoholic beverages was restricted to wine, beer, mead and fruit wines. Although an alcoholic beverage can be produced from any substance with enough sugars for yeast to produce alcohol, this remarkably short list covers most alcoholic beverages and all which could have been known in the Ancient Near East.

Why wine is the focus and its dominance in ancient Palestine
As discussed in Chapter 4, two key factors are critical to the role of wine in ancient Palestine: the lack of a permanent water supply in most of the country; and the need for diversification in agriculture for risk minimisation. Nevertheless, the full implications do not seem to have been understood in relation to the likely use of other alcoholic beverages in ancient Palestine.

The type of beer produced in the ancient world is not easy to conceive for a modern western beer drinker. Too often the ingredients of modern beer (barley, hops, water and yeast) are listed as the ingredients of ancient beer. There is no question that beer based on the yeast fermentation of the sugars, derived from the starch of grains, which are at least partially dissolved in water. However, hops is a flavouring agent the use of which is not recorded before 736 CE. The key factor in the production of beer when considering the likelihood of its playing a major role in ancient

251 Distillation; *OCW*; p. 327.
252 Saké and fermented milk are also naturally fermented, but have not been considered as they have not been suggested as possible meanings of any word in the Hebrew Bible nor are they often associated with the Ancient Near East. Saké is made of fermented rice, a grain not native to the Near East. There is no evidence of rice in the ANE so saké is also a historical impossibility.
253 The German beer purity laws, which date from 1516, require beer to be made from only these four ingredients. Variations are allowed in most countries. The most common variations are the substitution of barley for some other form of grain. The grain provides the sugars for fermentation and in some places the addition of cane sugar is allowed. A number of other styles are made although are rare such as Belgian fruit beers which, have fruit and or fruit juice added either before or after fermentation depending on the style being produced. [http://www.tastings.com/beer/](http://www.tastings.com/beer/).
254 E.g., Sasson; 1994; p. 400.
255 Rose; p. 47.
Palestine is the volume of water required to produce it. Beer making can require over 10 litres of water for the production of a single litre of beer \(^{256}\) making it an uneconomical use of water in an arid area. Thus, significant beer production was unlikely in ancient Palestine as it was not a good use of resources.

As is discussed below, many words in the Hebrew Bible have been suggested as a Hebrew word for beer. There is, however, no direct evidence for beer production in the Hebrew Bible the way there is evidence for wine production. Nevertheless there is a slight possibility that a word such as רכמ, about which little is known, may refer to beer. Boling’s \(^{257}\) suggestion that רכמ translates as beer, based on alcohol strengths, is examined here as it attempts to argue from an aspect of production. Boling claims that beer would have seemed stronger than wine as wine was often mixed with water. This presumes low strength wine and high strength beer which is unlikely given the way these beverages are fermented. Beer requires a strain yeast with an enzyme to convert the complex malt sugars into the simple sugars required for fermentation. This results in beer having a maximum alcoholic strength of 6%. Frequently beer is 3-5% and it is not unreasonable to think ancient beers may often have had an even lower alcohol with less precise methods of malting. \(^{258}\) The fermentation of wine is much simpler and can result in much higher alcohol levels. Wine in exceptional circumstances can reach alcohol levels as high as 17%, however it is typically 8.5-14%. \(^{259}\) In other words the argument that a word for beer occurs in the Hebrew Bible based on the idea that a beverage was known with a higher alcoholic strength than the most common form of alcoholic beverage, cannot be sustained.

It is difficult to perceive either date wine or mead being common in ancient Palestine. The sugar levels in dates and honey are such that yeasts and similar bacteria cannot take hold due to their intolerance of high levels of sugar. \(^{260}\) Both dates and honey require little effort for long term storage suggesting turning them

\(^{256}\) Rose; p. 59.
\(^{257}\) Boling; 1964; p. 219.
\(^{258}\) Macleod, A.M.; p. 45. Corran, H.S.; p. 13. Some modern beers have alcoholic strengths of about 9%. This is normally only possible with modern techniques for breeding and selecting yeasts.
into alcoholic beverages would have little advantage to the farmer of ancient Palestine. Date wine was made from dates soaked in water,\textsuperscript{261} likewise mead is the product of honey and water.\textsuperscript{262} Thus, like beer, the production of significant volumes of mead and date wine in ancient Palestine is most unlikely as they would have required the unnecessary use of scarce water.

With the other alcoholic beverages known in the period requiring the use of water and other raw materials in a manner which did not give the greatest yields, there remains wine to consider. The properties of grapes, and thus wine, are such that wine production in the semi arid landscape of ancient Palestine were an ideal addition to the diet and risk minimisation. Certainly, given humankind's tendency to make alcoholic beverages, if wine had not been so suited to the region, the people of ancient Palestine would have produced in quantity one or more of the other alcoholic beverages discussed.

There remains the possibility that in those areas of ancient Palestine that had a permanent water supply, such as the Jordan Valley, beer, mead and date wine were produced. Nevertheless, given the characteristics of wine (see below) and environment of ancient Palestine, it is unlikely that these beverages played a major role in ancient Palestine. This raises the possibility that unidentified Biblical terms are in fact one of these beverages. However, unless there is reasonable evidence to the contrary a more likely identification of a term in the semantic field of alcoholic beverages will be in the semantic field of wine rather than beer, mead or date wine.

Why Wine?
It is remarkable that with all the material written about wine there is very little consideration of the properties that made wine a success and why it should be a wine made from grapes that is dominant. Almost any plant material containing sugars or starch can be fermented, so what is it about wine that made it so successful?

\textsuperscript{261} Forbes, R.; 1956; p.276; Pliny. \textit{Nat Hist} XIV 102.
\textsuperscript{262} "Mead"; \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}; CD 99.
The basic process to begin wine making is very simple. The skins of the grape are broken so yeast can start fermenting the sugars of the grape. But it is the naturally high level of sugars in grapes, even the wild varieties, that separates the grape from other fruits. While an examination of a chart of fruit composition shows a number of fruits have similar proportions of water and carbohydrates (of which sugars are a major component) to grapes, this reflects modern hybrids rather than the wild and or the earliest known domestic examples of the fruits. In addition, wine (or grape juice) is higher in natural acidity than drinks such as beer, mead, and many other fruit wines, which means it is less prone to bacterial spoilage and easier to store long term. Singleton perhaps best summarises not only the value of the grape and wine, but why this question has received scant attention:

"Another factor that seems pertinent is a special desirability of wine for the ancients (and up to quite recent times). Wine is reminiscent of fruit juice, and tided humans over the long annual periods when fresh fruit was unavailable. With all manner of fresh and well-preserved produce constantly available today, we tend to forget how important a storable fruit juice such as wine would have been. Wine lifts the spirits and ameliorates harsh living conditions not only because of its alcoholic content, but also because of its preserved, flavorful [sic] attractiveness. Wine and raisins made grapes a much more useful year-round food source than other early fruits, with the possible exception of dates."

The grapevine is ideally suited to the climate of Palestine. Its success in areas with little rainfall would have made it ideal for the subsistence farmer as one of the crops in a mixed produce farm. The true significance can perhaps only be understood from the significant role the grapevine and its produce played in the Hebrew Bible, the major document to survive from ancient Palestine.

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263 Singleton; 1995; p. 72.
264 “Table 4: Nutrient Composition of Selected Fruits”; Encyclopaedia Britannica; CD 99.
265 I suspect that date wine would not have the acidity of grape wine but I have been unable to confirm this. Nevertheless (grape) wine is higher in acidity than cider, perry (pear wine) and orange juice!
266 "Bacteria"; OCW; p. 85.
267 Singleton; 1995; p. 73.
268 Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 15.
Understanding Wine Production

Wine making is simultaneously very simple and extremely complicated. In short, yeasts convert the sugars in grapes into alcohol and the separated liquid is wine.

The chemical actions required for yeast to convert sugar to alcohol is most simply given as:

\[
C_6H_{12}O_6 \rightarrow 2C_2H_5OH + 2CO_2 + \text{heat}
\]

one glucose gives two alcohol and two carbon dioxide plus heat.\(^{269}\)

The process of fermentation did not begin to be understood on this level until the work of Pasteur in the 1860's.\(^ {270}\) Thus of greater significance in attempting to reconstruct wine making in the ancient world is the process and the major outcomes of certain variations in that process. Care needs to be taken to focus on those aspects of wine making which are consistent for all time rather than refinements made possible through modern scientific and technological advantages.

No recent study has shown any in-depth understanding of the wine making process. Dar\(^ {271}\) is seriously flawed, describing the wine making process as having a stage of "second fermentation." While second fermentations can occur in wine production it tends to be disastrous in all but the controlled conditions of sparkling wine\(^ {272}\) (champagne) production. Frankel's\(^ {273}\) and Walsh’s\(^ {274}\) descriptions of wine making are better, but neither appreciate the significant difference between red and white wine production.

One of the most important phenomena to be considered in wine production is that all grapes, other than the rare Teinturier family,\(^ {275}\) have clear or "white" flesh.\(^ {276}\) All colour compounds, which allow wine, to be red are contained in the skin. The process whereby red wine obtains its colour is called maceration which occurs during fermentation and any further time the wine is left on the skins. The winemaker has

\(^{269}\) "Fermentation"; \textit{OCW}; pp. 382 - 383.
\(^{270}\) "Pasteur"; \textit{OCW}; pp. 707-708.
\(^{271}\) Dar; 1986; p. 153.
\(^{272}\) The original way to make sparkling wine or champagne, "Méthode Champenoise", was probably not discovered until the 17\(^\text{th}\) century CE. "Champagne"; \textit{OCW}; p. 210.
\(^{273}\) Frankel; 1999; pp. 41-43.
\(^{275}\) No record of this family of grape varieties exist before the 17\(^\text{th}\) century CE.
control over the level of colour, tannins and other compounds extracted from the skin, which go into the wine by varying length of time the ferment or wine is left on the skins.\textsuperscript{277} This process is completely misunderstood or ignored by most works on wine making in the ancient world. An example of this lack of understanding is Dayagi-Mendels\textsuperscript{278} who says, "After the last bit of juice had been pressed, the skins were used to colour the wine."

Red wine production goes through a number of stages from the time the grapes are picked to the time a finished product is bottled. Initially, the grapes are destemmed and crushed. This releases the grape juice so it can ferment and removes the stalks, which can add harsh tannins to the wine. At about this time fermentation begins. Yeast in the atmosphere starts to feed on the sugars producing alcohol and carbon dioxide (CO\textsubscript{2}) while reproducing at a rapid rate. At some point, depending on the available yeasts and sugar concentration, the ferment will slow as the available sugars are used up and the concentration of alcohol becomes too high for the yeasts. At this stage the volume of CO\textsubscript{2} being produced reduces to a stage where there is not enough to protect the ferment from air spoilage. Thus, the ferment needs to be placed in a vessel with less open surface area. Typically at this stage the free run wine would be removed and the skins and other solids (pomace) would be pressed to recover all possible wine. It is unlikely that winemakers in the ancient world would have left their wine on the skins any longer than the slowing of the ferment as they would have been dependent on the CO\textsubscript{2} from the ferment to protect the wine, unlike a modern winemaker who can add a cap of CO\textsubscript{2} to protect the wine. The major difference between the ancient world and modern is that once the fermentation had slowed in the ancient world, the wine probably went into an amphora where it may have stayed until consumption\textsuperscript{279} rather than being put in wooden barrels or stainless steel tanks and be refined further before bottling.

In thinking about the equipment used in the red wine production, the process described above has three main pieces of equipment associated with it before the

\textsuperscript{277} "Maceration"; \textit{OCW}; pp.583-585.
\textsuperscript{278} Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 22.
\textsuperscript{279} It is probable that some wines were "racked" from one wine amphora to another. In addition, a change of seal for the amphora would have been required. While a certain amount of fermentation was
Wine is put in the amphora or other storage vessel: 1) crusher; 2) fermentation vessel; and 3) the press. The tendency in Biblical studies to describe the installation which contains these three pieces of equipment as a winepress is at best careless. The installation should be referred to as a winery. The careless naming and the misunderstanding of the wine making process is perhaps not so surprising when examining the depictions of or remains of wineries in the ancient world. The best explanation of the depiction of wine production in the tomb of Nakht at Thebes is that all three pieces of equipment are one and the same. The arevah identified by Dayagi-Mendels is in effect a miniature portable version of this type of winery. The simple wineries identified by Frankel have a flat "treading floor" and a "collection vat." While the treading floor corresponds to the crusher and the collection vat to the fermentation vessel, there is no separate press. Either part of the winery could have been used. Once the free run had been scooped or siphoned off, the pomace could have been pressed in place or moved to the treading floor for further treading. However, Egyptian tomb paintings once again provide another possibility, the sack press. In the sack press, the pomace was placed in a bag, which was then twisted to separate the remaining wine from the solids. In every depiction of the sack press the liquid resulting, is coloured which means fermentation must have at least started before its use. It was not until the invention of the mechanical press, either lever or screw, that each of the three components of the winery were clearly represented in the archaeological remains found today.

Footnotes:

280 A crusher is the piece of equipment where the grape berry is broken open so the juice is more readily available to the yeast for fermentation. Traditionally crushing was done by foot on a crushing or treading floor. “Crushing”; OCW; p. 307.

281 A fermentation vessel can be any vessel capable of holding liquid where fermentation could take place. It is conceivable that this would initially be a tank cut in the rock and as the fermentation slowed the ferment was transferred to a smaller vessel such as an amphora.

282 The press or wine press is where the wine is separated from the pomace (skins, seeds and other solids), typical after the free run has been separated. In red wine making this piece of equipment is used after some or all of the fermentation has occurred. In white wine making the press can be used to separate the juice from all solids before fermentation starts.

283 Winery refers to the place where all wine making functions take place from crushing to packaging.

284 Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p.28

285 Frankel; 1999; pp. 51-58. While other authors mention this type of winery Frankel is the most comprehensive in his coverage.

286 Note: Frankel; 1999; p. 55. refers to the sack press as the bag press. This name should be avoided as the bag press refers to a press invented in the 20th century CE, which involves a tank containing a bag that is then inflated.

287 "Egypt"; OCW; pp. 355-356.
the poles used to twist the sack press.\textsuperscript{288} Frankel identifies the screw press as the main winepress in Israel and surrounding countries.\textsuperscript{289} However, it would appear that the screw press was not invented until the last century BCE.\textsuperscript{290} Similarly, there is no evidence that this type of press was used in the Biblical period and is thus unlikely to appear among or affect the words under examination.

There is another major reason why red wine production is emphasised in this work, other than the colour associated with the Biblical imagery of wine always being red. The reason is that red wine is easier to store than white wine. The tannins and other compounds extracted from the skins to make the wine red also help in the preservation of the wine.\textsuperscript{291} Some white wines are attested in the ancient world, but not until Greco-Roman times.\textsuperscript{292} White wine can be produced from red or white grapes. The major difference in its production is that the crushing and pressing occur at the same time and there is no maceration. Once white grape varietals were available it is possible that white wine maceration was practised in an attempt to improve the storage potential of white wines, but this must remain a matter of speculation. Certain white wines have a prolonged skin contact in modern wine making\textsuperscript{293} but this is rare as the wines tend to develop quickly.\textsuperscript{294}

There is no consideration of grape juice in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, grape juice quickly and easily ferments to wine at room temperature.\textsuperscript{295} The conditions for storage of fresh grape juice\textsuperscript{296} would not have been readily available. Secondly, a term for grape juice appears in the Hebrew Bible מְשָׁרָה נֵבֶר (Nu 6.3).\textsuperscript{297} This suggests the search for a term for grape juice amongst the other terms in the semantic field of wine is unnecessary.

\textsuperscript{288} Frankel; 1999; p. 55.
\textsuperscript{289} Frankel; 1999; p. 140.
\textsuperscript{290} Frankel; 1999; p. 107.
\textsuperscript{291} Hopp; 2000.
\textsuperscript{292} "Egypt"; \textit{OCW}; pp. 355-356.
\textsuperscript{293} O’Callaghan, R; Back label of 1999 Rockford Eden Valley Riesling.
\textsuperscript{294} Knock, Justin; 2002; Personal correspondence with the Assistant Winemaker at Devil's Lair.
\textsuperscript{295} McGovern & Michel; 1995; p. 63.
\textsuperscript{296} Teachout; p. 398.
\textsuperscript{297} See Chapter 7.11.
Strong Drink

BDB\(^{298}\) offers the translation of "strong drink" for \(ךָּלִים\). This, however, must come in the context of alcoholic beverage production in ancient Palestine. Most arguments surrounding the identification of \(ךָּלִים\) are discussed below, however, a brief examination of what strong drink could have been is useful. As discussed above, wine is by far the most likely alcoholic beverage to have been produced in ancient Palestine. Many commentators\(^{299}\) seem to have difficulty with the idea that Biblical Hebrew could attest more than one word for wine. Today, we have a significant number of names for wines often relating to the style of wine or the place where it was produced. Given the idea that a term may refer to strong drink rather than standard wine, perhaps it is about alcoholic strength that observations need to be made. Wine, in exceptional circumstances, can reach alcohol levels as high as 17%, however it is typically 8.5-14%.\(^{300}\) These concentrations are initially dependent on the concentration of sugars in the grapes, but are also limited to the maximum alcohol the yeasts in the ferment can survive.\(^{301}\) Most wineries develop a natural yeast concentration, which produces table wines of these strengths, but before the natural yeast developed the ancient winemaker would have been dependent on wild yeasts, which commonly may have only had an alcohol tolerance of 5%. Another limiting factor on the production of high alcohol beverages is yeast's intolerance of high sugar levels.\(^{302}\) This intolerance is what prevents honey from fermenting unless diluted. Similarly, it gives dates a longer life than grapes without spontaneous fermentation and date honey would sometimes need dilution for effective fermentation to take place. One other method of concentrating alcohol could have been used in ancient times, and that is evaporation. The alcohol level of a wine could be increased by drying the grapes to increase their sugar concentrations before fermentation.\(^{303}\) This increase would still be limited by the natural limits of yeast (see above). Wine kept in barrel in a dry cellar will increase in alcohol. However, wooden

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298 BDB; p. 1016.
299 E.g. Boling, for others see below under \(ךָּלִים\).
301 Today with specially selected or bred strains of yeast alcohol levels of 17-20% are sometimes produced through natural fermentation but almost never in wine production. As mentioned below many yeast strains only have an alcohol tolerance of 5%. op. cit.
302 "Botrytised"; OCW; p. 137.
303 "Dried Grape Wines"; OCW; pp. 338-341e.
barrels did not come into common use until at least the first century CE.\textsuperscript{304} Thus, this phenomenon cannot contribute to the study of a Biblical word.

**Vinegar**

Vinegar must be briefly considered if for no other reason than that it is likely that many ancient wines were closer to vinegar than wine to a modern palate. Any solution of less than 15\% alcohol will turn to vinegar if exposed to oxygen.\textsuperscript{305} This process is sped up or can happen during fermentation if acetobacter or similar organisms are present.\textsuperscript{306} There is no indication in the Hebrew Bible whether vinegar was ever deliberately produced. Nevertheless, as a term appears, which is translated as "vinegar," it must be considered in the context of the semantic field of wine as its production is so closely linked.

It is only in this context of a fairly strong background in the nature of wine production and terminology that an in-depth study of the words related to wine in the Hebrew Bible should be attempted.

\textsuperscript{304} "Barrel"; OCW; p. 94.
\textsuperscript{305} "Vinegar"; OCW; p. 1032.
\textsuperscript{306} "Oxidation"; OCW; pp. 699-700.
**Chapter 7**

**The Semantic Field of Wine**

The identification of a semantic field, and its members, is a best an inexact art.\(^{307}\) In Biblical Hebrew, the semantic field of wine is a mix of primary nouns and nouns with related verbs, relatively common words though to *hapax legomena*.

This chapter examines, in some depth, each word that has enough links to the semantic field of wine, in Biblical Hebrew, to be a member or possible member of the semantic field of wine. The chapter concludes with an exploration of phrases which may represent further members of this semantic field.

The first five words examined in this chapter are those most strongly linked to wine, in descending order of frequency of occurrence in Biblical Hebrew. The final word examined כָּסָס “vinegar” is so placed in recognition of the difficulty in determining whether it is a member of the semantic field. The remaining terms have links to the semantic field, clearly beverages, but with some doubt as to membership of the semantic field of wine.

### 7.1 יִנְיָה

יִנְיָה is the most common word for wine in the Hebrew Bible and other Hebrew literature. There is little doubt about the interpretation of this word and in all likelihood it is the base word for the entire Hebrew semantic field of wine.

In the Hebrew Bible יִנְיָה occurs 141 times: Gn 9.21,24, 14.18, 19.32, 33, 34, 35, 27.25, 49.11, 12, Ex 29.40, Lv 10.9, 23.13, Nu 6.3 (x2), 4, 20, 15.5, 7, 10, 28.14, Dt 14.26, 28.39, 29.6, 32.33, 38, Josh 9.4, 13, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14 (x2), 19.19, 1Sm 1.14, 15, 24, 10.3, 16.20, 25.18, 37, 2Sm 13.28, 16.1, 2, Is 5.11, 12, 22. 16.10, 22.13, 24.9, 11, 28.1, 7 (x2), 9, 51.21, 55.1, 56.12, Jr 13.12 (x2), 23.9, 25.15, 35.2, 5 (x2), 6 (x2), 8, 35.14, 40.10, 12, 48.33, 51.7, Ezek 27.18, 44.21, Ho 4.11, 7.5, 9.4, 14.7, Jl 1.5, 3.3, 307 See Chapter 5.
Am 2.8, 12, 5.11, 6.6, 9.14, Mc 2.11, 6.15, Hb 2.5, Zp 1.13, Hg 2.12, Zc 9.15, 10.7, Ps 60.5, 75.8, 78.65, 104.15, Jb 1.13, 18, 32.19, Pr 4.17, 9.2, 5, 20.1, 21.17, 23.20 (x2), 31, 31.4, 6, Ct 1.2, 4, 2.4, 4.10, 5.1, 7.9, 8.2, Qoh 2.3, 9.7, 10.19, La 2.12, Est 1.7, 10, 5.6, 7.2, 7, 8, Dn 1.5, 8, 16, 10.3, Neh 2.1 (x2), 5.15, 18, 13.15, 1Ch 9.29, 12.41, 27.27, 2Ch 2.10, 15, 11.11.

The versions and Dead Sea Scrolls suggest a number of variations from the Masoretic text. The Septuagint adds кαὶ τὸν οἶνον σοῦ to Ex 23.25 suggesting ἱππας. There is little reason to prefer the Masoretic text over the Septuagint except that ἱππας, while commonly in parallel with either ὕπαπα or ἱππας, at no other place in the Hebrew Bible is in parallel with both. The Septuagint of Ho 3.2 reads ἑλέβι οἰνὸν thought to reflect ἱππας. The repetition of θαλασσάς in the verse and the Septuagint replacing one with the lexeme leads many commentators to believe the Septuagint is preferred or at least a viable reading. The Septuagint adds οἶνον at Ex 32.18. This is probably a clarification and is not preferred over the Masoretic text. The Targums, Peshitta and Vulgate translate the ἱππας of Nu 28.7 as if it were ἱππας. Some Septuagint MSS add τοῦ οἰνοῦ. This reflects the unusual nature of using ἱππας as a libation and is probably unwarranted. The word order of Nu 28.14 is somewhat unstable. Nevertheless, ἱππας does appear in this verse and the variations have no significant impact on the understanding of this verse. The Septuagint of 1Sm 1.11 expands the promise of no razor touching the child's head into one closer to the Nazarite vow adding the child should not drink οἰνὸν καὶ μεσυμα equivalent to ἱππας. There is no consensus as to whether either text is to be preferred. The Septuagint of Ezk 27.19 starts καὶ οἰνὸν. Whether the verse reflects a different origin to the Masoretic text or a paraphrase is difficult to discern. For ἱππας at Hb 2.5, 1QpHab 8.3 reads ἱππας "wealth". Others would amend it to ἱππας "woe" and consider it the first of six "woes." This is unlikely as 5a is still talking about the arrogant man.

308 Stuart 1987:63 n 2c.
310 BHS p. 266.
311 Smith 1984; p. 107-08.
In the fragments of the Hebrew Book of Ben Sira, "Nyiya" occurs 16 times: 9.10, 19.2, 31.11, 25, 26, 27 (x2), 28, 29, 31, 32.4, 5 (x2), 6, 40.20, 49.1. Whether "Nyiya" occurs in Sir 40.18 is doubtful. MS B reads חֹרוֹ יָדֶה with a margin note suggesting חֹרוֹ יָדֶה should read חֹרוֹ יֶדֶל. MS M reads מַעְלֵה יָדֶה. The Septuagint supports the reading of MS M.

"Nyiya" occurs 27 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls that have been officially published:
1QpMic(14) 17+ 1.3, 4QPlsa(162) 2.2, 3, 4Q415 28.1, 4Q416 2ii19, 4Q417 2ii+23.24, 4Q509 195 1.2, 4Q513 1-2 1.4, 11QT 13.12a, 13, 14.14, 18.6, 19.14, 15, 21.7, 10, 34.13, 43.7, 15, 47.6, 12, 49.12, 11Q20 5.10(//11QT 21.7), CD 8.9, 10, 19.22, 23. It is interesting to note that none of the fragments of Jubilees found in the caves near Qumran had a mention of wine. A search of the R.H. Charles Old Testament Pseudepigrapha translation of Jubilees reveals wine occurs twelve times (6.3, 7.2, 5, 6, 36, 14.26, 26.21, 31, 32.12(x2), 45.5, 49.6). This is a clear example of how it is difficult to be definite in the numbers of occurrences of any given word in the Dead Sea Scrolls given that almost no documents are completely preserved.

"Nyiya" is found in approximately 38 inscriptions. In many of these inscriptions a shorter form is used, probably reflecting the northern dialects of Hebrew: RR-Lak(6):1.9.4 = D-1.009.4, RR-Lak(7/6):20 = D-1.025.1, RR-Arad(6):1.3, 9, 2.2, 5, 3.2, 4.2, 8.5, [9.3], 10.2, 11.3, 61.2 = D2.001.3, 9, 002.2, 5, 003.2, 004.2, 008.5, [009.3], 010.2, 011.3, 061.2, RR-[Sam(8):1.1.2], [3.2], [4.3], 5.3, 6.3, [7.2], [8.3], 9.3, 10.3, 11.2, 12.0, 13.3, 14.3, 15.2, 20.2, 26.2, 44.3, 53.1, 54.1, 62.1, 72.1, 73.2, 89.1, 101.1 = D-[3.001.2], [003.2], 004.3, 005.3, 006.3, [007.2], [008.3], 009.3],

312 Note the numbering used for the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira follow Beentjes. Beentjes’ numbering aligns fairly closely with the numbering in the NRSV and Rahlfs’ edition of the Septuagint. Many commentators use the Jerusalem edition of 1972. The numbering in this edition varies slightly from Beentjes. Beentjes chapters 31 and 32 are chapters 34 and 35 respectively in the Jerusalem edition. At least one significant difference in ordering of lines is seen between these two editions with Beentjes 32.6 line 2 read as line 3 in 35.5 of the Jerusalem edition.
313 The fragments found are: 1.1-7, 7-15, 26-28, 2.1-4, 7-12, 13-24 (4Q216); 2.26-27 (4Q218); 4.6-11 (11Q12); 13.29 / Gn 14.22-23 (4Q482); 21.1-2, 7-10, 14-16, 21.18-22.1 (4Q219); 21.5-10 (4Q220); 21.22-24 (4Q221); 23.6-7, 12-13 (4Q5); 23.7-8 (2Q19); 23.21-23 (4Q176a); 23.30-31 (4Q176b); 25.9-12 (4Q222); 27.19-21 (1Q17); 32.12-15, 37.11-15 (4Q221); 35.8-10 (1Q18); 35.7-12, 13-18, 36.17-20, 37.17-38.8 (4Q223 & 224); 46.1-3 (2Q20). Note while the list from Charles was compared to DJD this list was compiled using DSSSE.
314 Frankel; 1999; p. 198.
t(RR-Sam(8):1.35.3) where Davies readsyw/f (D-3.035.3). ñ
may also occur at RR-RZet(10):1.1 although this is probably Phoenician not Hebrew.

Root and Comparative Material

ñ has a number of corresponding cognates both in the Semitic languages and non Semitic Mediterranean languages such as Greek and Latin. Despite some attempts it has not been successfully demonstrated that the lexeme derives from any cognate verb in the Hebrew Bible, or other Hebrew or a cognate language. ñ is probably a primary (or primitive) noun or derived from one.

There has been much speculation as to the origin of the lexeme ñ. With evidence suggesting that viticulture originated in the Caucasus, Dommershausen speculates that the Hittite wiyāna "wine" or a related word from a nearby region, such as Anatolia or the Southern Caucasus, may provide the origin of the lexeme. However, this is not as certain as Dommershausen and others would like. Rabin, on which Dommershausen, was based merely observes the parallel of the Hittite with other Semitic languages and notes the Hittite might be a loan word. Brown finds that despite the large number of cognates, the word is "marginal" in the Semitic languages outside Canaan. Gorny cites Brown as suggesting a Hittite origin, but Brown does no more than observe that in Gn 9.21 wine was first made in this region on Mount Ararat.

The tendency for Hebrew words to have a triliteral root has led to a number of attempts to demonstrate a triliteral root for ñ. Brown, Driver and Briggs suggests the root may be ñ of meaning unknown although it is regarded as a loan word by

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315 See Chapter 3.
316 Dommershausen; 1990; p. 60.
317 Rabin; 1963; p. 138.
319 Gorny; 1995; p. 150.
320 BDB; p. 406.
Lagarde and Hommel. Frankel\textsuperscript{321} believes that the original root was 'almost certainly' wyn. Frankel cites Brown\textsuperscript{322} in support, but Brown is only discussing the form which influenced Greek. Brown in fact says “The word as evidently spread with the thing it denotes from an uncertain source.” Van Selms\textsuperscript{323} argues that $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ is derived from the root $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ "to oppress." Van Selms argument is not particularly convincing as he then shows another Hebrew noun which may be linked to a $\text{\n}\text{-w(y)-n}$ or $\text{\n}-\text{\n}$ root, namely $\text{\n}$, "mire." Dommershausen\textsuperscript{325} notes that Hehn proposes a root $\text{\n}$ (Lat vieo) "wind." This is totally hypothetical and unlikely given the spread of the cognates. Koehler and Baumgartner\textsuperscript{326} follow the idea that $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ is a non-Semitic loan word. The arguments of those trying to find a root other than the word itself are unconvincing giving weight to the idea that $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ is either a loan word or a primary noun or both.

Regardless of its origin, $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ became at a relatively early stage the dominant word for wine in ancient Hebrew. Its dominance continued into the Rabbinic period, leading to its use in Modern Hebrew. Despite the dominance of $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$ in Hebrew, there is no firm evidence of its use in Aramaic. The one cited example of $\text{\n}$ in official Aramaic is a doubtful reading.\textsuperscript{327} In Aramaic the word for "wine" is a form of $\text{\n}^\text{\n}$. The cognates\textsuperscript{328} in the Semitic languages include: Ugaritic, Ammonite and Samaria ostraca $\text{\n}$ "wine"; Old Canaanite ye-nu; Ethiopian wain "vine, wine"; Amharic wain "vine, grape"; Old South Arabian wyn, $\text{\n}$ "vineyard"; Arabic wayn "black grapes"; and Sabaean wynh$mw$ "their vineyards". The Mediterranean languages are more consistent with cognates meaning "wine": Cretan FOINO; Cypriote wo-i-no; Greek $\text{\n}\text{\n}$ Latin vinum; Iguvine (Umbrian) uino; and Etruscan vinum. The old poetic Greek word for the "vine" is the cognate $\text{\n}$ although this fell into disuse quite

\textsuperscript{321} Frankel; 1999; p. 198.
\textsuperscript{322} Brown; 1969. Frankel also cites Kutcher; 1961; Words and their History (Hebrew) unsighted by this author.
\textsuperscript{323} van Selms; 1974; pp. 77-80.
\textsuperscript{324} van Selms; 1974; p. 83.
\textsuperscript{325} Dommerhausen; 1990; p. 60.
\textsuperscript{326} HAL; p. 409.
\textsuperscript{327} DNSWI; p. 465.
\textsuperscript{328} The cognates are compiled from BDB, HAL, DNSWI and Brown; 1969.
early and was replaced by ἄμπελος. Latin retained the cognate for "vile, vineyard" *vinea*.

**Formal Characteristics**

*Nyiya* provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the qatl form.

**Syntagmatics**

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of *Nyiya* shows the following uses of the lexeme:

1. a) *Nyiya* is the object of qal הָרָא (Gn 9.21, Nu 6.20, Dt 28.39, 32.38, 2Sm 16.2, Is 5.22, 22.13, 24.9, Jr 25.5 2nd occurrence, Jr 35.6 (x2), 8, 14, 51.7, Ezek 44.21, Jl 1.5, Am 2.8, 5.11, 6.6, 9.14, Mc 6.15, Zp 1.13, Jb 1.13, 18, Pr 4.17, 9.5, 31.4, Ct 5.1, Qoh 9.7, Est 5.6, 7.2, 1QpMic(14) 17+1.3, 4Q416 2ii 19, 4Q417 2ii+23.24, 11QT 21.7//11Q20 5.10), לֹא (Jdg 13.14 1st occurrence), לֹא (1Sm 10.3, Neh 2.1 2nd occurrence), לּוֹ (Is 28.1), לַ (Is 28.7 1st occurrence), לַ (Is 29.9, 51.21), לַ (Is 56.12, Jr 25.15), לָ (Jr 23.9), לָ (Jr 35.5 1st occurrence, Pr 31.6), לָ (Jl 4.3), לָ (Zc 9.15), לָ (Zc 10.7), לָ (Pr 9.2), לָ (Pr 23.20), לָ (Pr 23.31), לָ (Est 4.10), לָ (Est 1.7), לָ (Sir 31.27 2nd occurrence), לָ (Nu 6.4), לָ (Is 28.7 2nd occurrence), לָ (Ju 13.12 (x2)), piel יָ (Pr 23.30), hifil יָ (Nu 15.7, 10, 11QT 19.15), לָ (1Sm 1.14), לָ (Is 5.11//4QpIsb(162) 2.2), לָ (1Ch 12.41), piel יָ (Is 16.10), hitpael יָ (Ps 78.65), יָ (Dn 1.8), יָ (Sir 31.25).

b) direct object of qal הָ (Ho 9.4), הָ (Ct 2.4), hifil הָ (Gn 19.32, 33, 34, Jr 35.2, Am 2.12, Ps 60.5, Ct 8.2), הָ (Gn 27.25), הָ (Mc 2.11).

c) indirect object of hifil הָ (Jr 48.33).

d) an element of a compound object of qal הָ (Ex 29.40), הָ (Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 2nd occurrence, Dt 28.39, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14 (2nd occurrence), 1Sm 1.15), הָ (Nu 329 LSJ; p. 1206.)
28.14, Is 5.12/4QPs(162) 2.3, נְלֵהַ (Josh 9.4, 1Sm 16.20, Neh 5.15, 11QT 43.15, 87), יֶדֶהַ (Pr 40.10, 12), נְלֵיָּה (Pr 21.17, 11QT 2.9, 11.11), יַסְכָּל (11QT 43.17), niphal נֶלְחָּה (Neh 5.18), piel נֶלְחַּה (Dt 14.26) hifil נַלָשָׁה (Gn 14.18), נַלָשָׁה (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), piel נַלָשָׁה (Ho 7.5), piel נַלָשָׁה (1Ch 9.29), נַלָשָׁה (11QT 34.13).

e) an element of a compound direct object of qal נְלֵהַ (Neh 13.15), יֵרָא (11QT 47.12), יֵרָא (11QT 49.12).
f) an element of a compound object in a nominal clause (Jdg 19.19).
g) an object complement of נְלֵהַ which is the object of qal נְלֵהַ (11QT 21.10).

2 נְלֵהַ is the predicate of נָסְכָּל (Lv 23.13), יֹכֵר (Ho 14.8), יֹכֵר (Jb 32.19), יַרְמָ (La 2.12).

3 נְלֵהַ is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal נָסְכָּל (Gn 9.24), יֹכֶּ (2Sm 13.28), יָכֶּ (2Sm 16.1), נָסְכָּל (Qoh 2.3), יָכֶּ (Est 1.10), נָסְכָּל (Est 7.8), piel נָסְכָּל (Gn 49.11), נָסְכָּל (Dn 1.5), predicate (Gn 49.12, Ct 1.2, 4, 7.10, Sir 32.4, 5(x2), 6, 49.1), hifil נָלָשָׁה (1Sm 1.24), nominal clause (Is 24.11).

4 נְלֵהַ is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying נְלֵהַ (Ezk 27.18).

5 נְלֵהַ is part of an adjectival phrase modifying נְלֶ (Ps 75.9), נְלֶ (1Ch 27.27).

6 a) נְלֵהַ is the subject of qal נְלֵהַ (1Sm 25.37), יֹכֵר (Ho 4.11), יֹכֵר (Hb 2.5), מָלָּ (Pr 20.1, Sir 31.26), מָלָּ (Est 7.7), מָלָּ (Dn 1.16), מָלָּ (Dn 10.3), מָלָּ (Sir 31.11 [probably]), piel מָלָּ (Ps 104.15, Qoh 10.19), niphal נָלָּ (Sir 31.28, 29).

b) נְלֵהַ is an element of the compound subject of qal נְלֵהַ (Sir 40.18 [see Text Doubtful]), נְלֵהַ (11QT 47.6), hifil נָלָּ (Sir 19.2), נְלֵהַ (Sir 40.20).

c) נְלֵהַ is the subject of predicate נָלָּ (Dt 32.33//CD 8.9//19.22), נָלָּ (Josh 9.13, Sir 9.10), נָלָּ (Neh 2.1 1st occurrence), נָלָּ (Sir 31.27 1st occurrence), נָלָּ (CD 8.10//19.23).

8 נְלֵהַ is the Nomen regens of נָלָּ (Dt 32.38), נָלָּ (Jr 25.15), נָלָּ (Ezk 27.18), נָלָּ (Ho 14.8), נָלָּ (Am 2.8), נָלָּ (Pr 4.17), נָלָּ (Est 1.7), נָלָּ (Dn 1.5, 8, 16), נָלָּ (11QT 19.14).
9 "Nyiya is the Nomen rectum of נְיִיָּה (Ex 29.40), נְיֵי (Nu 6.3 2nd occurrence), נְיֵי (Nu 6.4, Jdg 13.14 1st occurrence), נְיֵי (Josh 9.4, 13, 1Sm 16.20, 25.18), נְיֵי (1Sm 1.24, 10.3, 2Sm 16.1), נְיֵי (Jr 25.15), נְיֵי (Jr 35.5 1st occurrence), נְיֵי (Ho 7.5), נְיֵי (Est 7.7, 8, Sir 31.31, 32.5(x2), 6, 49.1), נְיֵי (Neh 5.18), נְיֵי (1Ch 27.27), נְיֵי (Sir 32.4).

10 "Nyiya is the genitive of נְיֵי (1Sm 25.18), qal particle נְיֵי (Pr 23.20), נְיֵי (Ct 2.4).

11 "Nyiya takes the preposition נְיֵי (Gn 9.21, 49.12, Nu 6.3 1st occurrence, Is 28.7 2nd occurrence, Is 51.21, Jr 51.7, Ho 7.5, Ps 98.65, Ct 1.2, 4, 4.10, 8.2, Dn 1.5), נְיֵי (Gn 49.11, Dt 14.26, 2Sm 13.28, Is 28.7 1st occurrence, Ezk 27.18, Jl 4.3, Pr 9.5, Qoh 2.3, Est 1.10, Dn 1.8), נְיֵי (Is 24.11, Pr 23.30, Sir 31.25, 11QT 19.15), נְיֵי (Mc 2.11), נְיֵי (Hg 2.12), נְיֵי (Zc 9.15, 10.7), נְיֵי (Jb 32.19, Ct 7.10).

12 "Nyiya takes the possessive pronominal suffix; 3ms (Gn 9.24), 3fs (Jr 51.7, Pr 9.2), 3mp (Dt 32.33//CD 8.9// 19.22, Am 5.11, Zp 1.13, CD 8.10// 19.23), 2ms (Qoh 9.7), 2fs (1Sm 1.14), 1cs (Ct 5.1).

13 The passage in which the lexeme occurs is too fragmentary to develop a full syntax (Sir 31.31, 4Q415 28.1, 4Q509 195 1.2, 4Q513 1-2 1.4, 11QT 13.12a, 13, 14.14, 18.6, 19.14).

Versions

For a word such as "Nyiya, an examination of the earliest translations or versions of the Hebrew Bible confirms the understanding of "Nyiya as "wine." Those places where the lexeme is not directly translated, typically represents the use of the lexeme as an adjective, which is unnecessary in the target language.

In the Septuagint "Nyiya is usually translated as οἶνος with a few exceptions. Is 56.12 is missing in the Septuagint. There are many possible reasons for such a manuscript variation including transcription error or the verse being added later than the version used for the translation. Jb 32.19 translates the lexeme as γενέσται "new wine, grape juice," which reinforces the rest of the verse: "My heart is indeed like wine that has no vent; like new wineskins, it is ready to burst." Mc 6.15 and Hb 2.5 are midrashic.
In Jb 1.18 and Est 1.10, "nyya" is omitted by the Septuagint, and in both cases the lexeme is an object which can be dropped with minimal change to the sense of the sentence. Likewise in Jdg 13.14 (LXX 1st occurrence) the lexeme is an adjective which remains untranslated in the Septuagint. On a number of occasions the lexeme is part of a phrase which is translated by a single word namely: " nyiyf_y)'b;so becomes oi 0nop o& thj (Pr 23.20); "Nyiyaha ht'@#$;mi is translated po & toj (Est 5.6, 7.2) or sumpos @ (Est 7.7, 7.8). Mc 6.15 in the Hebrew contains both ëhàr và and "nyya". Only one wine word appears in this verse in the Septuagint. As the Septuagint largely appears to follow the word order of the Hebrew in this passage, the oi ñnoj in the verse probably reflects ëhàr và. The sense of this verse is consistent.

In the Peshitta, "nyya" is most commonly translated as hìmrâ'. In a few verses the translator paraphrases the Hebrew Text: Dt 32.33; Hb 2.5; Jb 32.19. On four occasions, while the verse follows the Hebrew Text, "nyya" is not directly translated having been used as a qualifier or adjective (Jdg 13.14 [1st occurrence], Mc 6.15, Jb 1.13, 18). The occurrence of "nyya" in 2Ch 11.11 is not reflected in the Peshitta. (2Ch 11.11 is in the middle of the passage 2Ch 11.5 - 17 where the text does not follow the Hebrew. The Peshitta of 2Ch 11.5- 10a follows 1Kg 12.25-30 and 2Ch 11.10b - 17 follows 1Kg 13.34 - 1Kg 14.9.)

The various Targums are very consistent in translating "nyya" as ëhàr và. The most common reasons that the lexeme does not appear in the translation of the Targums are that the text is sometimes midrashic (Gn 49.11, Dt 32.33[TgNeo], Ct 1.2, 4, 2.4, 4.10, 5.1, 7.9, 8.2) and that no known Targums exist for the books of Daniel and Nehemiah (Dn 1.5, 8, 16, 10.3, Neh 2.1 (x2), 5.15, 18, 13.15). While they are somewhat midrashic, both Dt 32.33 (TgO) and Jr 51.7 have ëhàr và "cup of punishment" for "nyya". In some manuscripts of Targum Neophyti the second occurrence of "nyya" in Nu 6.3 is omitted but understood.

The Vulgate, in most cases, translates "nyya" as vinum. On three occasions another word is used: vindemia "produce of vineyard" (Jr 40.10); mustum "must, grape juice and
solids before or during fermentation" (Jb 32.19); and merum "wine not mixed with water" (Est 1.10). The Vulgate paraphrases 2Ch 2.9 in such a way that the lexeme is not translated. In Nu 6.4 and Jdg 13.14, where יִיָּהַ (yiya) is the nomen rectum of נְגֶפֶן (negozen), the qualifying נְגֶפֶן (negozen) is ignored and the phrase translated simply as vinea. Two phrases יִיָּהַ יָּמָה (yiya yamah) (Pr 23.20) and יִיָּהַ חֶבֶץ (yiya chebe) (Est 7.7, 8) are translated as convivium.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
The lexeme יִיָּהַ appears frequently in both prose and poetry of the Hebrew Bible, and can be found in most books of the Hebrew Bible, the exception are 1 & 2 Kings, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Malachi and Ezra. It is found in the Book of Ben Sira and a range of literature from Qumran.

In attempting to derive a semantic field of wine, that is a semantic field with יִיָּהַ as the basic word, we are aided by the fact that the lexeme is in parallel with a significant number of words related to beverages. Wine is, by its nature, a subset of the field of beverages. Given the conditions for alcoholic beverage production in ancient Palestine,330 it is likely that all beverages in Biblical Hebrew, which may have been alcoholic, must be considered in the search for the semantic field of wine.331 As vinegar was probably either made from wine or was a by-product from the production of wine, it should be considered.332

The syntagmatics help confirm the properties of יִיָּהַ. It is a beverage, that is, able to be drunk (consumed) (יהיה) (Gn 9.21, Nu 6.20, etc). יִיָּהַ is presumably alcoholic as it causes drunkenness (יִיָּהַ) (eg Gn 9.21), waywardness (יִיָּהַ) and confusion (יִיָּהַ) (Is 28.7), while it has the ability to gladden the heart (Ps 104.15). The origin and production of יִיָּהַ, while never discussed in detail by the Biblical text, are made clear by the links to the vineyard, grapevine and grapes.333

330 See Chapter Six on aspects of production and Chapter Four on environmental considerations.
331 See Chapter 10 for conclusions. In all likelihood it is impossible to distinguish the subset of the semantic field of alcoholic beverages related to wine namely the semantic field of wine from the entire set in Biblical Hebrew.
332 See Chapter Six for vinegar production and Chapter 7.10 for discussion of its place in the semantic field of wine.
333 See below for parallels of the lexeme to vineyard, grapes, and vines.
The initial construction of the semantic field of wine in Biblical Hebrew is based on those words which are in parallel with נֵיָה and apparently are, at least, beverages. As discussed below, the lexeme is in parallel with items which suggest the lexeme is a member of other lexical fields or at least shares some features or is used in a similar way to members of other lexical fields. נֵיָה is used in parallel334 with דֹּרָשׁ, לָכֵּר, לָכֵּרָה, מָכְרָה, עָבְרָה, עָבְרָהָה, עָבְרָהָּה, עָבְרָהָּהָל, עָבְרָהָּהָּל, עָבְרָהָּהָּל, עָבְרָהָּהָל. With these eight terms as a starting point, it is necessary to add מֶנֶה, מְלֻשָּׁה, מָלֵא, מַעֲלְמָה which, while not in parallel with נֵיָה, display enough characteristics of alcoholic beverages to warrant investigation as to their nature and possible admission to the semantic field of wine. Each of the eight terms in parallel with נֵיָה has had scholars question its meaning and if it has any relationship to wine. The probability of each term being related to wine is investigated individually below.

נֵיָה is used in the sacrifices of the cult as a drink offering (לֲהֵן) (eg, Lv 10.9) and is in parallel with the other elements of the sacrificial calendar: להל "oil"; להל "flour"; להל "lamb" (eg, Ex 29.40); להל "bull"; להל "ram" (eg, Nu 28.18). Thus, if a semantic field of the items on the sacrificial roster were to be developed, נֵיָה would be a member. However, it is more likely that these terms form an associative field.335 All the elements of the sacrificial roster have their origin in the agricultural activities of ancient Palestine. Perhaps a more logical semantic field, which נֵיָה and the other sacrifices could be found as members, is the field of agricultural produce. The place of נֵיָה in this field is confirmed by the regularity with which נֵיָה is in parallel with other agricultural produce and food stuffs: להל "bread" (eg, Gn 14.18), להל "young goat" (1Sm 16.20), "small cattle (sheep, goats)"; להל "parched/roasted grain", להל "raisin cakes", להל "cake of figs"(eg, 1Sm 25.18), להל "summer fruits" (eg, 2Sm 16.1), להל "milk" (Is 55.1), להל "cooked dish, stew" (Hg 2.12). In fact, it is probable that all beverages other than water in ancient Palestine would prove to be a subset of the field of agricultural produce.

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334 The occurrences of these terms in parallel with נֵיָה are detailed in the sections on each term.
Agricultural produce is probably a subset of agricultural practice, endeavours and installations. In the search to extract all available information about wine use and production in ancient Palestine, the practices and installations involved in wine production must be considered. Nyiya is often in parallel with the vineyard [see מֶשֶׁת], parts of the vine [see מֶנֶס and בָּנָה] and wine making equipment [see בּוֹת]. This establishes at least an associative field of wine production.

Exegesis
As neither the Hebrew Bible nor any other ancient Hebrew text provides an agricultural textbook, the material on which the study of Nyiya and the other wine words in Hebrew is based comes from a variety of genres, which use these words in a variety of ways. This usage has allowed for various interpretations of what is meant or inferred by the Biblical text.

Nyiya is frequently used in metaphorical images, which fall into two main categories:
Joyous circumstances when God's blessings are evident; and disastrous circumstances when God's judgement results in punishment. Examples of the joyous circumstances include: God's people can buy wine and milk without money (Is 55.1); restoration of God's blessings in the future (Am 9.14); general terms for God's blessings (Ps 104.15, Qoh 9.7); gladness and joy are compared to wine drinking (Zc 10.7, Ps 140.15). A lack of wine representing hardship (Is 16.10, 24.11, Jl 1.5) and the cup of wrath (Jr 25.15, 51.7, Ps 75.9) are two of the major images of God's judgment resulting in punishment.

Goodenough's analysis of wine in Jewish literature and symbols is an awesome work, but its focus is on more recent material than the Hebrew Bible. Goodenough aims to demonstrate the parallels between the place of wine in Jewish symbolism and its place in surrounding cultures. In this light, wine should be considered as representing the divine fluid. Other than as the appropriate analogy for libations, it

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335 Sawy, 1972; p. 30.
336 Goodenough; 1956.
appears that Goodenough\(^{337}\) understands that Wisdom-Logos is represented as "a drink that is the flow from God of wine or intoxication, bringing fruitfulness and eternal life." While Goodenough goes too far,\(^{338}\) there is little question that within the culture of ancient Palestine wine equated with life especially in Ben Sira (Sir 31.27).\(^{339}\)

"His eyes are darker than wine; ..." (Gn 49.12) seems to be a reference to the leader's beauty, but it could be another reference to the abundance of wine and milk under the coming king.\(^{340}\) The Midrashic translation of Targum Onkelos reflects this latter interpretation. This may have been used to avoid the suggestion that the leader was drunk, affecting the eyes (as per Pr 23.29-30).

Bright\(^{341}\) suggests that "every jug should be filled with wine" (Jr 13.12) may have been a well known proverb.

Zc 9.15 is considered "difficult." It is probably "a description of a banquet celebrating a great victory with wine."\(^{342}\) The verse contains an allusion to the blood of the sacrifices and the bowl the blood was caught in,\(^{343}\) which was, no doubt, a messier process than the modern reader can imagine.

The Temperance movement has attempted a number of approaches to find a "Biblical basis" for their beliefs. The most quoted and related to Nyiya is Teachout, who concludes that Nyiya "refers to either unfermented grape juice or fermented wine."\(^{344}\) However, his basis for distinguishing which reading any occurrence of the lexeme should take follows a temperance presupposition stated at the beginning of the thesis: blessing equals grape juice and curse equals wine. This line of reasoning would not

\(^{338}\) Smith; 1967.  
\(^{339}\) Wieder; 1971; p. 160, Dommerhausen; 1990; p. 64.  
\(^{340}\) Wenham; 1994; p. 479.  
\(^{341}\) Bright; 1965; p. 94.  
\(^{342}\) Smith; 1984; p. 260.  
\(^{343}\) Mitchell et al; 1912; p. 280-81.  
\(^{344}\) Teachout; 1979; p. 337.
have withstood a literature review. A century earlier, Wilson\textsuperscript{345} realised this argument failed despite a personal wish that it were otherwise.

Outside the temperance movement, \textsuperscript{345} has received relatively little attention from commentators, probably because the literal meaning of \textsuperscript{345} is well understood.

**Conclusion**

\textsuperscript{345} is the most common word for wine in ancient Hebrew. The regularity with which the lexeme and the other members of its semantic field occur gives some indication of its importance in ancient Palestine. The similarity of \textsuperscript{345} with the Greek and Latin words for wine and the clear links to the vineyard and its produce make \textsuperscript{345} the least disputed word in the semantic field of wine.

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\textsuperscript{345} Wilson; 1877; pp. 1-3.
After נֵיָיָא is the most common word for wine in the Hebrew Bible. נֵיָיָא occurs thirty eight times in two main forms נֵיָיָא and נֵיָיָא. There appears to be no suggestion that נֵיָיָא is not linked to grapes and wine. However what stage in the grape growing and winemaking process the substance which speakers of Biblical Hebrew would have identified as נֵיָיָא appears is a matter of some contention.

Of the two forms, נֵיָיָא occurs the least frequently, with only eight examples in the Hebrew Bible: Gn 27.28, 37, Dt 7.13, 11.14, 12.17, 14.23, 18.4, Jr 31.12. נֵיָיָא occurs 30 times: Nu 18.12, Dt 28.51, 33.28, Jdg 9.13, 2Kg 18.32, Is 24.7, 36.17, 62.8, 65.8, Ho 2.10, 11, 24, 4.11, 7.14, 9.2, Jl 1.10, 2.19, 24, Mc 6.15, Hg 1.11, Zc 9.17, Ps 4.8, Pr 3.10, Neh 5.11, 10.38, 40, 13.5, 12, 2Ch 31.5, 32.28. Haupt suggested that the occurrence of נֵיָיָא at Mc 6.15 is an imperfect form of נֵיָיָא. This has been largely rejected.346

The three occurrences in the Book of Ben Sira are all of the form נֵיָיָא: 31.25, 28, 32.6. In the Jerusalem edition Beentjes 31.28 ln 2 appears at the equivalent of Beentjes 31.27 ln 3.

The twenty five occurrences of נֵיָיָא in the Dead Sea Scrolls are all of the form נֵיָיָא or are at least reconstructed in this form: 1QS 6.4, 5, 6, 1QSa 2.17, 18, 19, 20, 1QH 10.24, 4QpHos166 2.8 (// Ho 2.11), 4Q251 9.1, 4Q258 2.9, 10 (//1QS 6.4, 6), 4Q286 5 6, 4Q433a 1.6, 4Q500 1.3, 4Q508 13.3, 4Q524 6-13.6 (would be // 11QT 60.03 if text preserved), 11QBer(14) 1 2.10, 11QT 21.8f, 38.4, 43.3, 8, 9, 60.6, 11Q20 5.11 (//11QT 21.8).

Root and Comparative Material

There is no consensus on the etymology of "OwOryti@. Theories about the etymology of "OwOryti@ can be grouped into those who think that it is derived from a Semitic root and those think it is a loanword with no Semitic etymology.

Without clear evidence for "OwOryti@ having a Semitic root there have been a number of suggestions for the root. The most general suggestion is that the root is yet to be identified. More commonly the root is identified as "ryr". "ryr" in the Hebrew Bible means "take possession of, inherit, dispossess." Debate continues as to whether there is a single "ryr" root, with a form meaning "to take possession by force, to press out," or whether there is second "ryr" root, not attested in Biblical Hebrew, meaning "to tread down, press wine." 347

Dietrich-Loretz proposed that the Semitic root from which "OwOryti@ was derived should be yr@. This was based on the Ugaritic cognate noun trt. This proposal has been shown to be lacking but does leave open the possibility that "OwOryti@ may be derived from another as yet unknown Semitic root. 348

A play on words in the Babylonian Talmud (Sahnhedrin 70a // Yoma 76b) might suggest that "ro" "head" or "w@r" "to be poor" may have offered a Semitic root for "OwOryti@. This is not a serious contender for information about the root of "OwOryti@ as it is very midrashic.

Köhler suggested that "OwOryti@ was the old Canaanite word for wine which was later replaced by ny@. The occurrence of yni in Ugaritic calls into doubt this proposal. 349

The suggestion that "OwOryti@ is a loan word is closely linked to discussions of the cognates. Cognates of "OwOryti@ are relatively few. The Greek qµξσοj and its parallel

347 HAL; p.1727.
form in Latin *thyrsus* mean a "staff twined with ivy and vine." Punic and Phoenician have *trš* "new wine", and Ugaritic *tr*. The cognate noun appearing in Hittite *tuwarsa* "vine stem" has been suggested by Brown and Rabin to be potentially the loan word from which *חֹדֶשׁ* was derived, although it has also been suggested that this Hittite word was a loan word from the Semitic languages. The identification of cognate verbs in Hebrew and other languages depends on whether or not the lexeme has an identifiable Semitic root.

Healey observes "There also appears to be an etymological connection with Akk[adian] *siraš*, both the word for beer and the deity of beer and brewing." There is further tentative evidence linking *חֹדֶשׁ* with the name of a divine being. Amarna letter EA 228:3 contains the name of a king of Hazor *Abdi-ti-ir-ši*. Albright translates this name as "servant of the God(dess) Tiršu," proving for him the Canaanite worship of a deity by this name. This is confirmed by the appearance of *trš* as a divine name in the Ugaritic offering lists *KTU* 1.39:16 and 102:9.

**Formal Characteristics**

*חֹדֶשׁ* is consistently a singular or collective masculine noun. *חֹדֶשׁ* is of the rare *קִתְל* form. This form is probably a qitāl form with abnormal lengthening of the *י*.

**Syntagmatics**

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of *חֹדֶשׁ* shows the following uses of the lexeme:

1. *חֹדֶשׁ* is an object of qal *קָּח* (Gn 27.28, Nu 18.12, Dt 18.4, Neh 13.5, Ho 2.10, 11Q14 1 2.10), *קָּח* (Gn 27.37), *קָּח* (Dt 11.14), *קָּח* (Jdg 9.13), *קָּח* (Pr 3.10),

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350 DNWSI; p. 1234.
351 Brown; 1969; p. 168; HAL; op. cit.
352 Brown; 1969; pp.168-170
353 Rabin; 1963; pp. 138-139.
354 Koehler & Baumgartner; p. 1727.
355 Healey; 1999; p. 871.
356 Albright; 1955; p. 18.
357 Healey; 1999; p. 872.
2 is the subject of qal לָּבֶן (Is 24.7), נָּבַב (Ps 4.8), וַלָּא (Ho 4.11), nifal קֶבֶל (Is 65.8), piel דִּבְּרֶה (Ho 9.2), hifil יִֽהְּשֶׁר (Sir 31.10), polel נָּבַא (Zc 9.17).

3 is the nomen rectum of מְשָׁרָה (Dt 12.17, 14.23, Neh 13.12, 11QT 60.6), נְוִי מַשָּׁרָה (Dt 18.4, 2Ch 31.5, also perhaps 4Q524 6-13.6 reconstructed), נְוִי מְשָׁרָה (Dt 33.28, 2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17), דְּבָרַת מְשָׁרָה (Neh 10.40), דְּבָרַת מְשָׁרָה (2Ch 32.28), דְּבָרַת מְשָׁרָה (1QH 10.24), נְוִי מְשָׁרָה (4Q500 1 3), מָזְהֶב (11QT 43.8, 9).

4 takes a possessive suffix 2ms (Dt 7.13, 11.14, 12.17, 14.23, 18.4), נָּבַב 2ms form (4Q500 1 3), 2fs (Is 62.8), 1cs (Jdg 9.13, Ho 2.11).

5 is part of an adjectival phrase describing מְשָׁרָה (2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17).

6 is part of an adjectival phrase describing מְשָׁרָה (2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17).

7 is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase describing מְשָׁרָה (2Ch 32.28), מְשָׁרָה (Sir 32.6), מְשָׁרָה (1QH 10.24).

8 The manuscript is too fragmentary to reconstruct the syntax (4Q286 5 6, 4Q433a 1 6, 4Q500 1 3, 4Q508 13.3, 4Q524 6-13.6, 11QT 38.4, 43.3).

Versions
The Septuagint translates וַּיִּרְאֶה as ojab except on two occasions. Is 65.8 perhaps is aware of the problem of wine being found in the cluster and shifts the metaphor to the seed? or cleft, וַּיִּרְאֶה, being found in the grape (Is 65.8). In Ho 4.11 both וַּיִּרְאֶה

358 Jouon Muraoka; §88G.
and יְהֵן occur, on the basis of word order it would appear than יְהֵן is translated as κενόμα and יְהֵן is translated as ὁ ἄρα. As previously mentioned, of Mc 6.15 may be omitted by the Septuagint, but this appears unlikely.

Most commonly the Peshitta translates יְהֵן as ḥwmrā‘. The exceptions are ‘ādšē’ (Jdg 9.13); the verse is paraphrased (2Kg 18.32, Is 24.7); meşhā‘ "oil" (Is 36.17, Ho 9.2); ṣ’tēṭe ṣ’dē ”small bunch or cluster of grapes" (Is 65.8); rāwāyuṭā‘ "strong drink" (Ho 4.11).

The Targums are relatively consistent in translating יְהֵן as ḫrā‘. The obvious exceptions are those passages which contain the lexeme, but for which no Targum exists (Neh 5.11, 10.38, 40, 13.5, 12, 2Ch 31.5, 32.28). In Pseudo-Jonathan on Genesis 27:37 the phrase "I have sustained him with wheat and wine" is missing in the principal manuscripts. The Targum to Isaiah has a Midrash not dissimilar to that from Genesis Rabbah 29:1 instead of Is 65:8. The difficulty of the verse having יְהֵן (Ho 4.11) is dealt with by the translation of יְהֵן as סֶפֶר a rare word, which Jastrow translates as "strong drink." The Targum to Joel 1:10 says "the vine ( עשיה) dries up" rather than "the wine dries up," perhaps reflecting the translators' knowledge of the effect of drought on the land. The targum to Zechariah 9:17 is not a literal translation, but a midrash on learning and the law. The image of what is trodden to produce wine is clarified in Mc 6.15 by translating the lexeme as ובו.

The Vulgate translates יְהֵן as vinum on all but five occasions. The use of mustum "must, grape juice and solids before or during fermentation" in Mc 6.15 can probably be considered a direct translation, however, it may represent a slight paraphrase. Vindemia "a grape-gathering, vintage" has little effect on the sense of the verse (Dt 7.13, Is 24.7, Neh 10.38). Is 65.8 perhaps is aware of the problem of wine being found in the cluster and shifts the metaphor to the seed, granum, being found in the

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359 See discussion of Mc 6.15 in the Septuagint in regards to יְהֵן.
360 Payne Smith; p. 169 is the basis of this transliteration, vowels not perfectly clear.
361 Maher; p. 97; n. 26.
362 Jastrow; p. 1459. סְפֶר follows Sperber while at least one edition of the Migra’ot Gedolot has סְפֶר. Jastrow records the latter and another variation in spelling.
grape. Ho 4.11 offers *ebrietas* "drunkenness" for  הָרִיתָא to take into account the occurrence of  נָיַּה in this verse.

**Lexical/Semantic Fields**

 hardship is clearly a member of the lexical field of wine. It can be drunk  פֶּתֶר (Is 62.8) and is a product of the vine  יֹאֵשׁ (Jdg 9.13), which has effects that imply that it is alcoholic (Jdg 9.13, Ho 4.11). Further, the lexeme is in parallel with  נָיַּה (Ho 4.11, Mc 6.15, Sir 31.25 (B), 28 (B, F), 32.6 (B, F), 11QT 21.8, 43.3, 8, 9) the base word of this field. The association with the vine is reinforced in Is 24.7, where the lexeme is in parallel with  יָאֵשׁ, and Is 65.8, where it is in parallel with  הָרִיתָא, "grape cluster."

 hardship is frequently in parallel with  נָיַּה and or  כֹּל. With both: Nu 18.12, Dt 7.13, 11.14, 12.17, 14.23, 18.4, 28.51, 2Kg 18.32, Jr 31.12, Ho 2.10, 24, 7.14, 9.2, Jl 1.10, 2.19, Hg 1.11, Pr 3.10, Neh 5.11, 10.40, 13.5, 12, 2Ch 31.5, 32.28, 1QH 10.24, 4QpHos(166) 2.8, 4Q251 9.1, 4Q286 5 6, 4Q508 13.3, 4Q524 6-13.6, 11QBer(14) 1 2.10, 11QT 38.4, 43.3, 8, 9, 60.6; With only  נָיַּה: Gn 27.28, 37, Dt 33.28, Ps 4.8, Is 36.17, 62.8, Ho 2.11, 7.14, 9.2 ( נָיַּה in 9.1), Zc 9.17. The two examples where  hardship is in parallel with  כֹּל, without  נָיַּה, a word for grain or a grain product appears: Jl 2.24 ( כֹּל "grain"), Neh 10.38 ( כֹּל "coarse meal, dough"). This firmly places the lexeme in the field of agricultural produce. This field is quite large and Borowski divides it into three: field crops (including  תַּחְפַּת,  קָנָב,  נָיַּה); produce of fruit trees (including  הָרִיתָא,  מָבָהֵרַת,  דְּמַלָּה,  רַבָּה, and the processed products such as  הָרִיתָא,  הָרִיתָא); and vegetables (mostly rare lexemes inconclusively identified). For further details on this field see Borowski and Zohary.

365 Zohary; 1982.
Rabbinic Writings

Compared to the use of נֵיֵיָה and יָאֵל in Rabbinic writings, the use of יָרֵיט is negligible. Nevertheless, the comments of the Rabbis are the oldest commentary on the meaning of the lexeme surviving.

The Mishnah does not use יָרֵיט at all. While it may be expected that יָרֵיט would appear given its use in legal passages of the Pentateuch (eg, Dt 14.23), its absence probably reflects that it was no longer in regular use.

Both forms of יָרֵיט occurs in the Babylonian Talmud. יָרֵיט appears five times. Three of these quote from the Hebrew Bible and the other two are from a passage that appears at B Sanhedrin 70a and is repeated at B Yoma 76b where R Kahana points out the two spellings. יָרֵיט appears forty-two times in twenty pages. Every use of יָרֵיט in the Talmud is either a direct quote from the Hebrew Bible or commentary resulting from a quote. That the rabbis thought יָרֵיט was wine is stated four times.

יָרֵיט appears eleven times in six sections in Midrash Rabbah (all in the יָרֵיט form). Each section quotes a verse from the Hebrew Bible. Three of these pages' discussions also include one or more other uses of יָרֵיט. Numbers Rabbah 18:16 contains the most definite link between יָרֵיט and the main Hebrew word for wine yayin: "tirosh this is wine" (יָרֵיט). Genesis Rabbah 29:1-2 provides a potential insight into the problem of יָרֵיט being found in the grape in Is 65:8. Noah only needed the slightest bit of merit or perhaps just the potential for merit to be worth saving and likewise the cluster is not destroyed for it has the potential to produce wine. Thus, the grapes at Is 65:8 need not contain יָרֵיט, but merely have the potential to produce it. This interpretation of Is 65:8 eliminates one of the main reasons for translating יָרֵיט as "must" or even "grape."

366 Davka Soncino Classics Collection CD-Rom.
367 Pes 24a; R.Sh. 5b; Yoma 76a.
368 Yoma 76a, Yoma 76b (twice), Shabuot 23a.
369 As per Naeh & Weitzman.
Commentators and Exegesis

A number of commentators seem to have problems with the idea that Biblical Hebrew could have had more than one word for wine. At the same time, these commentators barely notice that a number of general words for grain (e.g., שָׁלְכָה, "wheat", וּסֻלְכָה, "barley") as well as the names of individual varieties of grain (e.g., וּסֻלְכָה, "wheat", וּסֻלְכָה, "barley") are attested. Nevertheless, the attempt to discover in what way שָׁלְכָה differed from וּסֻלְכָה has produced material influencing and, sometimes, valuable in the identification of שָׁלְכָה.

Two commentators stand out with simple but, probably, accurate observations about שָׁלְכָה. Stuart believes that שָׁלְכָה does not mean "new wine" but is an archaic poetic word for "wine".370 Similarly Speiser says שָׁלְכָה with וּסֻלְכָה and וּסֻלְכָה, "are specialized for ritual and poetic purposes."371

Naeh & Weitzman's study of שָׁלְכָה is problematic. They suggest that שָׁלְכָה is often used as a metonymy and should be understood in some occurrences as a word for "grapes." While Naeh & Weitzman's approach to the Biblical occurrences of שָׁלְכָה is feasible, it is unnecessary. Their appeal to the few examples of the versions translating שָׁלְכָה as something other than "wine" is not convincing given the overall consistency of שָׁלְכָה being translated using a word for "wine." The strongest case is for Tosefta Nedarim 4.3, where שָׁלְכָה is forbidden but וּסֻלְכָה is permitted, however, this contradicts most other Rabbinic material.373 The suggestion of an evolution of the meaning of שָׁלְכָה is based solely on a single occurrence in the Tosefta and cannot be considered convincing.

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370 Stuart 1987; p. 44 n. 10a.
371 Speiser 1964; p. 209.
372 Naeh & Weitzman; 1994.
373 See above.
Fensham\textsuperscript{374} suggests that as תֵרִים and נְגַדְדָּה refer to the basic agricultural activities of Israel, מַיּוֹד must refer to the vineyard in some occurrences. This argument appears to hold more for the cognates in Ugaritic than for the use of מַיּוֹד in Hebrew. Perhaps the most interesting observation Fensham offers is that יָנ and תַּר are in parallel in Ugaritic (2 Aqhat VI 7), providing evidence of these words being part of the semantic field of wine in Ugaritic as well as Hebrew.

Linking מַיּוֹד with the divine name cognate in Ugaritic provides many possible interpretations of occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. However, the deity Tiršu / תַּר does not explicitly appear in the Hebrew Bible although Dahood\textsuperscript{375} and others find allusion to the deity in the use of the lexeme with מַיּוֹד. The deity Dagon is attested in the Hebrew Bible and it is suggested that Tirash similarly appears.

The Hebrew Bible mentions the god Dagan / Dagon (Jdg 16.23, 1Sm 5.2-7, 1Ch 10.10) worshipped by the Philistines. References to Dagon are found in many parts of the Ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia.\textsuperscript{376} There is clearly a similarity between the Hebrew word for grain, מַיּוֹד, and the deity Dagan. The idea of linking מַיּוֹד and Dagan dates back at least as far as Philo of Byblos (64-161CE) who links Dagan with the discoverer of grain and the plough.\textsuperscript{377} Unfortunately, the etymological link is not certain and some have tried to link Dagan to מַיּוֹד, the Hebrew word for "fish."\textsuperscript{378} The discovery that an Ugaritic word for wine, תַּר, was also the name of an Ugaritic deity has provoked much speculation. Albright\textsuperscript{379} and Dahood\textsuperscript{380} propose that the Biblical use of מַיּוֹד often reflects traces of the continuing effects the old Canaanite gods had on the people who supposedly only followed YHWH. In the case of מַיּוֹד, this effect was a reminder that it was YHWH who provided for his people and not the deities that some of their ancestors worshipped, namely Dagan and Tirosh. It is certainly probable that there was a wine

\textsuperscript{374} Fensham; 1972; pp. 299, 302.
\textsuperscript{375} Dahood; 1974; p. 387.
\textsuperscript{376} DDD; pp. 216-219.
\textsuperscript{377} DDD; p. 217.
\textsuperscript{378} Op.cit.
\textsuperscript{379} Albright; BASOR; 139 (1955); p. 18.
\textsuperscript{380} Dahood; 1974; p. 387. This article references Dahood's previous articles on the matter.
god in what would become Palestine, although the Bible does not mention the god by name. The link between *trt* and תִּירְאוֹת is made stronger by the fact *t* tends to shift to š in Hebrew and Phoenician giving *trš*. The proponents of this theory only find traces of the Canaanite deity in a few Biblical verses. Dahood suggests the strongest remnants are found in Gen 27:28 where YHWH provides what were once thought to be provided by Dagan and Tirosh and in Hosea 7:14 where there is a possibility that the inappropriate pleas for דגון and פסטל are in fact pleas to Dagan and Tirosh. Ahlström believes that sections of Joel may also reflect the condemnation of old fertility rites of deities such as Dagan and Tirosh. Thus, despite the fact that it is impossible to state absolutely the link between תִּירְאוֹת and the similarly named Ugaritic deity, the blessing/sacrifice motif running through the uses of תִּירְאוֹת suggests that the link seen by Albright and Dahood cannot be written off as too fantastic.

The restriction of the lexeme to meaning "(fresh) grape juice" is proposed by a number of scholars. Temperance scholars such as Teachout make this restriction, as does Vermes in discussing the Dead Sea Scrolls. Certainly in Late Biblical Hebrew (Neh 13.12, 2Ch 32.28), תִּירְאוֹת is a product capable of being stored which requires the lexeme to be wine, not unfermented grape juice, given the storage conditions in the Ancient Near East.

Conclusions
There is little doubt that תִּירְאוֹת is connected with wine. It is extremely unlikely that before the 18th Century CE the conditions existed for the production of grape juice (other than verjuice), which did not immediately begin to ferment. Understanding the difference between תִּירְאוֹת, יָרְאָה and the other words in the field of wine requires

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381 Smith; 1974; esp. p. 825-828.
382 Gordon; pp. 12 & 16.
383 Dahood; 1970; p. 376.
384 Dahood; 1968; p. 53.
385 Ahlström; 1971; p. 46.
387 Vermes; 1995; p. 7.
388 See p. 84 above.
more information than is available. Nevertheless, יירוח may have poetic and or ritual overtones.

Verjuice is the juice made from unripe grapes. It is highly acidic and does not have enough sugar to ferment.
The third most common word naming a style of wine or alcoholic beverage in the Hebrew Bible is \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \). That \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) is related to the verb \( וַתַּכְּלָּכָה \) "be, or become, drunk, drunken"\(^{390}\) is undisputed. However, the nature of \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) is less than clear, other than that it is an intoxicating beverage. Attempts to narrow down the meaning of \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) have usually concentrated on its parallels in other Semitic languages. This has not produced much clarity, but rather demonstrated the diversity of alcoholic beverages used amongst the Semitic peoples of antiquity. The similarity between \( וַתַּכָּלָּכָה \) and the Akkadian word for beer, \( šikaru \)^{391}, and the lack of any other biblical word for beer has led a number of commentators to translate \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) as beer.\(^{392}\) Other translations include date wine\(^{393}\) and strong drink\(^{394}\). That none of these translations is satisfactory is demonstrated by Sasson's\(^{395}\) conclusion that all these terms are covered by \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) and that it "should be deemed a generic term for 'intoxicants.'"

\( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) occurs in the Hebrew Bible twenty-three times: Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 (2x), 28.7, Dt 14.26, 29.5, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14, 1Sm 1.15, Is 5.11, 22, 24.9, 28.7 (3x), 29.9, 56.12, Mc 2.11, Ps 69.13, Pr 20.1, 31.4, 6.

Two confirmed occurrences of \( וַתַּכֹּדְלִכְּרָץ \) are preserved in the Hebrew manuscripts of the Book of Ben-Sira: 31.26\(^{396}\) and 40.20. A third occurrence is very doubtful - Sir 40.18 MS B reads \( וַתִּכָּלָּכָה \) with a margin note suggesting \( וַתָּכֹדְלִכְּרָץ \) should read \( וַתָּכַּלָּכָה \). MS M reads \( וַתָּכַּלָּכָה \). The Greek supports the reading of MS M. That is \( וַתָּכֹדְלִכְּרָץ \) and not \( וַתָּכֶדְלִכְּרָץ \).

\(^{390}\) BDB, p. 1016.
\(^{391}\) CAD, Vol. 17:II; pp. 420-428. In Akkadian, \( šikaru \) is clearly beer as it is recorded as being made from grains. E.g., CAD, Vol. 17:II; p. 427, 3' "sweet beer made from grain."
\(^{392}\) Eg. Borowski; 1987; p. 92; NIV uses beer for occurrences other than those in the Pentateuch, Judges and Psalms. It is important to note that beer in ancient times was any beverage made from fermented grains. Modern beer is flavoured with hops, which did not come into use until about 900 CE.
\(^{393}\) Stager, L.; 1996; p. 65*.
\(^{394}\) NRSV, KJV.
\(^{395}\) Sasson; 1994; p. 400.
\(^{396}\) Numbered 34.26 in Jerusalem edition.
In the Non-Biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls "טַהְרָה" appears twice. 4QpIsa 2:2 (4Q162) is simply a quote of Is 5.11. At 11QT 21:10 the Temple Scroll has: לְאָשֶׁר נַשֶׁר יִצְבָּא הָיְתָה עַל מַעֲמָה יִרְדָּה שֵׁשֶׁה The implications of this phrase will be considered below.

Root and Comparative Material
"טַהְרָה" has a significant number of cognates in the Semitic languages. These cognates are both nouns and verbs. While the cognate nouns appear in Greek and Latin the occurrences always appear to be loan words reflecting the use of "טַהְרָה" in the Hebrew Bible.

A cognate verb רָפָא occurs 19 times in the Hebrew Bible, meaning in the qal (10x) "become drunk". The piel (4x) and the hiph (4x) are causative. The hitp (1x) is simulating (i.e., "to behave like someone drunk"). The cognate noun נְחָמָה (3x) "drunkenness" and related adjective טַהְרָה / טַהְרָה (14x) "drunken" are also attested in the Hebrew Bible and Sir 9.9.

"טַהְרָה" appears rarely in Rabbinical Hebrew. There is only one occurrence in the Mishnah (mPes 3:1) which describes a "Median Shekar" which contains leaven. The majority of the appearances in the Midrash Rabbah are quotes from the Hebrew Bible. NmR 10.8 suggests that "טַהְרָה" and יִפָּון are a hendiadys although one may be stronger than the other or "טַהְרָה" may be mixed with barley or dates. Likewise the cognate verb is uncommon with only one occurrence in the Mishnah (mMaksh 5.1).

In Imperial Aramaic only the noun is attested. In Jewish Aramaic, the root is attested in noun (e.g. BShab 139b), verb (e.g. BShab 139a) and cognate noun (e.g. BSucc 49b) forms. The verb and cognate noun have the added meaning of "to fill,

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397 4Q391 papPseudo-Ezekiel may contain "טַהְרָה" at fragment 37 line 2 but this is the only legible word on the fragment.
398 Yadin; 1983; Vol. 2; p.95.
399 BDB; p. 1016, HAL; p. 1500-1.
400 Davka Soncino Classics Collection.
401 Jastrow; p. 1576.
saturate" and "fullness, plenty." The Babylonian Talmud records made from four different things, grapes (e.g., BSukk 49b), dates or barley (e.g., BShab 139b) and "baytree" (BPes 56a).

In Akkadian, the root appears both as a noun šikāru(m), šikru(m), "beer, fermented alcoholic beverage" and a verb šakāru "to become inebriated." In Ugaritic the root appears as a verb škr "be drunk." The cognate verb appears in Ethiopian sakra and Egyptian ūa-k-īrā. Other Semitic cognates include: Syr šakrā "intoxicating drink", Mand šakrā "intoxicating drink," Arb sakar "intoxicating drink, wine."

One Phoenician inscription attesting the noun šēkār was found at Ashkelon. The ostracon on which šēkār appears "lists so many units of 'red wine' (yn 'dm) and so many units of šēkār." With no descriptions, this occurrence only provides for speculations rather than insights into the meaning of šēkār.

The appearance of the cognate in Greek and Latin is probably only through transliteration. The Greek σικάρα appears in Septuagint and the New Testament (Lk 1.15), Latin sicera appears in Vulgate.

The occurrence of forms of "reward / hire" occasionally leads to errors in reading. One such is probably Dahood’s suggestion that a cognate verb of šēkār is attested in the Kilamuwa text. Other commentators read this as the alternative škr root.

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Note the form has šin rather than the šin of the lexeme under examination.
Dahood; 1960; p. 405.
DNWSI; p. 1135.
Formal Characteristics

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of ḵēpā' provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the qīl form.

Syntagmatics

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of ḵēpā' shows the following uses of the lexeme:

1. In all but two occurrences also appears in the verse suggesting parallelism.
2. ḵēpā' is most commonly the object.
   a. Seven occurrences in the phrase as the object of: qal ḏrāḥ "drink" in each case a negative with either ṣā (Lv 10.9, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14, 1Sm 1.15) or ṣā (Dt 29.5); hiph ṣā "separate" from (ם) (Nu 6.3 (1st occurrence)).
   b. ḵēpā' is an object of piel ḏū (Dt 14.26).
   c. ḵēpā' is the object of: qal ḫāḏ ḏrāḥ (Is 5.11), qal ḫāḏ ḏrāḥ with preposition ב (Is 28.7 (1st occurrence)) and מ (Is 28.7 (3rd occurrence)), qal ḫāḏ ḏrāḥ with preposition ב (Is 28.7 (2nd occurrence)), qal ḫāḏ ḫāḏ (Is 29.9), qal ḥwāḵ (Is 56.12), qal ḫāḏ (Pr 31.6).
3. a. ḵēpā' is the subject of: qal (Is 24.9); hmh qal (Pr 20.1).
   b. ḫēpā’, ḫēpā‘ is the subject of: qal ḫāḏ ḫāḏ (Sir 31.26), qal ḥwāḵ (Sir 40.18), hiph. ḫāḏ (Sir 40.20).
4. ḵēpā’ is the nomen rectum of: ḫāḏ (Nu 6.3 (2nd occurrence)), ḫāḏ (Is 5.22), ḫāḏ (Ps 69.12).
5. a. ḫēpā’ ṣā is the dative of hiph ṣā (Mc 2.11).
   b. ḵēpā’ is the genitive of qal ṣā (11QT 21.10).
6. ḵēpā’ is part of objectival disjunctive clause (Pr 31.4).

Versions

The Septuagint does not provide much information on ḵēpā’. In the main text of Rahlfs edition: Twelve times ḵēpā’ is simply transliterated to sylvania (Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 (2x), 28.7, Dt 14.26, 29.5, Is 5.11, 22, 24.9, 28.7 (2x, 1st and 3rd occurrences), 29.9);
Jdg 3 is a little confused as there are two main families of manuscripts recognised. Family A simply transliterates, giving sîkerə, whereas Family B uses meṣusma in verse 4 and 7 and sîkerə meṣusma in verse 14; 1Sm 1.15 and Mc 2.11 use meṣusma; Is 56.12 does not appear in the Septuagint; Ps 63.13 and Pro 31.4 use oijoj; Is 28.7 (2nd occurrence), Pro 20.1 and 31.6 use forms of meṣ. The main text of the Göttingen edition follows Rahlfs, however, the apparatus notes that in most cases, where sîkerə appears, at least one manuscript uses meṣusma (Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3, Dt 14.26, 29.5, Is 5.11, 5.22, 24.9) and some manuscripts of Nu 28.7 have oijoj. Other variations occur, but none provide further insights into the translators understanding of meṣ. meṣusma and meṣ are both defined as strong drink, but are possibly related to meṣ the Homeric word for wine.\textsuperscript{413} oijoj is the main Greek word for wine with its parallels in other Mediterranean languages.\textsuperscript{414}

The Peshitta translates most occurrences of sîkerə with the cognate šakrə’ (Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 (2x), Dt 14.26, 29.5, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14, 1Sm 1.15, Is 5.11, 22, 24.9, 28.7 (3x), 29.9, 56.12, Ps 69.13, Pr 31.4, 6). The three exceptions are: Nu 28.7 when hāmrə’ "wine" is used; Mc 2.11 and Pr 20.1 use rawāywutā’ "strong drink, drunkenness".

The Pentateuchal Targums (Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neophyti and Fragments) are very consistent in translating sîkerə as qyti’aw: tādxj rmaxj "wine new and old" and ḥrmaxj as either qyti’aw or ḫmwr. There are six exceptions: sîkerə of Nu 28.7 is translated as ḫmwr ḥrmaxj "choicest wine" in Neophyti and Vatican 440 Fragment and ḥrmaxj "wine" in Paris Heb 110 Fragment. At Lv 10.9 Onkelos and Pseudo Jonathan translates sîkerə as ḥmr. At Dt 29.5 Pseudo-Jonathan uses ḫmwr sîkerə for sîkerə. Jastrow translates ḥmr and ḥmr as "strong drink."\textsuperscript{415} It would appear that these terms are derived from ḥmr “to be moist, be saturated” or “to be filled with wine, be drunken.\textsuperscript{416} Pseudo-Jonathan provides a hint as to how old "old wine" was in its

\textsuperscript{413} LSJ; pp. 1091-1092.
\textsuperscript{414} Brown; 1969; pp. 146 - 170.
\textsuperscript{415} Jastrow; 1971; pp. 838, 840.
\textsuperscript{416} Jastrow; 1971; p. 1459.
extrapolation of Nu 28.7 when it says "and if old wine cannot be found, wine forty
days old should be brought in."  

Likewise, Targum Jonathan of the Prophets (Nevi'im) translates רַקָּּבָּא as
"wine new and old" and רַקָּּבָּא רַקָּּבָּא as either רַקָּּבָּא רַקָּּבָּא or רַקָּּבָּא רַקָּּבָּא. The
sole exception is Mc 2.11, which uses יִרְבֶּרֶת, a rare word also used in Targum Hosea
4.11 for יִרְבֶּרֶת, which is also a wine word.

The four occurrences in the Writings (Ketuvim) shed no further information on רַקָּּבָּא.
Pr (20.1, 31.4, 6) simply transliterates רַקָּּבָּא and Ps 69.12 uses מַלְאָא.

In those verses where רַקָּּבָּא is translated solely as רַקָּּבָּא, the Biblical Hebrew
contains רַקָּּבָּא as well as רַקָּּבָּא. In these verses רַקָּּבָּא is always somewhere in the
translated verse, usually reflecting the רַקָּּבָּא רַקָּּבָּא phrasing. This emphasises the link
between רַקָּּבָּא and wine in the understanding of the Targum translators.

The Vulgate translates רַקָּּבָּא in five ways: it is transliterated as siceram (Dt 14.26,
29.6, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14, Pr 31.6); translated as omne quod inebriare "all that inebriates"
(Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 (1st occurrence, Vg Nu 6.2), 1Sm 1.15); as ebrietas "drunkenness"
(Is 5.11, 5.22, 28.7 (3x), 29.9, 56.12, Mc 2.11, Pr 20.1, 31.4); as vinum "wine" (Nu
28.7, Ps 69.13); as potio "drink" (Nu 6.3, Is 24.9); and as forte bibat "strong drink"
(Pr 31.4).

Lexical/Semantic Fields
There is strong evidence that רַקָּּבָּא is a member of the semantic field of wine. The
lexeme is in parallel or is paired with רַקָּּבָּא in every use other than Nu 28.7 and Ps
69.12. רַקָּּבָּא is a beverage i.e. a liquid able to be drunk רַקָּּבָּא (Lv 10.9, Dt 29.5, Jdg
13.4, 7, 14, 1Sm 1.15). רַקָּּבָּא is presumably alcoholic as it causes trembling רַקָּּבָּא (Is
29.9), boisterousness רַקָּּבָּא (Pr 20.1), or errant behaviour רַקָּּבָּא (Is 28.7) and
some degree of pain relief (Pr 31.6).

418 Jastrow, p. 1459.
is in parallel with בָּנָב on two occasions (Nu 6.3, Jdg 13.14) suggesting that the lexeme may be a product of the grape.

is poured out (נַסְּרָה) as a libation (Nu 28.7, 11QT 21.10). This suggests that like מִּן the lexeme is a member of the semantic field of items on the sacrificial roster.

Exegesis and the Texts
Unlike מִּן and אֲדָות does not have stronger links to the grape vine and associated words other than it occurs in parallel with בָּנָב on two occasions (Nu 6.3, Jdg 13.14). Many commentators have emphasised the alcoholic nature of מִּן over these parallels and sought meanings for the lexeme outside the products of the grape. A detailed examination of every use of the lexeme in the texts is the main way of clarifying its meaning. This must however be in the context of possible identifications. As discussed in Chapter Six, the identification of all alcoholic beverages in the Ancient Near East is restricted to those whose alcohol is formed through natural fermentation.

In the Hebrew Bible, מִּן appears twenty-three times and of these only two occur in verses which do not mention מִּן (Nu 28.7, Ps 69.13). Other than a group reflecting the Nazirite vow, the occurrences do not lend themselves to simple classification and may reflect some early variation in the meaning. However, some uses clearly shed light on מִּן.

Lv 10.9 warns Aaron and his sons not to drink alcohol before entering the Tent of meeting. As מִּן is part of the priestly blessings of Nu 18.12, it cannot be a complete ban on alcohol, only one for those about to perform their priestly duties. Nu 6.3, Jdg. 13.4, 7 and 14 all relate to forms of the Nazirite vow. Nu 6.3-4 appears to be consistently talking about grapes and grape products, inferring that מִּן is, by association, a grape product.

Nu 28.7 is perhaps the most informative use of מִּן in the Hebrew Bible: "Its drink offering shall be one-fourth of a hin for each lamb; in the sanctuary you shall pour out a drink offering of מִּן to the LORD." In other cases in the Hebrew Bible where
the type of libation is mentioned it is normally יִהת, especially in the sacrifice roster of Nu 15. No leaven was allowed to be sacrificed on the altar (Lv 2.11, 6.17, 23.17).  

Today, we know that wine and bread require yeast, that is, leaven, for their production. The action of yeast was not understood until Pasteur's work in the nineteenth century. Until then the change of grape juice into wine was considered magical. This was not the same for beer, as beer brewing and bread making were closely linked. Beer is fermented grain, or, often in the ancient world, fermented bread. Thus, as יִהת was sacrificed on the altar it could not refer to beer in Biblical Hebrew, as beer is leaven and cannot be sacrificed on the altar. Similarly, banned from being sacrificed on the altar was דַּבּוֹת (Lv 2.11). BDB defines דַּבּוֹת as honey including fruit honeys. Thus, date wine (a product of date honey) and mead could not be sacrificed on the altar. This verse provides the strongest internal evidence in the Hebrew Bible that יִהת was not beer, date wine or mead. The water required for these beverages also makes this an unlikely interpretation.

Dt 14.26 & 29.5 are both talking of provisions: 14.26, whatever the heart desires; 29.5, basic foodstuffs.

Is 5.22 could be saying that יִהת is a mixed drink or it is a drink that is mixed. If it is a mixed drink then the number of meanings expands, probably to the point that יִהת refers to generic alcoholic beverages. It is more likely, however, that this verse reflects the common practice in the ancient world of mixing wine with water, herbs and spices.

Pr 31.6 may imply a medical use for יִהת and יִהת, but the remaining Biblical verse gives no information about יִהת other than that it is intoxicating.

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419 The leaven loaves of first fruits offering (Lv 23.17) were waved, not sacrificed on the altar.
420 The fermentation of wine and rising of bread yeast are both yeast based but are not strictly the same. Wine requires an anaerobic ferment whereas bread requires an aerobic action. See "Fermentation", OCW, p.382. So wine, having a different form of fermentation to bread, may technically still be unleavened. The production of beer probably required both forms of ferment.
421 "Pasteur", OCW; p. 707.
422 Katz & Voigt; 1986; pp. 23-34.
423 BDB; p. 185.
424 See Chapter 6.
425 Lutz; 1922; p. 18; Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; pp. 88, 97.
Ben Sira does not provide any insights into the meaning of רַקְבָּן other than perhaps synonymous parallelism with זְלֹא.

In the Non-Biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls רַקְבָּן appears twice. 4QpIsa\(^b\)(162) 2.2 is simply a quote of Is 5.11 and the associated pesher is not interested in רַקְבָּן. At 11QT 21.10 the Temple Scroll has a most remarkable phrase:

"לְמָשֵׂר נַפְרָא שֶׁבֶר יֵדִיחְו בְּזֵית הַמַּסֵּר וּלְמָשֵׂר נַפְרָא שֶׁבֶר" ["pour out a libation of shekar, new wine, on the altar of the Lord, year by year."\(^\text{426}\)] Clearly, this reflects Lv 10.9 using רַקְבָּן as a drink offering. More importantly it is the only time in Hebrew that the text definitely links זְלֹא "wine" and רַקְבָּן. 11QT 21.10 is part of the festival of יִשְׂרָאֵל, effectively resulting in a link and parallel between the three most common words in the Biblical Hebrew semantic field of wine.

It is striking that the Temple Scroll links רַקְבָּן with new wine, whereas the Targums consistently link it with old wine. This has many possible implications. The simplest is that "tyq of the Targums should be translated with a greater emphasis on strength than age.\(^\text{427}\) At this time, wine was dependent on its natural preservatives, namely alcohol and tannin, to age. The stronger the wine the greater chance it had of aging and/or maturing. In all probability, all old wine would have been strong, but not all strong wine old. Thus, the Temple Scroll requires young strong wine, but does not exclude old wine from the possible meanings of רַקְבָּן.

"Median shekar" (MPesahim 3.1) is the only reference in the Mishnah to רַקְבָּן. It is contained in a list of foods that must be removed for Passover. It does not refer to all רַקְבָּן, but only Median רַקְבָּן. BT Pes. 42b-43a explains that this is because it had barley water, which is leaven, mixed into it. This is further evidence that in Hebrew usage, at least as far as the second century CE, רַקְבָּן was not beer, as only one form of רַקְבָּן, which had an additive, was classified leaven. M.Pes 3.1

\(^{426}\) Translation of Author on the basis of Yadin; Vermes; 1995; p. 158; and Wise, Abegg & Cook; 1996; p. 465.

\(^{427}\) Jastrow, p. 1129.
includes in its list שָׁוְאֵּר, which in light of the Talmud⁴²⁸ must be an Egyptian form of beer, providing a Hebrew word for beer, which some scholars have sought in the Hebrew Bible.

In Midrash Rabbah, the use of שָׁוְאֵּר is usually as part of a Biblical quote and the following discussion does not examine what שָׁוְאֵּר is. The exception to this is Numbers Rabbah 10.8, however, the discussion in that case is incapable of determining a difference between שָׁוְאֵּר and שָׁוְאֵּר, although it suggests one may be diluted.⁴²⁹

In the Babylonian Talmud, שָׁוְאֵּר appears in noun forms approximately 103 times and שָׁוְאֵּר approximately 76 times.⁴³⁰ In many of these uses, שָׁוְאֵּר is the item of a property dispute, a component in a medicine or medical treatment or in another context which says nothing of the nature of שָׁוְאֵּר. Over 50 occurrences are part of discussions of verses of the Hebrew Bible in which שָׁוְאֵּר appears. There are no statements which demonstrate that the Rabbis understood a simple definition of שָׁוְאֵּר. BSukk. 49b, BShebu. 23a and BKer. 13b all suggest or infer that שָׁוְאֵּר could mean wine. Discussions about whether different blessings should be used over שָׁוְאֵּר than those used for wine demonstrate that in many cases שָׁוְאֵּר and wine were not the same.⁴³¹ The Talmud mentions at least three things שָׁוְאֵּר is made from other than wine/grapes: Shab. 139b mentions שָׁוְאֵּר of barley and of dates;⁴³² and Pes. 56a has שָׁוְאֵּר from what appears to be "the bayfruit."⁴³³ In contrast to the Targums, Baba

⁴²⁸ Shabbat 110a: "R. Joseph said: Egyptian beer consists of one part barley, one part safflower, and one part salt. R. Papa said: One part wheat, one part safflower, and one part salt."

⁴²⁹ R. Eleazar Hakkapar expounds, WINE denotes such as is mixed, STRONG DRINK such as is undiluted. But perhaps it is not so, and WINE denotes such as is undiluted, while STRONG DRINK such as is mixed?" Soncino Translation from: The Davka Soncino Classics Collection - The CD-ROM Judaica Classics Library Edition (1996).

⁴³⁰ These two forms surrounded by wildcards are required to find all occurrences. The Davka Soncino Classics Collection - The CD-ROM Judaica Classics Library Edition was used to compile these statistics. There is a slight difference between the two forms in that only the simpler form can be Hebrew.

⁴³¹ Especially Berakhot 12a.

⁴³² Date שָׁוְאֵּר is mentioned at least another eight times and barley שָׁוְאֵּר another five times. (eg Baba Bathra 96b)

⁴³³ Soncino EV.
Batra 91b has תֶּבֶן in R. Papa’s list of things which are not better old, a statement that is normally true of beer, but not of wine. The Talmud is a difficult source for meaning of תֶּבֶן as it uses תֶּבֶן in both Aramaic and Hebrew without considering the differences.

One of the earliest commentators on תֶּבֶן is Jerome, whose translations of the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint into Latin in the late fourth and early fifth centuries CE form the basis of the Vulgate. In a letter Jerome describes תֶּבֶן as "every kind of drink that inebriates …" As Jerome is reputed to have learnt his Hebrew from local rabbis, this may show the Hebrew scholars of his day did not tie תֶּבֶן as strongly to wine as the early Targum translators, but were more influenced by Babylonian Aramaic and its many uses of תֶּבֶן. This approach has been adopted by a number of modern commentators.

Rashi’s commentary on the Pentateuch provides some insights on תֶּבֶן: Lv 10.9 "means wine in manner that leads to intoxication," Nu 6.3 "As Targum [Onkelos] renders: 'From new wine and aged wine,' for when wine had been aged it intoxicates." In Nu 28.7, תֶּבֶן is "Intoxicating wine, to exclude wine straight from the winepress (תָּנִין)."

Ibn Ezra is quoted unreferenced by more recent commentators to show תֶּבֶן is at once "intoxicating wine" and "intoxicants from substances other than grapes, which he specifies as wheat, dates or honey.”

The Anchor Bible illustrates the two major views on the identification of תֶּבֶן. Milgrom insists that תֶּבֶן and תֶּבֶן "must be taken as discrete substances" on the

434 "Versions", ABD, Vol. 6, p. 800.
437 Chodowski; 1920; p. 6.
438 Milgrom; 1991; p. 612.
439 Op cit., pp. 611-612
basis of the two types of vinegar in Nu 6.3. This is not a valid argument. A modern equivalent would be a recipe book mentioning balsamic vinegar and red wine vinegar, which are both wine vinegars but very different products. Milgrom also argues that the use of נְגוֹז at Nu 28.7 as an element in the cultic practices must parallel the use of beer in libations in the surrounding lands. However, this does not take into account any of the inherent problems with beer and Biblical sacrificial practice. However, Levine is aware of all the problems of deciding that נְגוֹז is beer and concludes "we are prompted to identify it as a liquid made from grapes." Hurvitz shows it is very possible that נְגוֹז is linked to יין (wine) as a hendiadys. Hurvitz suggests that the strongest evidence for this is that with a few exceptions נְגוֹז only appears in some of the older books of the Hebrew Bible and it is seen to disappear in parallel passages of later books. This perhaps provides evidence that נְגוֹז was lost from regular Hebrew usage before the completion of the Hebrew Bible, but this cannot be considered conclusive given that נְגוֹז is a relatively rare word and the problems of the chronology of the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira and the Temple Scroll.

"Beer" is a common translation of נְגוֹז, however, it is one which cannot be supported. To a large extent, this translation reflects the facts that beer was common in Egypt and Babylon and that some cognates mean "beer", rather than relying on evidence within Hebrew. It is perhaps strange that there is no clearly identifiable word for beer in Biblical Hebrew. However, there appears to be a word for beer מִשְׁנָה in the Mishnah. As previously mentioned, the production of beer in Palestine was probably very limited. Beer requires five to ten times as much water as the resultant product, an inefficient use of water in a land which was normally dependent on stored water. The close links between beer and bread production in

440 See above.
443 HAL; p. 1500 alternative meaning; NIV (Jdg 9.21, 1Sm 1.15,Is 24.9, 28.7 (x3), 29.9, 56.12, Mc 2.11, Pr 20.1, 31.4, 6); Milgrom 1991; p.612; Borowski; 1987; p. 92.
444 MPes 3.1. See above.
445 Rose; 1977; p. 59.
the ancient world\textsuperscript{446} demonstrate that beer would have been considered leaven in the ancient world as it is today. The restrictions on leaven within the sacrificial system make it most unlikely that a leaven product would have been used as a libation. It is possible that this meaning may have developed in post Biblical Hebrew, although the use in the Mishnah may imply that there is only one \textsuperscript{447} that contains leaven. Walsh\textsuperscript{447} suggests that \textsuperscript{446} should be understood as "date palm wine." This understanding is at least partly based on Stager's\textsuperscript{448} suggestion that the Phoenician inscription from Ashkelon may refer to "wine made from dates." If date wine was made from dates soaked in water,\textsuperscript{449} it is unlikely to have been common in ancient Israel as, like beer, it would have required too much water. If date wine is a product of \textsuperscript{447}, the use of \textsuperscript{447} as a libation makes this interpretation unlikely as\textsuperscript{449} was forbidden from the altar (Lv 2.11). Certainly, Borowski\textsuperscript{450} links dates with \textsuperscript{447}, which calls Walsh's reading into question.

Conclusions
The principal definition of \textsuperscript{446} and BDB\textsuperscript{452} is "intoxicating drink" or "strong drink." There appears to be no reason to doubt that \textsuperscript{446} is an alcoholic beverage. Thus, the possible definitions of \textsuperscript{446} are restricted to naturally fermented beverages (wine, fruit wines, beer [fermented grain], mead). Alcohol was not distilled in significant quantity until approximately the fourteenth century CE. Distilled alcohol is required for fortified wines and spirits.\textsuperscript{453} 11QT 21.10 and NmR 10.8 identify \textsuperscript{446} with \textsuperscript{449}. The versions where \textsuperscript{446} is translated rather than transliterated reinforce the link to wine. 11QT 21.10 associates \textsuperscript{446} with new wine which contradicts the Targums and Rashi, which translate it as old wine. How \textsuperscript{446} varies from \textsuperscript{449} is not clear and at times contradictory, but the majority of the evidence suggests that \textsuperscript{446}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{Katz & Voigt; 1986.}
\footnote{Walsh; 2000; p. 201.}
\footnote{Stager; 1996; p. 66.}
\footnote{Forbes, R.; 1956. p.276; Pliny. \textit{Nat Hist} XIV 102}
\footnote{Borowski; 1987; p. 127.}
\footnote{\textit{HAL}; p. 1501.}
\footnote{BDB; p. 1016.}
\footnote{See Chapter 6.}
\end{footnotesize}
is a form of grape wine. The significance of Nu 28.7 in reducing the possible definitions of נֶעֲבָר to "wine" could not be as great without the supporting evidence of the Versions and 11QT 21.10. Nevertheless, the lack of any distinct link between נֶעֲבָר and the raw material from which it was derived leaves open the possibility that the lexeme covers a variety of other meanings, such as all intoxicating drinks.
7.4

טֵסָמִים

טֵסָמִים, with five occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (Is 49.26, Jl 1.5, 4.18, Am 9.13, Ct 8.2), is the most common of the rare words which appear to be members of the semantic field of wine. The Biblical occurrences are the only times the word is attested in the surviving texts and inscriptions.

Root and Comparative Material

Cognate nouns and verbs of תֵּסָמִים are uncommon in the Semitic languages. Biblical Hebrew records a single example of the cognate verb תֵּסָמִים at Mi 3.21, a qal perfect (second person masculine plural) meaning "to press, crush (underfoot)."

Ebeling records the use of a cognate noun 's/s (sic) "must, young wine" in Official Aramaic, however, this reading has been called in to question. Jewish Aramaic uses both the cognate verb and the noun, although rarely. BDB records two verbs in the cognate languages which may be related to the lexeme: Arabic 's "go the rounds, [tramp], prowl;" Syriac 's "explore."

Rabbinic Hebrew contains a group of words associated with grain and bread which may be related to the cognate. HAL suggests that תֵּסָמִים "dough" might be derived from the cognate verb. BDB understands תֵּסָמִים to mean "crushed wheat."

BDB's interpretation allows this group of words to be related back to the cognate root. Jastrow implies that there is another root תֵּסָמִים "to agitate" from which these words for grain and bread may have derived, however, this has been discredited as an inferior variant. There does not appear to be enough evidence from these words or the cognate languages to document more than one root, suggesting that they are related.

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454 Ebeling; 1941; p. 15; Kapitel V (1g).
455 DNWSI p. 878.
456 Jastrow; 1971; p. 1097-98.
457 BDB; p. 779.
458 HAL; p. 860.
459 BDB; p. 779.
460 Jastrow; p. 1097-98.
461 Muraoka; 10th July, 2001; Personal communication.
Formal Characteristics

גּוֹזַב provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the qati:l form.

Syntagmatics

1. גּוֹזַב is the object of pesoq "to drop, drip" in the qal (Jl 4.18) and the hiphil (Am 9.13).

2. In Is 49.26 גּוֹזַב is an adjunct of the verb נַשְׁר in qal.

3. In Jl 1.5 גּוֹזַב is the adjunct of hiphil יִבְלָע "to weep", גּוֹזַב is also the understood subject of niphal תַּקָּר "to cut off".

4. גּוֹזַב can be modified by prepositions. In Is 49.26 it is modified by דְּק, in Jl 1.5 by נַיֵל and in Ct 8.2 by דְּנ.

5. גּוֹזַב is the nomen regens of פָּרִשָׁה (Ct 8.2). This phrase is either an adjectival phrase qualifying the adjunct (יִפְּשָׁה מְעַגָּה) of the verb יִפְּשָׁה in the hiphil, or part of a compound adjunct of the same verb.

Versions

The Septuagint translates גּוֹזַב in four ways: οἴφομ (Is 49.26); γλυκασμα "sweetness, sweet wine" (Jl 4.18, Am 9.13); ναμα "anything flowing, stream," thus "juice" (Ct 8.2); μεθ (Jl 1.5).

The Peshitta translates גּוֹזַב as: me'rā' "must" (Is 49.26); hâmrā' "wine" (Jl 1.5); hâlyūţā' "must, sweet wine" (Jl 4.18, Am 9.13, Ct 8.2).

The Targums consistently translate גּוֹזַב as דֵּלֶמֶך except Ct 8.2 where the Targum is midrashic.

The Vulgate translates גּוֹזַב as dulcedium "sweet drink" (Jl 4.18, Am 9.13) and mustum (Ct 8.2). In Is 49.26 and Jl 1.5, the Vulgate paraphrases the verse so that the lexeme is not literally translated.
Lexical/Semantic Fields

is in parallel with נֵיָּה in Jl 1.5 and Ct 8.2. When combined with its intoxicating effects (Is 49.26) and its parallel with agricultural output, this implies that is a member of the semantic field of wine.

appears in poetic passages of the Hebrew Bible, on four occasions in the Prophets and once in Ct. This implies that is a poetic word. However, such an inference must be treated with caution given the relative infrequency of occurrence and the suggestion that Am 9.13 is prose at many points.  

Exegesis

The understanding of as "sweet wine" in BDB follows the interpretation of Rashi who said that was good and sweet wine (וַיִּהְיוּ בָּאָשׁ). The translation of the lexeme as "grape juice" is unlikely despite the links to the cognate verb. This is due to the fact that in Is 49.26 is intoxicating. This verse provides further evidence that is fermented, with the image of blood (ם). For this image to have its full impact, must have been red, which in grape juice requires maceration, a result of fermentation.

Dahood finds that Is 49.26a is probably a metaphor for "I will reduce your oppressors to a state of helplessness."

In Jl 4.18 and Am 9.13, is one of the elements representing the bounty of the land and the blessings of the Lord in the time of restoration. This time of bounty is seen as the messianic era, especially in Midrash Rabbah. appears in Midrash

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462 Anderson; 1989; p. 887.
463 BDB; p. 779.
465 HAL p. 860; Teachout; p. 152-153.
466 See Chapter 6.
467 Dahood; 1960; p. 404-06.
468 Harper; 1910; p. 198, Anderson; 1989; p. 893; Smith; 1912; p. 141.
Rabbah fifteen times. In each of these occurrences, פְּרֹת is used apart of a quote from the Hebrew Bible, and of these, twelve are discussing the messianic times envisioned in Jl 4.18.469

Walsh470 suggests that pomegranate wine פְּרֹת רַמְלָה (Ct 8.2) must be wine flavoured with pomegranate as extracting sufficient pomegranate juice to make wine would have been "extraordinarily labor-intensive."

Conclusions
The versions demonstrate the range of possible meanings of the lexeme. While the meaning appears to be principally related to wine, unfermented juice may be included. This leads some commentators to suggest that פְּרֹת is a poetic synonym for דְּרָחֵם.471 There is little reason to doubt that פְּרֹת is a member of the lexical field of words for wine and its associated constituents and products.

469 Search as per Davka Soncino Classics Collection CD-ROM. All occurrences of the lexeme in Midrash Rabbah are as part of a Biblical quote. The lexeme only occurs once in the Babylonian Talmud (B Berachot 57a) which quotes Ct 8.2 in interpreting dreams about pomegranates.
470 Walsh; 2000; p. 197-8.
471 Ross; 1968; p. 849.
7.5 הַמֶּר

rmexe occurs once in Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible.\(^{472}\) rmexe is probably a loan word from the main Aramaic word for wine רַמַח, nevertheless, it is a rare member of the Hebrew semantic field of wine.

While there is only one agreed occurrence of rmexe in the Hebrew Bible (Dt 32.14), two other occurrences have been suggested. There is some question as to whether Is 27.2 reads rmexe or דָּמָר. The Ben Asher manuscripts read דָּמָר, while BHS records that many manuscripts read rmexe and some include Leningradensis as reading Đ.\(^{473}\) This reading of the Leningradensis has been called into doubt and opinion is shifting to see rmexe in this manuscript.\(^{474}\) The issue is brought into further doubt by the Isaiah scroll (1QIsa\(^a\)), which reads דָּמָר.\(^{475}\) None of the Versions read rmexe.

One conjectural reading of Ps 75.9 gives - rmexe נַיָּה.\(^{476}\) BHS and other MSS read rmexe נַיָּה. While this pointing (דָּמָר נַיָּה) is unique\(^{477}\) and has produced other conjectural readings,\(^{478}\) it is generally understood to be a verb acting on נַיָּה.

rmexe appears once in the Book of Ben Sira (31.30) with a second occurrence possible but unlikely. This unlikely occurrence appears in the first half of Sir 37.27 where MS B reads מַיָּה יִשָּׂרָאֵלְכֶם נָתַנִּים rmexe נִנְשַׁמְתֶּם with a marginal gloss suggesting that rmexe should be replaced with מַיָּה as is found in MS D. Reading מַיָּה appears to agree with the Septuagint. The concordance in the Jerusalem edition\(^{479}\) suggests that this rmexe is rmexe.

\(^{472}\) This is one of the rare occasions when using the term "Hebrew Bible" for what Jews call the Tanakh and Christians call the "Old Testament" is awkward. The Aramaic cognate appears five times in the Aramaic portion of the Book of Daniel.

\(^{473}\) Watts; 1985; p. 346; n. 2.b.

\(^{474}\) Muraoka; 10th July, 2001; Personal communication.

\(^{475}\) Burrows et al.; 1950; pl. XXI.

\(^{476}\) HAL; p. 330.

\(^{477}\) Masora Parva.

\(^{478}\) HAL; p. 330.
Root and Comparative Material

The word רֶפֶיסָא and its cognates are found in many Semitic languages. The root of רֶפֶיסָא is identified as רֶפֶיסָא. HAL identifies five different רֶפֶיסָא roots, while DNWSI uses up to twelve categories. Both BDB and HAL associate רֶפֶיסָא with the root meaning "ferment, foam or boil up".

רֶפֶיסָא is the main word for wine in Jewish Aramaic. וְרֶפֶיסָא and רֶפֶיסָא are both usually translated as רֶפֶיסָא in the Targums. The cognate verb also appears. Likewise, רֶפֶיסָא is the word for wine in Biblical Aramaic and occurs four times (Dn 5.1, 2, 4, 23).

The cognate word for wine appears in many cognate languages, which include Ugaritic had; Amorite had; Syriac and Mandaic had; Egyptian Aramaic, Palmyrenian Aramaic and Arabic had. In addition one Phoenician inscription, probably, attests the cognate רֶפֶיסָא. Dahood argues that the Ugaritic had should translate as "wine-bowl, vat" rather than "wine." This would link the Ugaritic root to the Hebrew תְּלִינָה "clay." Although this idea has received little attention and has no real affect on the understanding of the lexeme, it may mean that unlike רֶפֶיסָא and רֶפֶיסָא there may be no antecedent in Ugaritic for רֶפֶיסָא.

Formal Characteristics

The single occurrence of רֶפֶיסָא in the Hebrew Bible is a singular masculine noun of the qatal form.

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479 The Book of Ben Sira; 1973; p. 144.
480 HAL; p. 330.
481 DNWSI; p. 383-85.
482 BDB; p. 330.
483 HAL; p. 330.
484 See above on וְרֶפֶיסָא and רֶפֶיסָא.
485 HAL; p. 330.
Syntagmatics

1 In Dt 32.14 ḫex is the object of qal ṣḥ (Dt 32.14).

Versions

The Septuagint translates ḫex as ὀίνοι (Dt 32.14) and μεθύ (Sir 31.30).

The Peshitta uses hànra’, the main word for wine in Syriac. This is the same word used for most occurrence of ḫex and ṣḥ, suggesting the translators could not differentiate between the three.

Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Neophyti translate the ḫex of Dt 32.14 as ḫem. Targum Onkelos has a midrash on Dt 32.14. This midrash has suggested to, at least, one commentator a different reading of the lexeme in this verse. The phrase: ḫem נביד ימדיד ומסיה ממרכז תמר: "and the blood of their warriors was spilled like water." There is no Targum of the Book of Ben Sira.

In the Vulgate ḫem becomes et sanguinem uvae biberet meracissimum "drank the heady juice of the grape" (Dt 32.14), while the occurrence in Sir 31.30 is simply translated vinum.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

Unlike most words related to wine, ḫem is not in direct parallel with ṣḥ. The evidence, although limited to one verse (Dt 32.14) and to a lesser extent the cognates, clearly links ḫem to the lexical field of wine.

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489 See below in exegesis.
490 Translation of Grossfeld; 1988; p. 93. This passage should perhaps be in the future tense, however Grossfeld translates the whole passage in the past tense.
491 Translation of Knox; 1959; p. 176.
The simple fact that רמ�א is a product of grapes (ןבנ), which can be drunk (הש), is probably sufficient evidence to place it in the lexical field of wine (Dt 32.14). It is parallel with רדכ, which provides an indirect parallel with מָלֶא, as רדכ is in parallel with מָלֶא in Gn 49.11. Like the association with blood infers that some maceration had taken place and, therefore, רמ�א is alcoholic.492

The imagery of Sir 31.30 follows that of the Hebrew Bible with regard to alcoholic beverages, adding extra evidence to place רמ�א in this field.

With only two uses, it is impossible to make a definite generalisation, however, it would appear that רמ�א only appears in poetry. This suggests the lexeme is a loan word, probably, from Aramaic or one of the other Semitic languages, used for poetical purposes.

Exegesis

רמ�א has received more attention than is common for a single occurrence in the Hebrew Bible. The comments seem equally balanced between reading רמ�א and the standard Masoretic reading רמ�א.

Sanders comments, "The word רמ�א seems to denote fermenting, foaming wine. The Ugaritic word hhr probably stands for the same kind of new wine. The emphatic position of מָלֶא suggests that this kind of wine is considered as one of YHWH's most prominent gifts to his people."493

Driver observes "Perhaps in Heb. the proper sense of the word, fermenting or foaming draught (Ps 75.5), was still felt, and it had not sunk to a mere synonym of ."494

492 See Ch 6 on maceration.
493 Sanders; 1996; p. 176.
494 Driver; 1895; p. 360.
Dahood\textsuperscript{495} understands the Ugaritic \textit{hkur} to mean "wine-bowl, vat" rather than "wine". Dahood repoints the lexeme in Dt 32.14 to \textit{rmexo} and reads the phrase, "The blood of the grape you will drink by the bowl." This approach tries to link the lexeme to the related root meaning "mortar, clay" on the basis that the bowl or vat is made from clay. Dahood similarly repoints \textit{rmexo} in Ps 75.9 to read \textit{rmexo}, and hence, "cup."

In Jer 18.4 a vessel is made from \textit{rmexo} and Dahood infers this is sufficient evidence for his repointing.

Grossfeld\textsuperscript{496} records Berkowitz's suggestion that the lexeme in Dt 32.14 refers to the earth. This suggestion is based on the paraphrase of Targum Onkelos. The remaining image from the Hebrew Bible in Targum Onkelos is that of the blood of warriors rather than of grapes. The suggestion is that the earth absorbs blood like water.

\textbf{Conclusions}

\textit{rmexo} is a rare word for "wine." In all probability, \textit{rmexo} is a loan word used for poetical purposes.

\textsuperscript{495} Dahood; 1964; p. 408.
\textsuperscript{496} Grossfeld; 1988; p. 93 n 29.
7.6 \textit{םָבָשָׁה}

Of the alcoholic beverages that appear in the Hebrew Bible, \textit{םָבָשָׁה} is one of the more difficult to narrow down its possible meanings. The uses of the lexeme give little information to aid the identification of its meaning. This is made more difficult because some of its generally recognised occurrences may not attest the lexeme.

\textit{םָבָשָׁה} is only attested by the Hebrew Bible and then on only three occasions (Is 1.22, Ho 4.18, Nah 1.10). Of these three occurrences, two have been called into doubt. The understanding of \textit{םָבָשָׁה} in Ho 4.18 as the lexeme rather than some form of the cognate verb or noun is in doubt. It is also uncertain whether the first two words of Ho 4.18 are correctly placed or should be part of the preceding verse.\textsuperscript{497} Nah 1.10 is as difficult as Ho 4.18. \textit{HAL}\textsuperscript{498} follows the Septuagint and Rudolph's reading suggesting that \textit{םָבָשָׁה} should read \textit{םָבָשָׁה}, which it is proposed means "bindweed" equivalent to \textit{περιπλοκόμενον} in LXX. Other commentators accept that the lexeme appears in Nah 1.10, but not without qualifications.\textsuperscript{499}

Root and Comparative Material

A verb \textit{םָבָשָׁה} occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible (Dt 21.20, Is 45.14, Nah 1.10, Pr 23.20, 21) and once in Sir (18.33). All occurrences of the cognate verb are in the qal "imbibe, drink largely." A cognate noun \textit{םָבָשָׁה} "drunkards, wine-bibbers" occurs at Ezk 23.42 although it is suggested this may be \textit{םָבָשָׁה} a proper noun found only in Is 45.14.\textsuperscript{500} The proper noun \textit{םָבָשָׁה} occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible, although there is no evidence which links this word with the lexeme.

The cognate verb is rare in Jewish Aramaic and Rabbinic Hebrew (MSanhedrin 8.2 (x2)). In Arabic, the cognate appears both as a noun \textit{sibā} "wine" and as a verb \textit{saba'a} "to import wine." In Akkadian, the cognate appears both as a noun \textit{sību} "a kind of

\textsuperscript{497} Wolff; 1974; p. 91, Andersen 1980; p. 378.
\textsuperscript{498} \textit{HAL}; p. 738.
\textsuperscript{500} BDB; p. 685.
beer” and as a verb sībû "to brew beer." Likewise, sāḥīṭum means a "woman-publican." 

An attempt was made by Haldar to link Ἰάμα to the Ugaritic sp’ "eat," but this is unlikely especially given Ἰάμα "fodder" is more obviously related to the Ugaritic. 

Formal Characteristics

 tüket in the Hebrew Bible is a singular masculine noun of the qutl form.

Syntagmatics

1 testified is the subject of a predicative Ἰάμα "mixed/weakened with water" (Is 1.22).

2 is probably the subject of Ἰανᾶμ (Nah 1.10), although this depends on how this verse is understood.

3 is the subject of Ἰανᾶμ "come to an end" (Ho 4.18). However the syntax of Ho 4.18 is in some dispute. It is suggested that the first two words of 18 may be the object of 17b. Alternatively, it may be the subject of 18b.

Versions

The Septuagint reflects to a large extent the difficulties noted above with Ho 4.18 and Nah 1.10. Is 1.22 presents the only simple translation of tüket giving ὀξύος. The approach taken in Ho 4.18 is probably a paraphrase, however, Ἰανᾶμ "Canaanite" is the possible translation given the word order. Likewise, Nah 1.10 is, probably, a paraphrase with the possibility that ἵππεικομένος "mixture" is used for tüket.

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501 HAL; p. 738.
502 Cathcart; 1973; p. 61.
504 Wolff; 1974; p. 91.
In the Peshitta, Is 1.22 has *hānwāyā‘* "tavernkeeper, greengrocer" which is clarified by the addition of *hāmrā‘* "wine" in one manuscript. Ho 4.18 is a paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible and Nah 1.10 translates ḥēḇēq as *rawāiywutā‘* "strong drink."

The Targums translate ḥēḇēq as *ḥēmēr* in Is 1.22 and Nah 1.10, while Ho 4.18 is a paraphrase.

The Vulgate uses *vinum* (Is 1.22) and *convivium* "banquet" (Ho 4.18, Nah 1.10) for ḥēḇēq.

**Lexical/Semantic Fields**

Confirmation that ḥēḇēq is a member of the semantic field of wine is a little tenuous and requires the addition of the versions for confirmation.

From the Biblical text we can confirm that ḥēḇēq is, probably, a liquid as it can be mixed with water (Is 1.22). From the same verse it seems that ḥēḇēq is a thing of value as it appears in parallel with silver (ḥāḇēq). Nah 1.10 suggests that ḥēḇēq is potentially consuming and entrapping as alcohol is to an alcoholic. Ho 4.18 suggests that ḥēḇēq is something that can be an overindulgence. This is reinforced by ḥēḇēq, a cognate in Dt 21.20, being in parallel with מְלֹל “glutton.” Similarly, in Pr 23.20 a cognate is paired with מְלָל and in Is 56.12 ḥēḇēq is the object of a cognate. Thus, the lexeme is probably an alcoholic beverage.

**Exegesis**

Ḥēḇēq has received relatively little attention from commentators. The major area of discussion is the difficulty of the passages in which the lexeme appears.
The most common comment made about \(\text{beso}\) is that it should be understood as "beer."\(^{505}\) This comment does not give any real information about the lexeme, especially as it is never convincingly argued.

It would appear that \(\text{beso}\) only appears in passages observing the failings of the people. However, with such a limited number of occurrences it is very doubtful that anything should be drawn from this.

Although the reading of \(\text{beso}\) in Ho 4.18 and Nah 1.10 is called into question by some commentators,\(^{506}\) the reference to inebriation is unquestioned for Ho 4.18.\(^{507}\) Likewise in Nah 1.10, its relationship to inebriation is only questioned by those commentators looking for a substantial modification of the text.

Andersen suggests Ho 4.18 "could be a reference to the notorious drunkenness of Ephraim/Samaria [of Is 28]."\(^{508}\)

**Conclusions**

The understanding of \(\text{beso}\) as being an alcoholic beverage does not have any arguments to the contrary. While the meaning of the lexeme must be limited to naturally fermented beverages,\(^{509}\) there is insufficient evidence in the Hebrew Bible to narrow down its meaning. The versions and later cognates imply that \(\text{beso}\) is a type of wine. Beer is a possible meaning of the lexeme\(^{510}\) especially given the Akkadian cognates, however, the lack of evidence of beer in the Hebrew Bible makes this somewhat unlikely.

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\(^{506}\) See above.

\(^{507}\) Emmerson; 1974; p. 493 n 4.

\(^{508}\) Andersen; 1980; p. 378.

\(^{509}\) See Ch 6.

Three rare members of the lexical field of wine, ְִׁמוֹת, ְִׁמוֹת, and ְִׁמוֹת are closely related by etymology. The root ְִׁמוֹת is, most likely, to be identical to or in parallel with ְִׁמּוֹת, ְִׁמּוֹת, which reduces the differences between the words to a minimum.

The only occurrence of ְִׁמוֹת in Biblical Hebrew appears in Ct 7.3. It is widely suspected that ְִׁמוֹת is an Aramaic loanword.

Root and Comparative Material
While no cognates appear in Biblical Hebrew, the cognate verb ְִׁמוֹת "to mix wine" appears in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and ְִׁמוֹת in Arabic. Cognate nouns appear in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic ְִׁמוֹת, Syriac and Mandaic ְִׁמוֹת. Palmyrenian Aramaic attests ְִׁמוֹת "cupbearer."

The root ְִׁמוֹת is, most likely, to be identical to or in parallel with ְִׁמוֹת. Pope and Brown detail the similarities and interchange which can occur between the cognates. Thus, ְִׁמוֹת of Ps 75.9 could in some contexts be considered to be equivalent to ְִׁמוֹת. The cognate noun appears in Ugaritic as ְִׁמוֹת and in Arabic as ְִׁמוֹת. The cognate verb ְִׁמוֹת appears four times in the Hebrew Bible each in the qal meaning "to mix." Ugaritic has the cognate verb ְִׁמוֹת. The cognate verb ְִׁמוֹת appears in Rabbinic Hebrew. However, in the cognate languages, namely Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic, the cognates are related back to the ְִׁמוֹת root.

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512 Wagner; 1966; pp. 73-74.
513 HAL; p. 564.
516 See below.
517 HAL; p. 605.
Both roots are related to the Greek μίξω, μιξώνυμι "mix, mingle" and the Latin misceo "mix, mingle." Gesenius thought the relationship was mere chance, however, Brown believes that it must derive from the introduction of the Greek practice of mixing drinks.

Dahood's suggestion that קֶשֶׁם is "to draw" rather than "to mix" gives the possibility that the roots קֶשֶׁם and מָסֵמ are not in parallel. While such a translation can be seen to fit the occurrence of קֶשֶׁם in the Hebrew Bible, it does not appear to take into account all of the available information about these two roots.

Formal Characteristics
The lexeme is a segolate noun. There is no clear evidence available to determine whether it is qatl or qitl. The occurrence of the lexeme is as a masculine singular noun.

Syntagmatics
In its single occurrence, קֶשֶׁם is the object of qal לָשׁוּם.

Versions
The versions provide little information about קֶשֶׁם. The Septuagint uses κρασί "mixture." The Peshitta uses the cognate mzāḡaʾ "mixture, drink." The Targum provides a midrashic passage rather than a direct translation and the Vulgate poculum "drink" is similar to the Septuagint and the Peshitta.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
קֶשֶׁם is in parallel with הַשָּׁם suggesting that it is an item of agricultural produce. It is a thing of some value, coming as part of a list of valued items with which the lover is compared. קָשׁמ is a liquid or other substance that is contained in a bowl (גָּשַׁת) (Ct

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519 Dahood; 1970A; p. 15.
7.3). While there are no clear links to wine for קָֽמֶשׁ in Ct 7.3, the parallel of קָֽמֶשׁ with קָֽמֶשׁ and their close links makes it highly probable that קָֽמֶשׁ is a member of the semantic field of wine. It may be that קָֽמֶשׁ (and קָֽמֶשׁ) are poetic words as they only appear in poetry, however, as hapax legomena this cannot be confirmed.

**Exegesis**

There is relatively little examination of the lexeme by the commentators. Brown\(^\text{520}\) highlights a passage in B Abodah Zarah 58b, which comments on the two roots to try and understand a little about the lexeme. It appears that the Rabbis understood the lexeme to be a mixture of wine although they made arbitrary differentiation between קָֽמֶשׁ and קָֽמֶשׁ. In the notes of the Soncino translation, Cohen notes, "in the language of the Rabbis mazag has the signification to mix wine with water; but masak, while having that meaning in Biblical Hebrew, means in Rabbinic Hebrew to mix strong wine with weaker wine."\(^\text{521}\)

Debate continues as to how overt the sexual imagery of Ct 7.3a is. Snaith\(^\text{522}\) suggests that קָֽמֶשׁ refers "to the mingling of the male and female bodily secretions." Pope\(^\text{523}\) notes earlier scholars' suggestion that the lexeme is a metaphor of semen or seed. The linking of the lexeme to bodily fluids is largely dependent on the identification of קָֽמֶשׁ with either the navel or the vulva and the implications of the bowl. The significance of bowls and symbolic fluids in the ancient world is not questioned and is the subject of much study.\(^\text{524}\) However it is unlikely that the linking of the lexeme to this field of metaphor can be justified.\(^\text{525}\)

**Conclusions**

As קָֽמֶשׁ is a hapax legomenon in the Hebrew Bible, there are not sufficient examples for it to have a clear meaning in context. The small amount of information available

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\(^{520}\) Brown; 1969; p. 154.  
^{521}\text{Davka Soncino Classics Collection, Brown; op. cit.}  
^{522}\text{Snaith; 1993; p. 102.}  
^{523}\text{Pope; 1977; p. 620.}  
^{524}\text{Goodenough; 1956; The relationship of wine with type of imagery takes the majority of the second half of volume 5 and all of volume 6.}  
^{525}\text{Pope; 1977; p. 620.}
supports the definitions of BDB\textsuperscript{526} "mixture, ie mixed wine" and HAL\textsuperscript{527} "mixed wine, spiced wine."

Biblical Hebrew attests two occurrences of מַּמְשֵׁי in Is 65.11 and Pr 23.30. While the reading of Pr 23.30 is not contested, the reading of Is 65.11 is. 1QIsa\textsuperscript{a} reads מַּמְשֵׁי for מַּמָּשְׁי. The 1QIsa\textsuperscript{a} reading may be supported by the Vulgate. The second column of Origen's Hexapla at 2Ch 28.2 reads מַּמֶּשֶׁת for מַּמֶּשֶׁת. These two variant readings suggest an association between מַּמֶּשֶׁת and מַּמֶּשֶׁת "cast image."\textsuperscript{528} This may suggest a cultic overtone.

Root and Comparative Material
The lexeme is derived from מַּמָּשְׁי, which is parallel to מַּמָּשְׁי. In addition to the comparative material from the two parallel roots, a cognate noun of מַּמָּשְׁי appears in Ugaritic mmskn.

Formal Characteristics
מַּמְשֵׁי provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics, being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the miqta\textsuperscript{al} form.

Syntagmatics
מַּמְשֵׁי is the object of the piel מַּמְשֵׁי (Is 65.11) and qal מַּמְשֵׁי (Pr 23.30).

Versions
The Versions, other than the Vulgate, associate מַּמְשֵׁי with mixed drinks or wine. The Septuagint has κατασκέψα in Is 65.11 and ποτό in Pr 23.30. The Peshitta uses

\textsuperscript{526} BDB; p. 561.
\textsuperscript{527} HAL; p. 564.
\textsuperscript{528} HAL; pp. 595-596, 605.
\textsuperscript{529} See above for details on these roots.
mzāgā’ in Is 65.11 and hāmrā’ in Pr 23.30. The Targums use הַמַּרְא in both occasions. The Vulgate is interesting in its use of libatis in Is 65.11. This gives weight to the aforementioned suggestion that there may be an association between מַמְפַס and מַמְס. Pr 23.30 could be considered to be a paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible, however, if a direct translation were sought, calicibus epotandis "cup of drink" is probably the equivalent term.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
מַמְס is in parallel with מַמְס in Pr 23.30, suggesting that מַמְס is a member of the semantic field of wine. The imagery of this verse suggests that מַמְס has similar characteristics to מַמְס.

מַמְס is in parallel with מַמְס "table" (Is 65.11), possibly suggesting it is something which might be laid out at a meal or sacrifice. Gordon⁵³⁰ suggests that the Ugaritic cognate noun mmsk is in parallel with spl and, thus perhaps, its Hebrew cognate מַס may link the lexeme to cultic objects and or vessels.

It is possible that מַמְס is a poetic word with its two occurrences both appearing in poetry.

Exegesis
The difficulty in understanding מַמְס is largely ignored by the commentators.

Perhaps the simplest suggestion is offered by Rashi (Is 65.11), who understands the lexeme as wine mingled with water.⁵³¹

KJV and NKJV translate the lexeme in Is 65.11 as "drink offering." Most other English translations (ASB, NASB, NIV, RSV, NRSV, NJB, NEB, REB checked) translate the lexeme as "bowls/cups of mixed/spiced wine." In Pr 23.30 only NIV has

⁵³⁰ Gordon; 1965; §19:1504, 1791.
⁵³¹ Rashi; 1999; Is 65.11.
the aspect of "bowls " in its translation of מְסִמָה, while all the others simply have "mixed wine(s)." This reflects BDB,\(^{532}\) which suggests that the "bowls/cups" may be understood in the use of the piel of מִמְסִמָה, thus מְסִמָה means "mixed/spiced wine." \(HAL\)^{533} provides an alternative understanding suggesting that the "bowl/cup" is an aspect of the lexeme by translating it "jug of mixed wine."

Brown^{534} suggests that the lexeme covers all the cognate nouns meaning "mixed drinks" and that Is 65.11 attributes these drinks to a foreign cult.

The versions support the idea that the lexeme is a mixed wine or a libation.

Numbers Rabbah 10.8 suggests the lexeme "means nought but one wine mingled with another."^{535}

Conclusions

מְסִמָה may have a cultic overtone as suggested by its Ugaritic cognate and its parallelism with מִמְסִמָה "table." This may be possible in Pr 23.30 as it may add the aspect of condemning those who "come in search of libations." The drinking of libations as part of ancient rituals is well known.\(^{536}\) Nevertheless, there is little or no evidence to differentiate it from מְסִמָה and מְסִמָה.

מְסִמָה is attested once in Biblical Hebrew in Ps 75.9. The lexeme is derived from מְסַמֶּה which is parallel to מְסַמֶּה.\(^{537}\) There is some question as to whether מְסַמֶּה actually appears. Dahood,\(^{538}\) following Graetz and Zorell, suggests that the Masoretic pointing is in error and the verb מְסִמָה should be read instead. The Versions (below)

\(^{532}\) BDB; p. 570b.
\(^{533}\) HAL; p. 595.
\(^{535}\) Davka Soncino Classics Collection.
\(^{536}\) E.g., Dayagi-Mendels; 1999, 99-108.
\(^{537}\) See above for details on these roots.
\(^{538}\) Dahood; 1968A; p. 214.
suggest that מֵסֶמֶה is the correct reading and as such it is a member of the semantic field of wine. Thus, it is appropriate for this study to consider this form.

Formal Characteristics
מֵסֶמֶה is a segolate noun. There is no clear evidence to determine whether it is qatl or qitl. The occurrence of the lexeme is as a masculine singular noun.

Syntagmatics
מֵסֶמֶה is an adjunct of an understood verb "to be."

Versions
The versions provide little information about מֵסֶמֶה. The Septuagint uses κεφασμα "mixture". The Peshitta uses the cognate mzāḡā’ "mixture, drink," equivalent to the Targum using מָזוֹג אֲנָה. Both major traditions of the Vulgate have mixtus "mixture," which is derived from the Latin cognate of the root מֵסָמ misceo.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
מֵסֶמֶה is in parallel with יַיָּה, or perhaps even describes it. This is the only information available to place the meaning of מֵסֶמֶה, other than the etymology which emphasises its mixed nature. In all probability מֵסֶמֶה is a member of the semantic field of wine.

Exegesis
Rashi understands מֵסֶמֶה as "a full mixture: The cup is full of a mixture, to mix and give all the nations to drink."

Tate suggests that מֵסֶמֶה "probably refers to wine mixed with spices [in contrast to the] "wine of staggering" in Ps 60.5."  

539 Rashi; 1999; Ps 75.9. 540
Conclusions
The little evidence available suggests that הָלָה refers to mixed wine.

General Conclusion on מָשָׁה, מָשָׂה, וַתַּלָּה and מָשָׁה
If מָשָׂה is in some way different to מָשָׁה וַתַּלָּה, that difference may be that מָשָׁה refers to "a vessel of mixed wine" rather than only the mixed wine, however, it is more likely that no differences in definition are justified. The rarity of these words is such that little about them can be confirmed. In all likelihood the terms can be interchanged and perhaps were used simply for their poetic effect.

540 Tate; 1990; p. 257; n. 9a.
The two main words for beverages related to the hiphil verb יָכַר "to cause to drink," יָכָר and יָכֵר are difficult to place firmly in the semantic field of wine. Nevertheless, they demonstrate some characteristics of members of this semantic field and are thus considered in this study.

Identifying the occurrences of the noun יָכַר is problematic as a hiphil participle with an identical form is also attested in the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the other members of the semantic field of wine examined in this study, it does not appear possible to argue that יָכַר has a single meaning.

The accepted occurrences of יָכַר number nine in the Hebrew Bible (Gn 13.10, 40.21, Lv 11.34, 1Kg 10.5, 21 // 2Ch 9.4, 20, Is 32.6, Ezk 45.15) and one in the book of Ben Sira (39.23).

The occurrences of the hiphil participle of יָכֵר at Gn 40.1, 2, 5, 9, 13, 20, 21, 23, 41.9 and Neh 1.11 are often understood as nouns. There does not appear to be any doubt that the Hiphil participle in these contexts refers to "cupbearer", but the consensus is that the noun does not appear at these points. The other two occurrences of the hiphil participle of יָכֵר at Hb 2.15 and Ps 104.13 do not appear ever to have been examined as though they were nouns. The difficulty is compounded by the Versions, which translate the nouns and hiphil participles in similar or identical ways.

1Kg 10.5//2Ch 9.4 presents an illustration of the difficulty of distinguishing between the lexeme and the hiphil participle. Gerleman and HAL follow Noth in

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541 Both the noun and the hiphil participle appear in Gn 40.21. The noun is the second in the form יָכַר.
542 O’Connell; 1997; p. 233. BDB; p. 1052 effectively acknowledges the possibility that these occurrences are either nouns or hiphil participles.
543 Gerleman; 1997; p. 1408; HAL; pp. 652, 1640.
544 Gerleman; 1997; p. 1408.
545 HAL; pp. 652, 1640.
546 Noth; 1968; p. 203.
deciding that the lexeme is represented, while BDB is open to both possibilities. The Septuagint appears to reflect the hiphil participle using μέτυχον.

Two variations in the text are suggested, which do not appear to have gained mainstream support: HAL records that Schwarzenbach placed the occurrence in Gn 13.10 in the hiphil participle category, contrary to BDB and Gerleman; Allen observed that in Ezk 45.15 Gese and Grätz emend the lexeme to "cattle."

Root and Comparative Material
A cognate verb הִקְמָת occurs 74 times in the Hebrew Bible. This figure varies greatly, however, depending on how the commentator understands the various uses of the hiphil participle and Am 8.8. In 73 occurrences the verb is in hiphil meaning "to cause to drink (water), to give drink." The pual "to be watered" occurs at Jb 21.24. After separating the nouns from the hiphil participles the most difficult reading associated with the root הִקְמָת is Am 8.8. The Ktiv reads הַקְמָת with Qere הַקְמָת. Both readings are problematic and the Ktiv especially so, but it might have recorded a nihphal form.

וַתֹּאמֶרּ is considered to complement the qal (and once only nifal) תָּבֹא "to drink". "[The] appearance of a separate causative root alongside the qal may reflect, among other things, that the causative of this verb encompasses a much broader realm of meaning than the qal."

Two cognate nouns appear in the Hebrew Bible, קְמָת (Pr 3.8, Ps 120.10, Ho 2.7) and קְמָת (Gn 24.20, 30.38). The title or name קְמָת, which occurs 16 times in the Hebrew Bible, contains the cognate. A cognate noun קְמָת מָלָס occurs at 11QT.

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547 BDB; p. 1052.
548 HAL; p. 652.
550 Allen; 1990; p. 247; n. 15a.
551 Andersen et al; 1989; p. 813.
552 HAL; p. 1639.
553 Gerleman; 1997; p. 1408.
47.7, 49.7. Yadin\(^{554}\) says this cognate "must mean the foodstuffs on which liquids were poured."

The cognates are common in Rabbinic Hebrew with יַעֲשֹׁו לִשְׁכִּים tending to mean "drink, liquid."\(^{555}\)

Cognate nouns appear in many languages. Those in Ugaritic \(mšq\) and Akkadian \(mašqū\) meaning "watering place, drinking vessel.\(^{556}\) In Jewish Aramaic and Official Aramaic אַשִד, Akkadian \(sāqū(m)\), Syriac \(sāqū\), and Arabic \(sāqū\) the cognate means "cupbearer."\(^{557}\)

Cognate verbs are also common in other Semitic languages: Jewish Aramaic אִשָד, Official Aramaic \(šqy\), Egyptian Aramaic \(hšqy\), Ugaritic \(šqy\), Akkadian \(šaqū(m)\), Syriac \(šq̄\), Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Samaritan Aramaic *šq’, Mandaic \(šqa\), Old South Arabian \(sqy\), Ethiopic \(saqaya\), and Arabic \(saqā\).\(^{558}\)

Formal Characteristics

\(hqe\) is a masculine singular noun of the maqtaf form. The plural form appears in 1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4.

Syntagmatics

1. \(hqe\) is the object of qal נָשָׁה (1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4), נָשָׁה (Sir 39.23), and hifil נָשָׁה (Is 32.6).
2. \(hqe\) is the predicate of נָשָׁה (Gn 13.10).
3. \(hqe\) is the subject of a predicate נָשָׁה (1Kg 10.21//2Ch 9.21).
4. \(hqe\) is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying נָשָׁה (Ezk 45.15).
5. \(hqe\) is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying נָשָׁה (Gn 40.21).

\(^{554}\) Yadin; 1983; p. 203.
^{555} Jastrow; 1971; p. 858.
^{556} HAL; p. 652.
^{557} HAL; p. 1640. Note on Syriac: Payne Smith; p. 593 gives variant spellings including that of HAL hence variation with Versions.
^{558} HAL; p. 1639.
is the Nomen regens of לְנָב (Ezk 45.15).

6 לְנָב is the Nomen rectum of לְנָב (Lv 11.34), לְנָב (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20).

7 לְנָב takes a possessive pronominal suffix: 3ms (40.21, 1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4).

Versions

The Versions demonstrate the diversity of meaning of לְנָב and some of the difficulties associated with identifying the lexeme from the cognate verb.

The Septuagint translates לְנָב in a number of ways: ὀξοὺς "cupbearer" (1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4); πότις "drink" (Gn 13.10); αρχὴ "beginning, position" (Gn 40.21); πότος "drink" (Lv 11.34); σκεύος "drinking vessel" (1Kg 10.21); σκεῦς "vessel" (2Ch 9.20); and πατρία "family, clan" (Ezk 45.15). The translation of Ezk 45.15 may imply ἀδέλφια "families". In Is 32.6 the verse is paraphrase.

The Peshitta uses: šāge' "irrigator, butler" (Gn 13.10, 1Kg 10.5//2Ch 9.4); maštay "drink, banquet" (Lv 11.34, Is 32.6); mān "vessel" (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20); paraphrase (Gn 40.21); and 'ānā "flocks" (Ezk 45.15).

The Targum generally translates the lexeme with words related to drink (יִבְשֹׁמָה "irrigation" (Gn 13.10); יִבְשֹׁמָה "butler" (Gn 40.21 [TgO]), 1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4); יִבְשֹׁמָה "butler, wine-mixer" (Gn 40.21 [TgPsJ]); יִבְשֹׁמָה "drink" (Lv 11.34); יִבְשֹׁמָה "drink" (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20); and יִבְשֹׁמָה "water" (Is 32.6). There are two exceptions with יִבְשֹׁמָה "fattened animal" at Ezk 45.1 and Gn 40.21 [TgNeo], where the verse is paraphrased.

The Vulgate usually relates לְנָב to liquids and drinks: irrigabatur "water, irrigate" (Gn 13.10); bibitus "drink" (Lv 11.34); pincerna "cupbearer, butler" (1Kg 10.5//2Ch 9.4); vasa "vessel" (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20); potum "drink" (Is 32.6); nutrio "nourish, feed" (Ezk 45.15). The exception is a paraphrase (Gn 40.21).
Lexical/Semantic Fields

It is clear that in many uses מֵשָׁל is a member of the semantic field of beverages. In Lv 11.34 the lexeme is in parallel with מָיִם and is qualified by the phrase מַעֲלָה. While many translations have interpreted the use of the lexeme in 1Kg 10.5//2Ch 9.4 to refer to "cupbearers,"560 or "valets,"561 in all likelihood מֵשָׁל refers to "drink".562 In 1Kg 10.21//2Ch 9.20 the lexeme describes מִיא "vessel." In Is 32.6 the lexeme is what has been denied the מַעֲלָה "thirsty." The largest portion of the semantic field of beverages in the Hebrew Bible is the semantic field of wine.563 There is not enough evidence to place מֵשָׁל in this narrower field. The semantic field of beverages would include all the elements of the semantic field of wine as well as מָיִם "water," מִיא "milk" and no doubt some less common terms.

Gn 13.10, Ezk 45.15 and Sir 39.23 place מֵשָׁל in the lexical field of agricultural descriptors. While Gn 13.10 and Sir 39.23 are understood as "well-watered land" Ezk 45.15 implies that this should refer to "quality pasture."

The identification of the lexeme in Gn 40.21 is difficult as its use is similar to that of the hiphil participle, nevertheless, it places מֵשָׁל in the field of duties of palace or royal functionaries.

Exegesis

The main focus of commentators regarding מֵשָׁל is identifying when the lexeme occurs and when the hiphil participle occurs.

The lexeme is able to become unclean (Lv 11.34). This leads to the suggestion that the liquids that fall under the category of מֵשָׁל are: water, dew, oil, wine, milk, blood, and bee-honey,564 that is the liquids which become unclean.

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559 Allen; 1990; p. 247; n. 15a.
560 NIV.
561 NRSV.
562 Noth; 1968; p. 203.
563 See above on מַעֲלָה.
564 Rashi; 1999; Lv 11.34.
Sarna\textsuperscript{565} suggests that the "well-watered" translation of the lexeme refers to fertile land with a consistent water supply fed by streams and brooks and not dependent on rain.

Conclusions
The lexeme falls into the category of words related to "drink." The difficulties associated with discerning the occurrences of the lexeme complicate the determination of a simple meaning.

\textsuperscript{565} Sarna; 1989; p.
7.9 יַּכְּחָר

The second noun derived from הָקַבְּר, יַכְּחָר, poses few of the difficulties surrounding interpretation and identification of הָקְבָּר.

יַכְּחָר occurs in the Hebrew Bible three times: Ho 2.7; Ps 102.10; and Pr 3.8. In the Dead Sea Scrolls יַכְּחָר appears five times although these can be considered as two occurrences as they appear in parallel manuscripts (1QH 5.34//4Q429 3.7//4Q432 11.1, 1QH 5.35//4Q429 3.9)

Root and Comparative Material
As יַכְּחָר and הָקְבָּר are both derived from הָקַבְּר, they have the same root and comparative material. The reader is thus referred to the study of הָקְבָּר for this material. It is worth noting that a near identical cognate noun יַקְבָּר "drink" appears in Jewish Aramaic.

Formal Characteristics
יַכְּחָר is a masculine noun of the qittu:l form. Ho 2.7 and Ps 102.10 attest the plural form, otherwise יַכְּחָר is singular.

Syntagmatics
1. יַכְּחָר is the object of qal לֵיה (Ho 2.7), מַכְּחָר (Ps 102.10), and the predicate הָקָר (Pr 3.8).
2. יַכְּחָר is the subject of a predicate מַכְּחָר הָיָה לָיִל (1QH 5.34) and יַכְּחָר (1QH 5.35).
3. יַכְּחָר is understood to be modified by the first person possessive suffix in each instance other than Pr 3.8.
Versions
The Versions understand יבּעַ as a term related to drink and rich foods. The
Septuagint paraphrases Ho 2.7 and uses ποτήρα "drink" (Ps 102.10) and ἐπίσεξα "care bestowed upon a thing" (Pr 3.8). The Peshitta likewise paraphrases Ho 2.7 and translates יבּעַ as mašṭayā’ "drink" (Ps 102.10) and duḥānā’ fat, rich food" (Pr 3.8).

The first two occurrences of יבּעַ are simply translated יבּעַ "drink" (Ho 2.7) and יבּעַ "drink" (Ps 102.10) in the Targums. The text of the Targum of Pr 3.8 is less certain. For the word which translates יבּעַ different manuscripts read: אֶת הַנָּד ; אַנְד א or אַנְד א . Jastrow links אֶת הַנָּד to יָנָד "to be fat". אֶת הַנָּד "refreshment" is probably just a variant reading and it is generally thought that whatever word is original at this point in the targum a word meaning "sustenance" was meant.566

The Vulgate uses two words in its translation of יבּעַ, potum "drink" (Ho 2.7, Ps 102.10) and irrigatio "water, irrigate"(Pr 3.8).

Lexical/Semantic Fields
In each occurrence other than Pr 3.8, יבּעַ is in parallel with יָבִיף . This places the lexeme in the field of the necessities for life. The extended list of Ho 2.7 expands the link to this field.

The parallel of יבּעַ and יָבִיף suggests that יבּעַ could be a member of the semantic field of wine. This is on the basis that יבּעַ is probably a beverage and the beverage most commonly in parallel with יָבִיף is wine: יָבִיף 18 times567 and יָבִיף twice.568

Exegesis
"" is unusual for a moderately rare word in that a number of commentators discuss its possible meaning.

566 Jastrow; pp. 283, 1456; Healey; 1991; p. 16 n. e3.
Andersen and Freedman\textsuperscript{569} write, "We do not know whether the word means beverage in the general sense, or whether it is specialized. Prov 3:8 indicates that it is a healthy drink, especially good for bones. When we contrast this meager attestation with, say, the dozens of words for different kinds of beer found in cuneiform sources, we have to be content with ignorance."

Harper\textsuperscript{570} believes the lexeme "has the meaning of drink in general. … [However, in Ho 2.7] In view of the reference to water in connection with bread, and the frequent use of the phrase oil and wine, drink may be taken here as = wine."

The image of tears as wine or drink (Ps 102.10) has parallels in Ugaritic.\textsuperscript{571}

The interpretation of the lexeme as "refreshment" (Pr 3.8) is an example of metonymy.\textsuperscript{572}

Conclusions

\textsuperscript{568} Harper; 1910; p. 22.
\textsuperscript{569} Andersen and Freedman; 1980; p. 233.
\textsuperscript{570} Harper; 1910; p 229.
\textsuperscript{571} Dahood; 1970A; p. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{572} O'Connell; 1997; p. 231.
The place of "vinegar" in the semantic field of wine is, at the one and the same time, clear and problematic. If a member of the semantic field of wine must be part of the semantic field of alcoholic beverages does not fit? When would the wine stop being classified as wine and now be classified as vinegar? How much alcohol would remain? Nevertheless, if a member of the semantic field of wine is determined by its being a fermented product of grape juice then clearly is a member. Thus is a strong example of the words which are borderline members of a semantic field.

is attested six times in the Hebrew Bible (Nu 6.3 (x2), Ps 69.22, Pr 10.26, 25.20, Ru 2.14), once in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QH 4.11 (דומם)) and in one inscription (RR-Arad(6):2.7 = D-2.002.7), although this inscription may refer to something "leaven." There is little doubt that appears in all these instances, however, Reed suggests that at Ru 2.14 should be understood as the chick-pea paste chummuts rather than "vinegar." Linguistically, there are no problems with this suggestion. Insufficient records of ancient food preparation make it impossible to determine whether this is a valid interpretation, however, it probably has more to do with what a modern reader would prefer to eat than with the text.

Root and Comparative Material
Two or three verbs with root appear in Biblical Hebrew. Only "be sour, leavened" is cognate with . This c cognate verb occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible in qal (Ex 12.34, 39, Ho 7.4), hiphil (Ex 12.19) and hithpael (Ps 73.21). The main cognate noun attested in the Biblical Hebrew is "that which is leavened" occurs 11 times in the Hebrew Bible (Ex 12.15, 13.3, 7, 23.18, 34.25, Lv 2.11, 6.10, 7.13, 23.17, Dt 16.3, Am 4.5) and twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QT

573 Kellermann; p. 492.
574 See Kellermann; pp. 488-9 for debate on other דומם roots.
"anything leavened" occurs in Ex 12.19, 20 and a cognate adjective "seasoned" occurs at Is 30.24.

Cognate verbs occur in a number of languages. The form לָבָל appears in Rabbinical Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac meaning "to be acid, sour." Of similar meaning is the Jewish Aramaic לָבָל and the Arabic ḥāμūdā. A narrower understanding is given with the cognates in Ethiopian ḥāmūdā and Akkadian emēšā which mean "to be sour."⁵⁷⁵

לָבָל appears in Rabbinic Hebrew. Jewish Aramaic attests a number of forms of the cognate noun: יַדֵּה; יַדְרֵה; and possibly יַדְדֵה.⁵⁷⁶

One Ugaritic text attests ḥaṣ This occurs in a ration list text, where it probably refers to vinegar.⁵⁷⁷

The cognate noun ḥāmad "acid" appears in Arabic from which the Egyptian ḥmd and Coptic ḥnž are thought to derive.⁵⁷⁸ In Akkadian umsatu, Egyptian ḥnʿt and Coptic hmoc, a cognate noun meaning "salt" appears.

While the potential two other לָבָל roots attested in the Hebrew Bible (one meaning "be red" and the other "be ruthless / to oppress") may both be derived from the same single cognate verb as לָבָל, neither impacts on the interpretation of the lexeme.⁵⁷⁹

The suggestion of Neher that the lexeme is related to לָבָל has little supporting evidence.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁵ HAL; p. 329.
⁵⁷⁶ See below Versions, לָבָל appears probably as a noun in the Vatican fragment of Nu 6.3.
⁵⁷⁷ Kellermann; p. 487 quoting PRU, II, 99, lines 27, 28, 35.
⁵⁷⁸ HAL; p. 329.
⁵⁷⁹ Kellermann; pp. 488-9; BDB; p. 330; HAL; p. 329.
⁵⁸⁰ Kellermann; p. 489.
Formal Characteristics

\(\text{ךָמֶexao} \) provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics, consistently being a singular or collective masculine noun of the qutl form.

Syntagmatics

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of \(\text{ךָמֶexao} \) shows the following uses of the lexeme:

1. \(\text{ךָמֶexao} \) is the subject of a predicate (Pr 10.26, 25.20).
2. \(\text{ךָמֶexao} \) is the object of qal \(\text{ךָמֶ хозִּיתות} \) (Nu 6.3 (x2)), \(\text{ךָמֶ хозִּיתות} \) (Ru 2.14) and hiphil \(\text{ךָמֶ הוֹזֶה} \) (Ps 69.22).
3. \(\text{ךָמֶexao} \) is the nomen regens of \(\text{ךָמֶozo} \) (Nu 6.3 (1st Occurrence)) and \(\text{ךָמֶozo} \) (Nu 6.3 (2nd Occurrence)).
4. \(\text{ךָמֶенко} \) is modified by the prepositions \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) (Ru 2.14) and \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) (Pr 10.26).

Versions

The Septuagint translates \(\text{ךָמֶconexao} \) as \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "vinegar" except in Pr 10.26 when \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "unripe grapes" is used. The translation of Pr 10.26 perhaps suggests that the lexeme refers to any acidic drink made from the juice of grapes \(^{581}\) i.e. verjuice.

The Peshitta translates \(\text{ךָמֶconexao} \) in three ways, \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "vinegar" (Nu 6.3(x2), Ps 69.2, Pr 25.20), \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "unripe grapes" (Pr 10.26) and \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "milk" (Ru 2.14). The use of \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "milk" is probably a result of a scribal error. \(^{582}\)

\(\text{ךָמֶconexao} \) is most commonly translated as \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "vinegar" in the targums. The fragmentary version of the Palestinian Targum found in the Vatican \(^{583}\) uses \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) "sour, leavened, vinegar" for both occurrences in Nu 6.3. The Targum of Proverbs uses one of the cognate nouns \(\text{ךָמֶהוֹנַת} \) in Pr 10.26. Some manuscripts of Ruth paraphrase it so that the occurrence of the lexeme is not directly reflected in Ru 2.14.

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\(^{581}\) Toy; p. 216.
\(^{582}\) Campbell; 1975; p. 102.
\(^{583}\) Klein; 1980.
The Vulgate is consistent in its use of *acetum* "vinegar" for הָלְאָמָrı́. However, in Nu 6.3 *acetum* only occurs once although this occurrence can be considered to cover the two occurrences in the Hebrew.

**Lexical/Semantic Fields**

In Nu 6.3 הָלְאָמָrı́ is in parallel with and the product of נִיָּא and רַקְטָב placing it in the semantic field of wine. This verse places each of these products in parallel with בַּנְפָּה which not only places them within the semantic field of products of the grape, but within the semantic field of agricultural produce.

וָלָמָrı́ was used as a flavouring for food (Ru 2.14) and, while it could be drunk, it was not a popular option (Ps 69.22, Pr 10.26).

וָלָמָrı́ may have been used to treat wounds (Pr 25.20), placing it in the semantic field of medical remedies.

**Exegesis**

The most common observation about הָלְאָמָrı́ in the commentaries regards the nature of vinegar as a preparation which has gone sour. This provides little information other than the identification of הָלְאָמָrı́ as "vinegar" or at least an alcoholic beverage in the process of turning into vinegar. Toy and Murphy think that the acidic nature of הָלְאָמָrı́ is emphasised in Pr 10.26, especially in light of the Septuagint and Peshitta.

Ps 69.22 has produced the most material on the symbolism and nature of הָלְאָמָrı́. Tate understands "the poison and the vinegar [of Ps 69.22] … represent a radical form of betrayal by those who should have been comforters." Briggs is similar,

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584 Gray 1903; p. 62; Budd; 1984; Milgrom; 1990; p. 45.
585 Toy; 1899; p. 216.
586 Murphy; 1994; p. 76.
587 Tate; 1990; p. 199.
588 Briggs; 1907; p. 119.
suggesting that hunger is aggravated rather than relieved by תַּנִּיָּה. Campbell\textsuperscript{589} observes a possible link between Ps 69.22 and the drink offered to Jesus on the cross (Mk 15.36, Mt 27.48, Jn 19.29-30), but is doubtful as the Gospels are probably describing a "refreshing sour drink."

Conclusions
In all likelihood תַּנִּיָּה is "vinegar" or an alcoholic beverage gone sour. The contrast between Nu 6.3 and Ru 2.14, where it appears to be desirable, and Ps 69.22 and Pr 10.26 where it attacks the body, make it difficult to be precise as to the nature of תַּנִּיָּה. The difference between quality balsamic vinegar and bulk vinegars in modern times, however, might suggest a similar range of quality and desirability in Biblical times.

\textsuperscript{589} Campbell; 1975; p. 102.
7.11 Other Phrases to be Considered
Two phrases must be considered briefly in the attempt to gather the entire semantic field of wine in the Hebrew Bible. מְשַׁרְתָּה "grape juice" (Nu 6.3) and רְשִׁבְתָּה "blood of grapes" (Gn 49.11, Dt 32.14, Sir 39.26) do not fit neatly in the semantic field of wine as they are not semantic units. However, their place in the imagery and understanding of wine is such that they must be included.

The syntax and versions of מְשַׁרְתָּה and רְשִׁבְתָּה are considered below in the examination of בְּנִבּ.

מְשַׁרְתָּה "grape juice" (Nu 6.3) appears as part of the complete list of grape products to be avoided by the Nazirite. In the study of wine in the Hebrew Bible one of its most significant features is simply that a phrase for grape juice occurs in Biblical Hebrew. This provides further evidence that the claim of temperance writers such as Teachout that מְשַׁרְתָּה often means "grape juice" is extremely unlikely. The comparative rarity of this term serves to emphasize its relatively insignificant role in ancient Palestine when compared with its fermented counterpart.

The challenge in identifying מְשַׁרְתָּה as grape juice, centres on מְשַׁרְתָּה is a hapax legomenon. BDB associates it with a root רְשִׁבְתָּה not attested in the Hebrew Bible related to cognates meaning “moist.” However, BDB also translates the root רְשִׁבְתָּה as “let loose.” As juice is let loose from the grape, seeking an unattested root may be unnecessary. The Versions encourage the view that מְשַׁרְתָּה is something pressed out of the grape. This leaves open that it may refer to a liquid from a later stage of wine making than fresh juice, but with both מְשַׁרְתָּה and רְשִׁבְתָּה in the verse this can, perhaps, be considered unlikely.

590 Teachout; 1979.
591 BDB; p. 1056.
There are two schools of thought as to how to interpret בְּנִי שְׁבָאָה (Gn 49.11, Dt 32.14, Sir 39.26). The first is as a poetic metaphor for wine\textsuperscript{592} and the second as a "red grape juice."\textsuperscript{593} As discussed in Chapter Six, the red colour in wine comes from the fermentation process, thus בְּנִי שְׁבָאָה must refer to wine. בְּנִי שְׁבָאָה is in parallel with יִשָּׂבָא (Gn 49.11) and יַבְשֵׁס (Dt 32.14) providing further evidence for placing the phrase in the semantic field of wine. In Sir 39.26 בְּנִי שְׁבָאָה appears in a list of the necessities of life, reminiscent of the parallel of יַבְשֵׁס with יִשָּׂבָא and or יָשָׁס.\textsuperscript{594}

While other terms and phrases have been collected from Ancient Hebrew Literature,\textsuperscript{594} the terms examined above cover all the probable terms in the semantic field of wine in the Hebrew Bible.

\textsuperscript{592} Sarna; 1989; p. 337.
\textsuperscript{593} Angerstorfer; 2001; p. 211.
\textsuperscript{594} Frankel; 1999; Appendix 2; Paul; 1975 for example.
Chapter 8
Grape, Vine and Vineyard

An understanding of wine cannot be isolated from an understanding of its production. The production of wine has two key components: the vineyard; and the winery or wine making equipment. Chapter 6 has examined the process involved in wine making and key aspects of the process in understanding the language of wine and its production. This chapter examines the keywords of the grape, grapevine and vineyard.

Defining a semantic field of the vineyard requires making quite a number of classifications, many of which prove to be artificial and difficult to sustain. For instance, are the installations of the vineyard to be considered and at what point should these installations be classified as wine making equipment? Are grape, grapevine and their components part the semantic field of the vineyard or a separate one? Similar questions arise about the vineyard workers, the workers' tools and vineyard pests. The associate field could encompass practically every term associated with agriculture in the Hebrew Bible. To avoid creating a semantic field based on association, this chapter does not attempt to look specifically at a single semantic field, but rather examines in detail the three most common and significant words associated with wine production on the viticultural side: גפן "grape," הוב "grapevine," ומטע "vineyard." In the course of the examination of each word, the semantic fields that these words belong to will be discussed.

8.1 גפן "grape"

Occurs 19 times in the Hebrew Bible: Gn 40.10, 11, 49.11, Lv 25.5, Nu 6.3 (x2), 13.20, 23, Dt 23.25, 32.14, 32 (x2), Is 5.2, 4, Je 8.13, Ho 3.1, 9.10, Am 9.13, Ne 13.15. The Septuagint has σταφυλίν in Ezk 36.8 suggesting the translators read rather than הובכ "your branches." This reading has not received much
support or attention from commentators and provides no extra information about the lexeme. Two occurrences of  bn are known in Hebrew Ben Sira: 39.26, 51.15 (1IQPs). In the previously unknown texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls 11QT 21.7 is the only confirmed use of  bn. In 4Q365a 2 4 (TS 3 1.3), Yadin reads  bn, however, DJD XIII reads  bn. Yadin's reading is not considered to be likely.

Root and Comparative Material
It is probable that  bn is a primary noun. No cognate verb is attested in Biblical Hebrew or known in the other Semitic languages. The Place Name  bn "place of the grape" (Josh 11.21, 15.50) is probably derived from the primary noun.  bn is used in Rabbinic Hebrew.

Cognate nouns, all meaning "grapes", appear in a number of Semitic languages: Ugaritic gnb(m); Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic  bbn; Syriac 'enbā'; Mandaean 'n/mb'; and Arabic 'inab. In Old South Arabic 'nb means "vineyard." The cognate in Akkadian inbu means "fruit," but also has overtones of "sexual attractiveness". The Phoenician place name 'nbth'1 probably contains the cognate.

Formal Characteristics
bn provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics. It is consistently a masculine noun of the qatal form. Most occurrences are plural, and the exceptions (Dt 32.14, Sir 39.26) may be collectives.

Syntagmatics
1 bn is most commonly an object or part of a compound object or object phrase: object of qal ל ה (Gn 40.11), בנה (Lv 25.5), נא (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), אב

595 Viticulture is solely related to grape growing unlike the attempts to extend its meaning by Walsh; 2000.
596 Yadin; 1983; vol. 2; p. 160.
597 HAL; p. 851.
598 Angerstorfer; pp. 209-212; HAL; p. 851; BDB; p. 772.
(Nu 6.3 2nd occurrence, Dt 23.25, 11QT 21.7), הָרִים (Nu 13.23), מָצָא (Ho 31.1), הָרִים (Gn 40.10) מָצָא (Neh 13.15), piel מָצָא (Is 5.2, 4).

2 מָצָא is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal מָצָא (Ho 9.10), piel מָצָא (Gn 49.11).

3 מָצָא is part of the predicate of מָצָא (Nu 13.20), of מָצָא (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence).

4 מָצָא is the subject of nifal מָצָא (Am 9.13), qal מָצָא (Sir 51.15), a predicate (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence, Jr 8.13).

5 מָצָא is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying מָצָא (Dt 32.14).

6 מָצָא is in plural construct with genitive מָצָא (Lv 25.5), piel מָצָא (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence).

7 מָצָא is the genitive of מָצָא (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), מָצָא (Nu 13.20), מָצָא (Ho 3.1).

8 מָצָא is the nomens rectum of מָצָא (Gn 49.11, Dt 32.14, Sir 39.26), מָצָא (Nu 13.23), infinitive construct of qal מָצָא (Is 5.2, 4), מָצָא (Am 9.13).

9 מָצָא takes מָצָא prefix (Ho 9.10).

10 מָצָא takes 3mp possessive suffix מָצָא (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence).

Versions

The Versions are very consistent in translating מָצָא with the corresponding word for "grape(s)." The Vulgate uses uva for every instance. The Septuagint uses stafulh/ and the Peshitta 'enbā' for every instance, except Ho 3.1. In Ho 3.1 the Septuagint and Peshitta emphasise the 'enbā' aspect of the stafulh construct, giving stafulh and 'epšā'tā' "raisins" respectively.

Although the Targums generally translate מָצָא as מָצָא, a number of times the verse in question is midrashic (Gn 49.11 [TgO], Dt 32.32 (x2)) or paraphrased (Dt 23.25 [TgPsJ], Dt 32.14 [TgO], Is 5.2, 4, Ho 3.1, 9.10), demonstrating the Targums' tendency to translate other than literally sometimes. No Targum of Neh 13.15 is known.
Lexical/Semantic Fields
As יִשְׂרָאֵל "vine," the related semantic fields are extensive and wide ranging. Many parts and products of the vine are named in the Hebrew Bible.

The semantic field of parts of the vine, many of which are in parallel with יִשְׂרָאֵל, include "twig, branch;" "branch, twig, shoot;" "shoot, branch;" "branches, bough;" "branch(es), bough(s);" "bough;" "root;" "rods, shoots;" "leaves;" "shoot;" "buds;" "flower;" and "blossom of grape."

יִשְׂרָאֵל is likely to have separate part names. In Nu 6.4 two of these parts are thought to be named "skin" and "seed, stone."

Related products of the vine, which are likely to form a semantic field with יִשְׂרָאֵל include "gleanings, remnant;" "broken off, fallen grapes;" "gleaning;" "unripe grapes;" "wild grapes;" and "cluster."

The products of the grape provide significant associative links between יִשְׂרָאֵל and the semantic field of wine. A large subset of the products of the vine is wine products. Other products of the grape mentioned in the Hebrew Bible are apparently restricted to dried grape products namely "bunch of raisins;" "raisin cakes;" and "raisin cake."

The product of the vine is sometimes referred to using more general terms for produce: "fruit" (eg, Is 37.30); "figs, summer fruit" (Is, 16.9, Jr 48.32); "fruit" (Hb 3.17); and "product, yield" (Dt 22.9). Gray suggests that is used instead of יִשְׂרָאֵל (Is16.9) for alliteration, but this, however, does not take

599 See above Lexical/Semantic Fields for a more detailed listing.
600 Gray; 1912; p. 292.
into account Jr 48.32. Thus, נַחַל must also be placed in the semantic field of produce which also includes terms such as יִבְרַה and רָבֹּל.

The lexeme is often in parallel with other agricultural products. However, נַחַל is the only example in the Hebrew Bible where the fruit has a separate name from the plant. Thus, the semantic field of agricultural produce is considered as part of נָחַל below.

**Exegesis**

The major metaphorical use of נַחַל in the Hebrew Bible is an extension of the use of נָחַל as a symbol or metaphor for the people of Israel, with YHWH as their viticulturist. The metaphor is extended to נַחַל as the product expected of, but not forthcoming from the people (Is 5.2, 4, Je 8.13). In Ho 9.10, the grapes are unexpected and valued.

נַחַל features in various legal and cultic passages. Grapes are not to be harvested in the Sabbatical year (Lv 25.5). In Nu 6.2-4 the Nazirite oath prohibits any product of the grape vine. The passerby is limited in the grapes that he may take from a neighbour's vineyard (Dt 23.25). The lexeme is also mentioned in the produce moved contrary to the rules of the Sabbath (Neh 13.15).

When Joshua and the other young men are sent to spy out the land of Canaan, the נַחַל they bring back represents the richness of the agricultural land of Palestine (Nu 13.17-24).

Harper suggests that the "love raisin cakes" in Ho 3.1 may represent a feature of Canaanite worship. Other links between the vine, grapes and the Canaanite cult are known. Gapnu 'the vine' is well attested as a divine name in the Ugaritic mythological texts. The Phoenician place name 'nbtb'l has been used to suggest a

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601 Borowski; 1987; p. 103.
602 Harper; 1910; p. 218.
603 DDD; p. 341.
role of grapes in the cult of Baal. Nevertheless, demonstrating such a link within the Hebrew Bible cannot be proven conclusively.

Conclusions

"grape(s)" was one of the major products of the agriculture of ancient Palestine. The significance of this product to ancient Palestine is further reinforced by the frequency with which its plant (גֶּפֶן), growing place (קֶמֶן) and refined forms (eg, יְנוּנָה) are mentioned.

8.2 "vine"

\( נֶפֶג \) occurs 55 times in the Hebrew Bible: Gn 40.9, 10, 49.11, Nu 6.4, 20.5, Dt 8.8, 32.32 (x2), Jdg 9.12, 13, 13.14, 1Kg 5.5, 2Kg 4.39, 18.31, Is 7.23, 16.8, 9, 24.7, 32.12, 34.4, 36.16, Jr 2.21, 5.17, 6.9, 8.13, 48.32, Ezek 15.2, 6, 17.6 (x2), 7, 8, 9, 19.10, Ho 2.14, 10.1, 14.8, Jl 1.7, 12, 2.22, Mc 4.4, Hb 3.17, Hg 2.19, Zc 3.10, 8.12, Mi 3.11, Ps 78.47, 80.9, 15, 105.33, 128.3, Jb 15.33, Ct 2.13, 6.11, 7.9, 7.13. The reading of Is 34.4 has been questioned as 1QIsa\(^a\) reads \( נֶפֶג \). Watts\(^{605}\) questions whether this is perhaps related to the place name "Gophna" known in Josephus and the Midrash. It is just as likely to be a scribal error or reflect a dialectic variation. The two occurrences of \( נֶפֶג \) in Nah 2.3 have been proposed to read \( נֶפֶג \) on the basis of the occurrence of \( נֶפֶג \) at the end of the verse.\(^{606}\) However, "This is neither necessary or justified."\(^{607}\) The Septuagint reads \( ἀφελέος \) for the MT \( נֶפֶג \) at La 2.6, but either reading is possible,\(^{608}\) with no reasons to prefer one over the other.

Outside the Hebrew Bible the Dead Sea Scrolls are the only source for the use of \( נֶפֶג \) in ancient Hebrew. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, \( נֶפֶג \) occurs four times: 4QPs\(^f\) (88) 2 9.12, 4Q445 5.3, 6Q11 1.6, 11QT 21.7.

Root and Comparative Material

No cognate verb is attested in the Hebrew Bible, other Hebrew or the cognate languages. BDB\(^{609}\) offers \( נֶפֶג \) as the possible root, but there is no evidence for its existence. It is likely that \( נֶפֶג \) is a primary noun.

In Ugaritic \( gpn, gupana \) refers to "vineyard" and sometimes "harness."\(^{610}\) "Gapnu, 'the vine', is well attested as a divine name in the Ugaritic mythological texts, always in the binomial \( gpn w ugr \)."\(^{611}\)

\(^{605}\) Watts; 1987; p. 5 n. 4.e

\(^{606}\) BHS; p. 1046.

\(^{607}\) Smith; 1984; p. 80.

\(^{608}\) BHS; p. 1358.

\(^{609}\) BDB; p. 172.

\(^{610}\) HAL; p. 200.

\(^{611}\) DDD; p. 341.
Npeg@e is regularly attested in Rabbinic Hebrew. The cognate nouns in Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac gufnā and g'fettā, Arabic jafn, Old South Arabic gpnt mean "vine." The cognate noun in Mandaean ḥamē means "tree."

Cognate nouns are found in Assyrian gupnu "(stem of) tree," gapnu "tree" and in North Babylonian gupnu "fruit tree or vine."\(^{612}\)

**Formal Characteristics**

Npeg@e is a noun of the qatl form. Npeg@e can be either singular or plural. The singular can have a collective meaning. The lexeme is feminine, although up to three occurrences have often been thought to be masculine. Npeg@e in 2Kg 4.39 is an example of the gender of a genitival group following the nomen rectum rather than the nomen regens as is usual.\(^{613}\) Thus, speculation that the lexeme is masculine in this verse\(^{614}\) is unwarranted. In Ho 10.1, Mpe is masculine which may suggest that Npeg@e is masculine. The consensus is that the gender of Mpe is governed by nq'w and not Npeg@e.\(^{615}\) Andersen et al\(^{616}\) note a "not intolerable" clash between the gender of the lexeme and the independent pronoun hma (Ho 2.14).

**Syntagmatics**

1 Npeg is the object of qal\(^{612}\)

1. Npeg in 2Kg 4.39, Ps 80.15, and 6Q11 1.2.
2. Npeg is the object compliment of qal\(^{612}\)

\(^{612}\) CAD 4:44.

\(^{613}\) JM §150n.

\(^{614}\) E.g., BDB; p. 172.


\(^{616}\) Andersen et al; 1980; p. 252.
3 נַּפֶּג is part of the predicate of 2nd occurrence of the lexeme (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence), הָלָּקָה (Ezk 19.10).

4 נַּפֶּג is the subject of qal הָלָּקָה (Jdg 9.13), הָלָּקָה (Ezk 17.7), הָלָּקָה (Jl 2.22, Zc 8.12, Ct 2.13), יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Hg 2.19), יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Jt 6.11, 7.13), piel יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Is 16.8, 24.7),piel יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Ml 3.11), hifil יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Jl 1.12), predicate יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Gn 40.9), יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Gn 40.10), יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence), יֹּסֶף הָלָּקָה (Ps 128.3).

5 נַּפֶּג is the nomen regens of יֹּסֶף (Nu 6.4, Jdg 13.14), יֹּסֶף (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence), יֹּסֶף (2Kg 4.39), יֹּסֶף (Is 16.8, 9, Jr 48.32), יֹּסֶף (6Q11 1.6).

6 נַּפֶּג is the nomen rectum of יֹּסֶף (2Kg 18.31, Is 36.16), יֹּסֶף (Ezk 15.2, 6), יֹּסֶף (Ct 7.9).

7 נַּפֶּג is the genitive of יֹּסֶף (Nu 20.5), יֹּסֶף (Jr 2.21).

8 נַּפֶּג is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal הבּית (1Kg 5.5, Mc 4.4), הבּית (Is 32.12), הבּית (Is 34.4), יֹּסֶף (Ezk 15.6), יֹּסֶף (Zc 3.10), יֹּסֶף (Jb 15.33), יֹּסֶף (11QT 21.7), piel יֹּסֶף (Jr 6.9), the predicate (Jr 8.13, Hb 3.17).

9 נַּפֶּג is part of a compound adjectival phrase modifying יֹּסֶף (Dt 8.8).

10 נַּפֶּג is modified by adjective יֹּסֶף (Is 7.23), יֹּסֶף (Jr 2.21).

11 נַּפֶּג takes the preposition יֹּסֶף (Gn 40.10, Jr 8.13, Hb 3.17), יֹּסֶף (Gn 49.11, Jdg 9.12, Ezk 17.6(x2), 8), יֹּסֶף (Nu 6.4, Dt 32.32 1st occurrence, Jdg 13.14, Is 34.4, 11QT 21.7), יֹּסֶף (Is 32.12), יֹּסֶף (Jr 6.9, Ezk 19.10, Ho 14.8, Ps 128.3, Jb 15.33).

12 נַּפֶּג takes the possessive pronominal suffix: 3ms (1Kg 5.5, 2Kg 18.31, Is 36.16), 3fs (Ho 2.14), 3mp (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence, Ps 78.47, 105.33, 4QPs(88) 2 9.12), 2ms (Jr 5.17), 1cs (Jl 1.7).

13 נַּפֶּג takes the plural form (Hb 3.17, Ct 2.13, 4QPs(88) 2 9.12).

14 The passage in which the lexeme occurs is too fragmentary to develop a full syntax (4QPs(88) 2 9.12, 4Q445 5.3).

Versions
The versions add little to our understanding of נַּפֶּג. The Septuagint translates נַּפֶּג as αἱρεῖον except in 1 Kg 5.5 where no equivalent verse exists and Jb 15.33 where the
verse is paraphrased. The Peshitta translates \( \text{Npeg} \) as \( gupn\) in each occurrence. Likewise, the Targums translate \( \text{Npeg} \) as \( \text{NpawOg} \) except where the targum presents a midrash (Gn 49.11, Ho 14.8, Hb 3.17, Ct 2.13, 6.11, 7.9, 7.13) or paraphrases the verse (Dt 32.32(x2), Is 16.8, 9, Jr 48.32). The Vulgate often emphasizes the vine being in the vineyard \( \text{vinea} \) (Nu 6.4, 20.5, Dt 8.8, 32.32 (x2), Jdg 13.14, 2Kg 18.31, Is 16.8, 9, 32.12, 34.4, 36.16, Jr 2.21, 5.17, 6.9, 48.32, Ezk 17.6 (x2), 7, 8, 19.10, Ho 2.14, 14.8, Jl 1.7, 12, 2.22, Mc 4.4, Hb 3.17, Hg 2.19, Zc 3.10, 8.12, Mi 3.11, Ps 78.47, 80.9, 15, 105.33, Jb 15.33, Ct 2.13, 6.11, 7.9, 7.13) over a simpler translation of \( \text{vitis} \) (Gn 40.9, 49.11, Jdg 9.12, 1Kg 5.5, 2Kg 4.39, Is 7.23, 24.7, Jr 8.13, Ezk 15.2, 6, Ho 10.1, Ps 128.3). On two occasions a pronoun is used (Gn 40.10, Jdg 9.13) in the Vulgate rather than a fuller translation.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
\( \text{Npeg} \) has strong links to a number of semantic fields associated with not only vines and vineyards but agriculture as a whole. This is a reflection of the significance of viticulture in ancient Palestine.

The most significant part of the vine in the Hebrew Bible is the grape \( \text{bfn} \). \( \text{Npeg} \) is in parallel with parts of the vine (eg, Gn 40.10). Likewise, \( \text{Npeg} \) is in parallel with products of the vine, which are detailed above [see \( \text{bfn} \)]. These are related to \( \text{bfn} \) with one exception. In 2 Kg 4.39 \( \text{t(oq@up@f} \) "gourds" are found on the \( \text{hd#&f} \) \( \text{Npeg} \) "wild vine." (This is the clearest case in the Hebrew Bible of \( \text{Npeg} \) referring to something other than the grapevine.)

It may be possible to construct a semantic field of vines. \( \text{Npeg} \) is in parallel with \( \text{qr'#&o} \) (Jr 2.21) and \( \text{hqfr'#&o} \) (Gn 49.11) "choice vines." \( \text{ryzinF} \) is understood as "untrimmed vine" in Lv 25.5, 11 and its parallel with \( \text{Mreke@} \) (Lv 25.4) makes it likely it is in the same class of plants as the lexeme.

\( \text{Npeg} \) is in parallel with other agricultural products or plants (many words cover both meanings): \( \text{h+%fxi} \) "wheat", \( \text{hrf(o#&;} \) "barley", \( \text{hnf)'t@;} \) "fig", \( \text{Nw$m@ri} \) "pomegranate," \( \text{tyiza} \)
"olive," "dates/palm," "apple (tree)," "seed, grain," "honey,"

"nuts," "tree, wood," "cedars," and "herbs."

is in parallel with weeds competing for the same land: "bramble" (Jdg 9),
"thorns" (Is 7.23), and "thorns, briars" (Is 7.23).

is in parallel with "field, land" and "vineyards." This places its propagation in these contexts [see below],
while at times acts as a metaphor or metonymy for vineyard.

The wide range of words in parallel with demonstrates the extent of the
associative fields related to .

Exegesis

The grapevine was one of the most significant plants in the agricultural economy of
Ancient Palestine. In the Dt 8.8 list of the plants with which the land was blessed it is
only surpassed by the main cereals wheat and barley. The frequency with which the
products of the vine are mentioned in relation to the blessings of the land gives
further evidence of its significance.

The lexeme is used as a symbol for Israel. In Ps 80.9, 15 and Ho 10.1 this image is at
its most direct. The use of the vine as a symbol for Israel is similar to the use of the
vineyard as a symbol for Israel. This is most visible in Is 5, where the two themes are
used in parallel. These themes are then carried through in the way the fate of Israel is
portrayed throughout Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The vine is a symbol of prosperity. In Gn 49.11 under Judah, the prosperity,
especially the success of viticulture, will be such that any damage inflicted on the
vine will be insignificant. The use covers many areas from the prosperity of the

land left (Nu 20.5) and the promised land (Dt 8.8) to a man's wife giving him many children (Ps 128.3).

In 2Kg 18.31 // Is 36.16 the king of Assyria tries to offer the prosperity otherwise only available from God. This is in contrast to 1Kg 5.5, Mc 4.4 and Zc 3.10, which describe the prosperity when the people are reconciled and in favour with God.

Difficult times in the land are also represented in terms of the vine. The vine required five years before a crop was allowed (Lv 19.23). Thus, the destruction of vines could easily result in long term hardship. In Hb 3.17, trusting in God despite the failure of the vines is suggestive of faithfulness. The images of destruction of the vine in Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel reflect God's judgement on his people.

God's judging his people is intertwined with Israel as the vine, prosperity and destruction. In Jl 2.22 he shows mercy on his land and people and returns prosperity. Whether the vine is prosperous or damaged is understood to depend on whether Israel has found the favour or the anger of God.

Mdos: Npege@ (Dt 32.32), ḫwN peg@e (Ho 10.1), ḫwmgNpeg@e (Is 16.8,9, Jr 48.32) and ḫwgb;#&i Npeg@e (Ezk 17.8) probably represent different varieties of grapevine as may ḫwN (Jr 2.21) and ḫwN (Gn 49.11). It is possible that ḫwN (Ct 2.13, 15, 7.15) is another variety of grape rather than "grape blossom". The poisonous nature of the fruit of ḫwN (2Kg 4.39) suggests a plant other than the grapevine, however, Borowski's proposal that ḫwN (Dt 32.32) is not a grapevine does not suit the metaphor of the verse nor the distribution of the wild ancestor of the domesticated grape vine.

The use of the lexeme in Gn 49.11 as that which the foal is bound to has led Clines to understand it as "saddle." While this may have some basis when compared with

618 Borowski; 1987; p. 104.
619 Borowski; 1987; p. 105.
621 Clines; 1992– ; vol. II; p. 371.
the Ugaritic, it is not a convincing suggestion as the lexeme is in parallel with the feminine form of another word for vine (ךֵרַכֶּּשׁ).

Conclusions
The majority of the uses of נַפְגָּא appear to refer to the grapevine. Perhaps the greatest evidence for this is the significance of the products of the grapevine, especially wine. However, 2Kg 4.39 with its crop of poisonous gourds demonstrates the lexeme could at times used be for vines other than the grapevine (Vitis Vinifera L.).
8.3 "vineyard"

With 93 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, כְּרֵם is one of the most commonly mentioned uses of land for agriculture: Gn 9.20, Ex 22.4 (x2), 23.11, Lv 19.10 (x2), 25.3, 4, Nu 16.14, 20.17, 21.22, 22.24, Dt 6.11, 20.6, 22.9 (x2), 23.25, 24.21, 28.30, 39, Josh 24.13, Jdg 9.27, 11.33, 14.5, 15.5, 21.20, 21, 1Sm 8.14, 15, 22.7, 1Kg 21.1, 2 (x2), 6 (x3), 7, 15, 16, 18, 2Kg 5.26, 18.32, 19.29, Is 1.8, 3.14, 5.1 (x2), 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 16.10, 27.2, 36.17, 37.30, 65.21, Jr 12.10, 31.5, 32.15, 35.7, 9, 39.10, Ezek 28.26, Ho 2.17, Am 4.9, 5.11, 17, 9.14, Mc 1.6, Zp 1.13, Ps 107.37, Jb 24.6, 18, Pr 24.30, 31.16, Ct 1.6 (x2), 14, 2.15 (x2), 7.13, 8.11 (x2), 12, Qoh 2.4, Neh 5.3, 4, 5, 11, 9.25, 1Ch 27.27 (x2). For such a common term there are relatively few places where the Biblical text is possibly corrupt in relation to this word. The occurrence of the lexeme in Jdg 11.33 is transliterated reflecting a place name in the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Ezek 19.10 reads כְּרֵם "in your blood," however, two manuscripts read כְּרֵם "your vineyard." The Septuagint reads ποιμέν "like a pomegranate." Commentators have suggested other reconstructions unrelated to the lexeme. The BHS apparatus of Mc 1.10 suggests the addition of a construct form of the lexeme. Despite discussions about the integrity of this verse this reading appears to be without support.

The Hebrew of Ben Sira has one occurrence of כְּרֵם in the main body of the text: 36.30. However, in a marginal gloss to MS B near verses 40.21-26 there are three occurrences.

Within the Hebrew texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls there are seven confirmed occurrences: 4Q266 6iii4, 6iv2, 4Q270 3ii12, 4Q381 1 1.6, 4Q393 3.9, 4Q433a 2.3, 11QT 57.21. In addition, Baumgarten reads 4Q500 1.7 as כְּרֵם. While this is possible, the scroll is too fragmentary for such a reconstruction to be verified.

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622 Brownlee; 1986; p. 295.
623 BHS; p. 1035.
624 Smith et al; 1912; p. 44-45. Smith; 1984; p. 20.
625 Beentjes; 1997; p. 70.
626 Baumgarten; 1989; p. 2.
627 DJD; vol. VII; pp. 78-79.
also occurs in nine inscriptions: RR-Sam(8):1.20.2, 53.2, 54.1, 55.1, 58.1, 60.1, 61.1, 72.1, 73.2 (= D-3.020.2, 053.2, 054.1, 055.1, 058.1, 060.1, 061.1, 072.1, 073.2).

**Root and Comparative Material**

is derived from a Proto-Semitic primary noun and is itself a primary noun. No cognate verb from which the lexeme is derived is attested in the Hebrew Bible, other Hebrew or cognate languages.

The denominative qal plural participle "vinedressers," which occurs five times (2Kg 25.12, Is 61.5, Jr 52.16, Jl 1.11, 2Ch 26.10) in the Hebrew Bible is derived from the lexeme.

occurs twice in the Place Name (Je 6.1, Ne 3.14). The Proper Noun which occurs nine times (Gn 46.9, Ex 6.15, Nu 26.6 (x2), Josh 7.1, 18, 1Ch 2.7, 4.1, 5.3) is derived from with a first person common singular suffix. "plantation / garden," which occurs 13 times in the Hebrew Bible as a masculine noun and 26 times a proper noun, is probably derived from the lexeme with a suffix.

A number of sources attest the “primitive” form of . Samp reads, the second column of Origen's Hexapla reads xαξμ(α) and Jerome .

The forms of the noun meaning "vineyard" are common in the cognate languages, Ugaritic, Ammonite, Phoenician, Yaudi , Old Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac.

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628 Müller; 1995; p. 319.
629 HAL; p. 498.
630 Mulder; 1995; 326-27.
631 JM § 96 A.
632 HAL; p. 498; Sperber; 1937-8; p. 232.
Mrek is common in Rabbinic Hebrew and occurs once in the Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QapGen 12.13).

The related cognates cannot always be translated as "vineyard." The Arabic karm means "grape, vine," likewise the Ethiopic kerm means "vine." The Akkadian karmu translates as "(cultivable) barren land (on a hill)."

It has been suggested that the Egyptian k'mw "vineyard, garden" is a cognate. However, there remain questions as to whether or not this has connections to the Semitic languages.

Unsuccessful attempts have been made to find a cognate verb or root for Mrek. BDB questions whether an Arabic verb karuma "noble, generous, fertile" might be a cognate, but considers the suggestion "precarious." Müller notes this possibility as well as Akkadian karāmu(m) "hold (back)," but finds neither are related to the lexeme.

Formal Characteristics

Mrek is a noun of the qatl form. Mrek can be either singular or plural, with the singular often having a collective meaning. Mrek is masculine except in Lv 25.3 and Is 27.2. In both these cases Mrek is not in agreement with the following pronominal suffix which refers to Mrek. Joüon - Muraoka suggests that the genitival group of Is 27.2 follows the gender of nomen rectum, but this does not provide a solution unless is feminine rather than its usual masculine. The reason behind this variation in gender of Mrek is yet to be fully explained.

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633 DNWSI; p. 536. HAL; p. 498.
634 Müller; 1995; p. 324.
635 BDB; p. 501.
636 Müller; 1995; p. 320.
637 JM §150n.
638 BDB; p. 326.
Syntagmatics

1. מַכָּר is the object of qal נִנָּה (Gn 9.20, Dt 6.11, 20.6, 28.30, 39, 2Kg 19.29, Is 37.30, 65.21, Jr 31.5, 35.7, Ezk 28.26, Am 5.11, 9.14, Zp 1.13, Ps 107.37, Pr 31.16, Qoh 2.4), לֶבֶר (Lv 25.3, 4), מַעֲרוּר (Nu 20.17), נְמָל (Nu 21.22), מַרְּאֵה (Dt 22.9 1st occurrence), מַרְּאָה (Dt 23.25, Jdg 14.5), מַעֲרֵךְ (Dt 24.21, Jdg 9.27), מַעֲרֶךְ (Dt 22.9 2nd occurrence), מַעֲרֶךְ (1Sm 8.14, 2Kg 5.26), מַעֲרֶךְ (1Sm 8.15), מַרְּאֵה (1Kg 21.1, Is 37.30, 65.21, Jr 31.5, 35.7, Ezk 28.26, Am 5.11, 9.14, Zp 1.13, Ps 107.37, Pr 31.16, Qoh 2.4), מַרְּאֵה (Jr 35.9, Ct 8.11 (1st occurrence)), מַרְּאֵה (Nu 16.14, Josh 24.13, 1Sm 22.7, 1Kg 21.2 (x2), 6 (x3), 7, Jr 39.10, Ho 2.17, Ct 8.22 (2nd occurrence), 4Q393 3.9 (probable)), מַרְּאֵה (1Kg 21.15, Neh 9.25), מַרְּאֵה (Ex 23.11, Is 5.4, 5), מַרְּאֵה (Jb 24.18), מַרְּאֵה (Neh 5.4), מַרְּאֵה (11QT 21.7), מַרְּאֵה (Jr 32.15), מַרְּאֵה (Ex 22.4 2nd occurrence), מַרְּאֵה (Lv 19.10 1st occurrence), מַרְּאֵה (Lv 19.10 2nd occurrence), מַרְּאֵה (Is 3.14), מַרְּאֵה (Jr 12.10), מַרְּאֵה (Jb 24.6), מַרְּאֵה (Ct 2.15 (1st occurrence)), מַרְּאֵה (Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (3rd occurrence)), מַרְּאֵה (Ex 22.4 1st occurrence, Jdg 15.5), מַרְּאֵה (Am 4.9), מַרְּאֵה (Neh 5.11), מַרְּאֵה (Ct 7.13).

2. מַכָּר is the object complement of piel נִנָּה (Is 27.2).

3. מַכָּר acts as a predicate (Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (1st occurrence)).

4. מַכָּר is the subject of: a predicate (Is 5.7, Am 5.17, Ct 2.15 (2nd occurrence), 8.12, Neh 5.5, 1Ch 27.27 (x2)), qal נִנָּה (Is 5.10), piel נִנָּה (Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (2nd occurrence)), pual נִנָּה (Sir 36.25).

5. מַכָּר is part of an adverbal prepositional phrase modifying נִנָּה (1Kg 21.18), qal נִנָּה (Nu 22.24), לְעַיְּבָה (Jdg 21.20), לְעַיְּבָה (Jdg 21.21, Jdg 21.22), לְעַיְּבָה (1Kg 21.16), לְעַיְּבָה (Is 5.1 (1st occurrence)), לְעַיְּבָה (Is 5.3), לְעַיְּבָה (Mc 1.6), לְעַיְּבָה (Pr 24.30), לְעַיְּבָה (4Q433a 2.3), nifal לְעַיְּבָה (Is 1.8), pual לְעַיְּבָה (Is 16.10), hifil לְעַיְּבָה (Jdg 11.33).

6. מַכָּר is part of an adjectival phrase modifying יָעַיְּבָה (2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17).

7. מַכָּר is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying לַעַיְּבָה (Ct 1.14).

8. מַכָּר is the nomen regens of רַע (Dt 23.25), רַע (1Kg 21.7, 15, 16, 18), the Tetragrammaton (Is 5.7), רַע (Is 27.2 [see יָעַיְּבָה Text Doubtful]), רַע (Jb 24.6).

9. מַכָּר is the nomen rectum of יָעַיְּבָה (Jdg 9.27), יָעַיְּבָה (2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17).
10 מְרֵק is the genitive of מְרֵק (Ex 22.4 2nd occurrence), מְרֵק (Lv 19.10 2nd occurrence), מְרֵק (Nu 16.14), מְרֵק (Nu 22.24), מְרֵק (Dt 22.9 2nd occurrence), מְרֵק (Is 5.10), מְרֵק (Mc 1.6).

11 מְרֵק is in the construct form with genitive מְרֵק (Jdg 14.5), מְרֵק (Am 5.11), מְרֵק (Ct 1.14).

12 מְרֵק takes the preposition מְרֵק (Ex 23.11, Is 5.1 (1st occurrence), Is 5.4, 5, Ct 7.13), Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (3rd occurrence), מְרֵק (Nu 20.17, 21.22, Dt 23.25, Jdg 21.20, 1Kg 21.18, Is 1.8, 16.10, Ct 1.14, 4Q433a 2.3), מְרֵק (Jdg 14.5, 15.5), מְרֵק (Jdg 21.21), מְרֵק (1Kg 21.16), מְרֵק (Is 5.3), מְרֵק (1Ch 27.27 (1st occurrence), מְרֵק (1Ch 27.27 (2nd occurrence).

13 מְרֵק takes the possessive pronominal suffix: 3ms (Ex 22.4 (2nd occurrence), Is 5.1 (1st occurrence), Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (1st and 2nd occurrences), 4Q433a 2.3), 3fs (Ho 2.17), 3mp (Jdg 9.27, Neh 5.11), 2ms (Ex 23.11, Lv 19.10 (x2), 25.3, 4, Dt 22.9 (1st occurrence), 24.21, 1Kg 21.2 (1st occurrence), 6 (1st occurrence)), 2mp (Am 4.9), 1cs (1Kg 21.6 (3rd occurrence), Is 5.3, 4, 5, Jr 12.10, Ct 1.6 (2nd occurrence), 8.12), 1cp (Neh 5.3, 4, 5).

14 מְרֵק takes the plural form (Nu 22.24, Dt 6.11, 28.39, Jdg 9.27, 11.33, 21.20, 21,1Sm 8.14, 15, 22.7, 2Kg 5.26, 18.32, 19.29, Is 16.10, 36.17, 37.30, 65.21, Jr 31.5, 32.15, 39.10, Ezk 28.26, Ho 2.17, Am 4.9, 5.11, 17, 9.14, Zp 1.13, Ps 107.37, Jb 24.18, Ct 1.6 (1st occurrence), 1.14, 2.15 (x2), 7.13, Qoh 2.4, Neh 5.3, 4, 5, 11, 9.25, 1Ch 27.27 (x2), Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (3rd occurrence), 4Q393 3.9).

15 The passage in which the lexeme occurs is too fragmentary to develop a full syntax (4Q266 6iii4, 6iv2, 4Q270 3ii12, 4Q381 1 1.6).

Versions
מְרֵק is most commonly translated with aןפֶלָּן וּפָּרֶג "vineyard" in the Septuagint.

There is a number of exceptions: aןפֶלָּן וּפָּרֶג "vine" (Lv 25.3, 4, Ct 2.5); קַלְחֶרְנוֹמָה "inheritance" (1Kg 21.6 (2nd occurrence)); [no text] (Jr 39.10); קַחֲרָה "property" (Ho 2.17, Pr 31.16); סָלֹא "threshold" (Am 5.17); phrase missing from verse in LXX (Jb 24.18); and סָלִין "place, spot" (1Ch 27.27 (x2)). The LXX reading of Is 5.10 does
not translate מְרֵא, which may be related to the translator understanding מְרֵאת to mean "yoke" rather than "a measure of land". מָרֶא is transliterated אֶבֶל מָרוֹמִין in Jdg 11.33 in the B family of manuscripts.

The Peshitta is the most consistent of the versions in its translation of מָרֶא with krem "vineyard." Only in Lv 19.10 (2nd occurrence) and Dt 22.9 (1st occurrence) where the verse is paraphrased, does krem not appear. The Targums are similar in that except for verses, which are paraphrased (Nu 20.17, 21.22 [TgPsJ], Is 3.14, 5.3, 4, 5, 7, Jr 12.10, Ho 2.17), midrashic (Ct 1.6 (x2), 14, 2.15 (x2), 7.13, 8.11 (x2), 12) or where no text exists (Dt 24.21 [TgPsJ], Neh 5.3, 4, 5, 11, 9.25) מָרֶא appears. The Vulgate translates מָרֶא as vinea on all but three occasions. In Lv 19.10 and Ct 8.11 the 2nd occurrence is understood and in Ho 2.17 vinitores "vineyard worker" is used, which suggests that the verse was slightly paraphrased.

Lexical/Semantic Fields
מְרֵא appears frequently in both prose and poetry of the Hebrew Bible, and can be found in many books of the Hebrew Bible. It is not found in 1 Samuel, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra and 2 Chronicles. It is found in Sirach and a range of literature from Qumran. It is clear that מְרֵא is not restricted to any style or period of Hebrew.

מְרֵא is in parallel with other terms for fields and pastures: מַרְחָק "field of cucumbers" (Is 1.8), מַזִּג "portion of ground" (Jr 12.10), מַגֵּי "garden" (Am 4.9). Tigay adds מַרְחָק (Dt 32.32) to this list. Other possible members of this field include: מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק, מַרְחָק.

מְרֵא is parallel with both the elements of the vine and the products of the grapes, which are considered above in נְגֵי and בְּנֶפֶשּׁ, respectively. Words such as נְגֵי (eg, Ex

639 Tigay; 1996.
23.11), which serve as the fruit, the plant and the plantings and are parallel to בֵּית, are likewise considered with מֶשֶׁב.

בֵּית is frequently in parallel with words for vineyard equipment and other agricultural installations. This semantic field is considered below with מֶשֶׁב.

The parallels between בֵּית and נְניָה (Dt 28.39, Is 16.10, 36.17, Am 5.11, 9.14, Zp 1.13, Neh 5.11, 1Ch 27.27) provide an initial link to the lexical field of wine words. That cognates of נְניָה are the root of the words for vineyard in Old South Arabic, Greek and Latin [see נְניָה] provides further evidence of the link between the lexical fields.

While בֵּית has as broad an associative field as any other term under consideration in this work, it is difficult to place it in any one semantic field. This may be due to it being a key word in a semantic field such as "elements of the vineyard" or it may find its place in a field such as "agricultural uses of land".

Exegesis
Noah planting a vineyard is understood to represent an advance in civilisation. The Hebrew Bible firmly places viticulture in the field of human endeavour and not the work of the gods as was common in surrounding cultures, notably the Greeks and Egyptians and possibly the Canaanites. The other major difference in the Hebrew Bible is the timing of the origin of viticulture. In the Epic of Gilgamesh (XI:72-73), Utnapishtum provides the builders of his vessel with wine before the flood. Genesis Rabbah 36.3 says Noah "took into the Ark with him vine shoots for planting," perhaps suggesting at least an awareness of grapevines before the flood.

Like נְניָה, בֵּית frequently represents the blessings of God, God’s judgement and punishment for failing his commands, and prosperity. Likewise, it is a symbol of

640 This field is outside the scope of this work and thus suggestions are only preliminary.
peace and joy. Vineyards are part of the bounty of the promised land (Dt 6.11, Josh 24.13). To plant a vineyard, but not reap its rewards, is a dire punishment (Dt 28.30, 39, Zp 1.13, Am 5.11). Vineyards and houses (Is 65.21, Ezk 28.26) are symbols of peace and prosperity. Is 16.10 cf 27.2 demonstrates the joy in harvesting the vineyard and the lack of joy when the crop fails.643

In 2Kg 18.32 // Is 36.17, vineyards are one of the things the king of Assyria tries to offer as part of the prosperity otherwise only available from God using language reminiscent of Dt 8.7-8.

The image of the vineyard, especially in Song of Songs, is understood by commentators to have sexual overtones. The vineyard has both literal and metaphorical meaning. Metaphorically, it represents the female body which, like the vineyard, produces valued fruit and must be guarded. Müller644 and Pope645 illustrate how common sexual and fertility imagery are associated with the vineyard in other Semitic texts. The finding of wives in the vineyard (Jdg 21.20-21) provides a further example of the association of the vineyard with fertility.

Although not as common a theme as Israel the vine, Israel the מִרְקֵא is one interpretation of Is 5.1-7 'the Song of the Vineyard' and likely for Is 1.8, 3.14. There is some dispute as to the understanding of Is 5.1-6 based on the questions of who the singer is, who the beloved is and who the vineyard represents.646 However, Is 5.7 links the song with the relationship between YHWH and Israel. Müller647 takes this a step further in light of the sexual imagery, suggesting that Israel "takes on the mythological role of the deity's female partner."

מִרְקֵא is subject to a number of Pentateuchal laws. Prohibition of sowing more than one type of seed in the vineyard (Dt 22.9, Lv 19.19). The first harvest (expected in the fourth year) is profane (Lv 19.23, Dt 20.6, 28.30, Jr 31.5). The harvest is not to strip the vines bare (Lv 19.10, Dt 24.21). The last prohibition is given a moral basis,

643 Carpenter et al; 1997; p. 724.
644 Müller; 1995; p. 324.
646 Watts; 1985; pp. 53-40.
but probably derives from older practices of sacrifices pertaining to the fertility of the land. The owner of a newly planted vineyard is exempt from military service until after the first crop has been harvested (Dt 20.6). The vine shall not be pruned or harvested in the sabbatical year (Ex 23.11, Lv 25.3, 4). Restitution is required if someone damages another's vineyard (Ex 22.4). 648

MT represented an object of desire and a sound investment (Pr 31.16), however, a vineyard obtained by wrongful means brought down God's wrath (1Kg 21.1-18, 2Kg 5.26).

Berlin649 proposes that the parallel pair of houses ( Heb) and vineyards ( MT) in Zp 1.13 (same image appears at Is 65.21, Ezk 28.26) represents the formula for the establishment of a community.

Smith et al650 suggest that the vineyards will not produce wine in Zp 1.13 as "the day of YHWH … [was] too close at hand." While this is possible given Zp 1.14, it is more likely to follow the punishments of the previous twelve verses, but as Smith et al651 say Zp 1.14 appears to start a new section of the poem.

Conclusions

 MT is clearly to be understood as "vineyard." It is in all likelihood a primary noun.

647 Müller; 1995; p. 324.
649 Berlin; 1994; p. 88.
650 Smith et al; 1912; p. 203.
Chapter 9

Wine Making Installations

Following an examination of the keywords of the vineyard some examination of the keywords of the winery is required. This is a relatively simple task as only three words in the Hebrew Bible can be identified as being directly involved with the conversion of grapes to wine. Unfortunately, unlike the vineyard words the winery words are not nearly as clearly understood. This is related to the lack of understanding of wine production, which was addressed in Chapter Six.

A significant difficulty in the examination of the three terms bqeye, tg@a, and hrfw@p% is the glosses given on each. As discussed in Chapter Six "winepress" should refer to a specific piece of equipment and so a more appropriate term when the specific piece of equipment is being considered is needed. For this purpose "winemaking installation" has been used in an attempt to find a term, which covers the possibility of a Hebrew word that is referring to either a winery or a specific part of the winery and sometimes both on different occasions.

9.2 bqeye

The most common word in the Hebrew Bible, which apparently refers to a winemaking installation, is bqeye. bqeye occurs sixteen times in the Hebrew Bible (Nu 18.27, 30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, Jdg 7.25, 2Kg 6.27, Is 5.2, 16.10, Jr 48.33, Ho 9.2, Jl 2.24, 4.13, Hg 2.16, Zc 14.10, Pr 3.10, Jb 24.11) and once in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q500 1.3).

Root and Comparative Material

bqeye is not well attested in the Semitic languages. Neither BDB nor HAL identify a cognate verb appears in Biblical Hebrew. However, they do identify the cognate verb bqy or bqn "to hollow out" in Rabbinical Hebrew (Cant.Rab. 7.11). This suggests there may be some relationship with the verb bqanF "to pierce." The identified cognate
verb is related to the Arabic cognate verb *wq*p* "to hollow out" and the cognate noun *wq*p* "cavity, hole."\(^{652}\)

Ottosson\(^{653}\) suggests that the place name *bqeye*, (Neh 11.25) might contain the element *bqeye*. At best this suggestion is unlikely, most identify *bqeye* as being derived from *bqeye* "to gather."\(^{654}\)

**Formal Characteristics**

*bqeye* is a masculine singular noun of the qitl form. The plural form *bqeye* is regularly attested.

**Syntagmatics**

1. *bqeye* is the subject of qal *bqeye* (Ho 9.2), hifil *bqeye* (Jl 2.24, 4.13) and qal *bqeye* (Pr 3.10).

2. *bqeye* is the object of qal *bqeye* (Is 5.2) and qal *bqeye* (Jb 24.11).

3. *bqeye* is part of the adverbial prepositional phrase of place modifying hifil *bqeye* (Nu 18.27, 30), hifil *bqeye* (Dt 15.14), qal *bqeye* (Dt 16.13), qal *bqeye* (Jdg 7.25), hifil *bqeye* (2Kg 6.27), qal *bqeye* (Is 16.10), hifil *bqeye* (Jr 48.33), qal *bqeye* (Hg 2.16) and qal *bqeye* (Zc 14.10).

4. *bqeye* is the nomen regens of *bqeye* (Jdg 7.25), *bqeye* (Zc 14.10) and possibly *bqeye* (4Q500 1.3).

5. *bqeye* is the nomen rectum of *bqeye* (Nu 18.30).

6. *bqeye* is modified by the prepositions *\(\text{bqeye}\) (Nu 18.27, Dt 15.14, 16.13, 2Kg 6.27, Jr 48.33)*, *\(\text{bqeye}\) (Jdg 7.25, Is 16.10), *\(\text{bqeye}\) (Hg 2.16)*, *\(\text{bqeye}\) (Zc 14.10)*.

7. *bqeye* takes a 2ms possessive suffix (Dt 15.14, 16.13, Pr 3.10).

8. *bqeye* is in the plural (Is 16.10, Jr 48.33, Jl 2.24, 4.13, Jb 24.11) and plural construct (Zc 14.10, Pr 3.10).

\(^{652}\) BDB; p. 428. *HAL*; p. 429.

\(^{653}\) Ottosson; 1990; p. 269.

\(^{654}\) BDB; p. 868.
Versions
The Septuagint translates \(bq\) in a number of ways mostly related to \(lh\) "wine-vat in which the grapes are pressed." On nine occasions (Nu 18.27, 30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, 2Kg 6.27, Jr 48.33, Ho 9.2, Jl 2.24, Pr 3.10) \(lh\) is used. ἑρμία "vessel placed under a press to receive the wine or oil" is used on four occasions (Is 16.10, Jl 4.13, Hg 2.16, Zc 14.10) and at Is 5.2 ἑρμία "before the winevat" is used. On two occasions the Septuagint does not reflect the nature of \(bq\). This happens in Jb 24.11 where the verse is paraphrased and in Jdg 7.25 where \(bq\) is identified as a place name and transliterated to ἰακεφζς. The Peshitta translates \(bq\) as \(m\) "winepress, wine vat" in every verse except Jdg 7.25. In Jdg the place name \(bq\) is given as \(byt\).

In the majority of cases the Targums translate \(bq\) as \(y\) "press room," however, there is a number of exceptions. The Targum of Is 5.2 is a paraphrase. \(bq\) is translated as \(y\) "tank of the press" in Jl 2.24 and \(\pi\) "pit, cavity" in Zc 14.10. Jdg 7.25 has \(m\). Harrington and Saldarni translate this as "plain" thus \(m\). While \(y\) does appear in Jl 4.13 the Targum is midrashic and the use of \(y\) probably reflects the \(\pi\) in the verse rather than \(bq\).

The Vulgate translates each occurrence of \(bq\) as \(torcular\) "winepress, pressing room."

Lexical/Semantic Fields
That wine is the product of the \(bq\) is made clear in Is 16.10, Jr 49.33 (\(\pi\)), Jl 2.24 and Pr 3.10 (\(\pi\)). Thus \(bq\) is a member of the semantic field of winemaking

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655 LSJ; p. 1045.
656 Harrington and Saldarni; 1987; p. 74.
installations. The other major members are הַגְּדִי and הַגְּדִים. הבֵּית is in parallel with הַגְּדִי (Jl 4.13) and הַגְּדִים (Hg 2.16).

בֵּית, הַגְּדִי and הַגְּדִים form a subset of all agricultural installations. הַגְּדִי "threshing floor" is most commonly in parallel with הבֵּית (Nu 18.27, 30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, 2Kg 6.27, Ho 9.2, Jl 2.24), but also parallels הַגְּדִים in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Qord(159) 1 2.3, CD12.10). The "beating out of wheat" in a הבֵּית (Jdg 6.11) is perhaps a further parallel.

Is 5.2 clearly has הבֵּית as an item of vineyard equipment. מִסְבָּב "tower", וְצֶרֶן "hedge" and קֵמֶר "wall" are named as vineyard installations in Is 5. הבֵּית "cistern" (Dt 6.11) and קֶבֶר "booth" (Is 1.8) are among other named installations of the vineyard.

Exegesis

בֵּית is rarely examined by commentators. Rashi understood "every יָבִיב in the Bible refers to the vat in front of the גִּת where the wine is placed and not the grapes."658

Crenshaw observes the place of הבֵּית in the image of YHWH's judgement. He draws parallels with the images from Is 63.3 of YHWH's treading the press in judgement.

Borowski suggests that הבֵּית is probably "a press hewn within the rock within or next to the vineyard" and similarly קֵמֶר is "a press built of stones and mortar within the confines of a city." Archaeological finds show that both these types of winery existed in the Iron Age. Borowski notes the construction of a הבֵּית in the vineyard in Is 5.2 and its occurring in parallel with הַגְּדִי "threshing floor." Borowski argues that Jdg 6.11 provides evidence that the קֵמֶר could be located inside a city. In this verse

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657 Jastrow; 1971; p. 779.
658 Rashi on Yom. 76a. Translation of Frankel; 1999; p.185.
659 Crenshaw; 1995; p. 191.
660 Borowski; 1987; p. 111.
wheat is beaten out in the \( \text{tg} \), rather than a "threashing floor" to hide it from the Midianites.

**Conclusions**

Perhaps the first question to be answered in the search to understand \( \text{bqeye} \) as well as \( \text{tg} \) and \( \text{hrfw} \) is whether these terms represent discrete pieces of equipment or refer to the same thing. The parallel occurrences suggest that discrete pieces of equipment is the most likely interpretation. As suggested in Chapter Six, one or all of the terms potentially refer to the winery as a whole. With little information to guide the separation of the terms the Septuagint’s translation of \( \text{tg} \) as \( \text{lhnoj} \) and \( \text{bqeye} \) as \( \text{lhnoj} \) or \( \text{proloj} \) may be a significant starting point. With \( \text{lhnoj} \) meaning "wine-vat in which the grapes are pressed" it may be that \( \text{tg} \) is the crusher and \( \text{bqeye} \) the remainder of the winery. Thus, given the archaeological installations, this remainder is probably equivalent to the fermentation vat. It could be argued that CD 12.10, where something is sold from the \( \text{tg} \), may contradict this. It may be speculated, however, that this passage is referring to Jdg 6.11 where grain was beaten out in a \( \text{tg} \). \( \text{bqeye} \) bursting with \( \text{#$wOryt} \) (Pr 3.10) suggests it is used in the latter part of the production process. Both oil and wine being products of \( \text{bqeye} \) (Jl 2.24) would suggest strongly that it is a press. \( \text{bqeye} \) is used to represent its products, suggesting a finished product (Nu 18.27, 18.30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, Ho 9.2.).

Borowski’s \(^662\) suggestion that the identity is based on location may provide the solution, however, the evidence is inconclusive.

Given the range of translations of \( \text{bqeye} \) in the Septuagint "winery" is probably the best overall translation. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to suggest it may have had a narrower meaning in some contexts. "Fermentation vat" or perhaps

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\(^661\) LSJ; p. 1045.

\(^662\) Borowski; 1987; p. 111.
"press" would be the best attempt at guessing this narrower meaning depending on the context.
9.2 גֹּלֶת

Gōlet is unusual in that it is more commonly used as a proper name than as a common noun in the Hebrew Bible. As a common noun Gōlet is usually understood to occur five times: Jdg 6.11, Is 63.2, Jl 4.13, La 1.15, Neh 13.15. It is possible, however, that Is 63.2 could be "in Gath" rather than "in the Gōlet." The understanding of this reading is not aided by 1QIsa⁸ reading דנַּב rather than דנַב of the Masoretic Text.⁶⁶³

There are three occurrences of the common noun form of Gōlet in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 4QOrd(159) 1 2.3, 4QCat⁵(177) 2+.15;⁶⁶⁴ and CD12.10. It is possible that 4QS12 147 1.1 contains a fourth occurrence, however, while the two letters of the lexeme appear, this fragment is too small to determine whether the lexeme appears.

Root and Comparative Material

Gōlet appears in Biblical Hebrew most commonly as a place name (34 times). Residents of this location are described by the adjective יָדְרֶת (10 times). Three other place names in Biblical Hebrew are based on the noun: רְמִית גִּלֶת (Josh 19.13, 2Kg 14.25); יִרְאֶה גִּלֶת (Josh 19.45, 21.24, 25, 1Ch 6.54); and אִישׁ גִּלֶת (2Sm 4.3, Neh 11.33). יָדְרֶת (Ps 8.1, 81.1, 84.1) is an unclear musical term.⁶⁶⁵ It may refer to a type of instrument or melody, or it may refer to instruments from the location named גֹּלֶת or it may suggest the Psalms were sung near the גֹּלֶת during the Feast of Tabernacles (or some other time).⁶⁶⁶

No cognate verb appears in Biblical Hebrew. Gesenius proposed גֹּלֶת as the cognate root.⁶⁶⁷ Arabic has a cognate verb to this root wajana "to beat clothes." Rainey⁶⁶⁸ observes that יָדְרֶת shows gemination of the last consonant suggesting the assimilation

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⁶⁶³ Watts; 1987; p. 316 n.2.b.
⁶⁶⁴ 4QCat⁵(177) 2+.15 is often referred to as 4QCat⁵(177) 3+.15. However DJD has renumbered this passage.
⁶⁶⁵ HAL; p. 206.
⁶⁶⁶ BDB; p. 387, HAL; p. 206.
⁶⁶⁷ BDB; p. 387. (Note Frankel; 1999; p. 185. assigns this to Gesenius but his reference is not clear, other than BDB being based on Gesenius).
⁶⁶⁸ Rainey; 1966; p. 35-36; n. 1.
of a ִ. Frankel\textsuperscript{669} understands Rainey to be suggesting a root ִָ for ִ although Rainey does not say this explicitly.

The Amarna Letters contain the place name \textit{ginti},\textsuperscript{670} which it is proposed relates to ִ. This may provide supporting evidence of a ִ in the root. Rainey argues that the doubling of the ִ, which occurs in the plural form is reflected in an Akkadian fragment from Gezer.\textsuperscript{671}

On the basis that the cognate root contained a ִ, Frankel links ִָ ”garden” and ִָ ”shield” to ִ.\textsuperscript{672}

The cognate noun in Ugaritic \textit{gt} can also cover ”an agricultural business unit” as well as the BH meaning of ”winepress.” The lexeme is also used in Rabbinic Hebrew and the cognate noun in Jewish Aramaic and Egyptian Aramaic.

The cognate appears in a number of Hebrew inscriptions although these are all thought to refer to place names.\textsuperscript{673} Likewise, the cognate appears in a number of Arabic and Nabatean inscriptions.\textsuperscript{674}

\textbf{Formal Characteristics}

ִ is undisputedly a feminine noun, however, its form is uncertain. The closest to a consensus would be to follow BDB\textsuperscript{675} who suggest that ִ is derived from ִ and is a contraction of ֲִ and thus is of the Qatl form. The Akkadian \textit{ginti} may suggest that that ִ may have had an i vowel theme at an earlier time in its development. The plural ֲִ in Neh 13.15 may demonstrate the traces of this i vowel theme. This

\textsuperscript{669} Frankel; 1999; p. 185.
\textsuperscript{670} EA 288.26, 289.18, 19, 290.28, 319.5.
\textsuperscript{671} Rainey; 1966; p. 35-36; n. 1. HAL; p. 206.
\textsuperscript{672} Frankel; 1999; p. 185.
\textsuperscript{673} PN RR-Sam(8):1.14,2 = D-3.014.2, RR-Jer(8):11,6 = D-4.105.6.
\textsuperscript{674} DNWSI; p. 237.
\textsuperscript{675} BDB; p. 387.
suggests an alternative form of Qitl. The possibility that the root was נַגַג provides two other possible forms namely Qall or Qill dependent on the vowel theme.

Syntagmatics

1 נָגַג is the object of qal נַהַג (Is 63.2, La 1.15, Neh 13.15) and part of the multiple object of qal נַהַג (4QOrd(159) 1 2.3).

2 נָגַג is the subject of qal נָהַג (Jl 4.13).

2a Ottosson\(^{676}\) understands Jl 4.13 to read such that נָגַג is the object of נַהַג. In so doing Ottosson understands נַהַג to be a Qal third masculine plural imperative form of נַהַג "dominate" and so "trample," which follows Davidson.\(^{677}\) However, a more standard reading\(^{678}\) understands נַהַג to be a Qal third masculine plural imperative form of נַהַג, "come, go down." This later reading, which leaves נָגַג as the subject of qal נָהַג (Jl 4.13), is generally preferred. Thus Ottosson reads "Tread the winepress," rather than the more common reading "Go down, for the winepress is full."

3 נָגַג is part of the adverbial prepositional phrase of place modifying qal עֶבֶר (Jdg 6.11), qal עֶבֶר (4QCat\(^{a}(177\) 2+ .15) and qal עֶבֶר (CD12.10).

4 נָגַג is modified by the prepositions ב (Jdg 6.11, Is 63.2), ל (4QCat\(^{a}(177\) 2+ .15) and ל (CD12.10).

5 נָגַג is modified by the 3ms possessive (CD 12.10).

6 נָגַג is in the plural נָגַג (Neh 13.15, 4QCat\(^{a}(177\) 2+ .15).

Versions

The Septuagint and the Vulgate are consistent in their translations of נָגַג using ἱππονή "wine-vat in which the grapes are pressed" and torcular "winepress," respectively. The Targums are consistent in using סְפָּר נַהַג "winepress," with two exceptions. There is no targum for Neh (13.15). Jl 4.13 contains both נָגַג and בֹּקֶר in the Hebrew.

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\(^{676}\) Ottosson; 1990; p. 269.
\(^{677}\) Davidson; 1850; p. 676.
\(^{678}\) BDB; p. 922. Crenshaw; 1995; p. 191.
However, the Targum is midrashic and only contains one \( \text{Tg} \). This occurrence probably reflects \( \text{gat} \).

The Peshitta is the least consistent of the versions in translating \( \text{Tg} \) using \( \text{gat} \) "winepress" (Jdg 6.11), \( \text{ma'sartā} \) "winepress" (Is 63.2, La 1.15) and \( \text{gub} \) "cistern, pit" (Jl 4.13). In Neh 13.15 the Peshitta is a paraphrase and has no direct translation of \( \text{Tg} \).

**Lexical/Semantic Fields**
The parallel of \( \text{Tg} \) and \( \text{bqeye} \) in Jl 4.13 and the other agricultural images associated with \( \text{Tg} \) places it in the semantic field of agricultural installations. Treading (\( \text{K7radf} \), Is 63.2, Jl 4.13, La 1.15, Neh 13.15) and the colour (\( \text{Mdo} \), Is 63.2) associated with the treading when combined with the parallel with \( \text{bqeye} \) suggests that \( \text{Tg} \) is a member of the semantic field of winemaking installations. These two fields are examined in more detail in the consideration of \( \text{bqeye} \).

**Exegesis**
The identification of \( \text{Tg} \) as a winepress is not completely conclusive if it is dependent on Biblical Hebrew. The beating out of wheat (Jdg 6.11) places \( \text{Tg} \) in an agricultural setting and its being an object of \( \text{K7radf} \) certainly links it to the crushing of agricultural produce. Only the colour of Is 63.2 gives a link to wine production. In *m. Pe’ah* 7.1 \( \text{Tg} \) is probably an olive press and certainly the earliest installations seem to have been used for both oil and wine production.\(^{679}\) In *m. Pe’ah* 7.7 \( \text{Tg} \) appears to be a winepress.

The main aspect of the use of \( \text{Tg} \) in the Hebrew Bible, which has come to the attention of commentators, is the image of fairly violent crushing. Watts\(^{680}\) suggests that "treading a winepress" (Is 63.2) is a metaphor for having "been engaged in

\(^{679}\) Frankel; 1999; p. 51.
\(^{680}\) Watts; 1987; p. 322.
violent conflict." McKenzie\textsuperscript{681} sees that the image of crushing in a \textit{\textit{tg\rightangle a}} is used as a metaphor for the judgement of YHWH.

As noted above, Borowski\textsuperscript{682} suggests \textit{\textit{tg\rightangle a}} is “a press built of stones and mortar within the confines of a city.”

**Conclusions**
The meaning of \textit{\textit{tg\rightangle a}} is probably discrete from that of \textit{\textit{bq\rightangle e\rightangle y}} [see \textit{\textit{bq\rightangle e\rightangle y}}]. Certainly it is likely that \textit{\textit{tg\rightangle a}} is a part of a winemaking installation and possibly its definition can be narrowed to the "upper basin, where grapes were pressed by treading."\textsuperscript{683} In all likelihood, \textit{\textit{tg\rightangle a}} refers to the treading floor which could also have been used as a press. The pressing overtone may have been increased if anchor points for the sack press were a regular feature of this installation.

\textsuperscript{681} McKenzie; 1968; p. 187.
\textsuperscript{682} Borowski; 1987; p. 111.
\textsuperscript{683} HAL; p. 206.
The rarest word associated with the winery and winemaking installations that appears in the Hebrew Bible is הַרְפּוֹ. הַרְפּוֹ appears twice in Is 63.3 and Hg 2.16. The only other occurrences of this word in ancient Hebrew and Rabbinic writings is where one of these two verses is quoted in the Midrash Rabbah.684

Root and Comparative Material

הַרְפּוֹ is unusual in that no clear etymology has been established. Within Biblical Hebrew there are no cognates, which may mean that הַרְפּוֹ is a primary noun.685 It is suggested that הַרְפּוֹ may derive from a root רָפַז. This root has the cognates רָפַז "to bubble, gush forth, boil, ferment" in Arabic and רָפַז in Syriac "to boil."686 If הַרְפּוֹ is correctly understood to mean “wine press,” an alternative derivation may be from רָפַז “split, divide, break.”687 A suggested cognate noun is the Akkadian pu‘ru “stone bowl.”688

Formal Characteristics

The two occurrences of הַרְפּוֹ in the Hebrew Bible are singular feminine nouns of the Qūl-h form.689

Syntagmatics

1 הַרְפּוֹ is the object of qal הַרְפּוֹ (Is 63.3), הַרְפּוֹ (Hg 2.16).

2 הַרְפּוֹ is modified by the numeral מִיִּשְׁם (Hg 2.16).

Versions

The Versions do not make a significant contribution to our limited understanding of הַרְפּוֹ. The Septuagint translates הַרְפּוֹ as μέτρητον "measurer"690 (Hg 2.16). In Is

685 HAL; p. 920.
687 Borowski; 2002; Personal communication.
688 Frankel; 1999; p. 185.
63.3 the Septuagint is a paraphrase. The Peshitta translates הַרְחָם as ma‘śartā’ "winevat / winepress" in Is 63.3 and paraphrases Hg 2.16. The Targums have הָעוֹלֶה "vat" in Is 63.3 and הָפָח "bottle / measure" in Hg 2.16. The Vulgate is similar with torcular "winepress" in Is 63.3 and lagoena "flask / bottle / pitcher" in Hg 2.16.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

The הַרְחָם of Is 63.3 is in parallel with the הָעוֹלֶה of Is 63.2. Likewise, הַרְחָם is in parallel with הָפָח in Hg 2.16. This places הַרְחָם within the semantic field of winemaking installations. With only two occurrences it is difficult to make any generalisations about הַרְחָם, however, the two occurrences are both found in post exilic texts suggesting הַרְחָם may have only been used in Late Biblical Hebrew.

Exegesis

The הַרְחָם appears in the Prophets. It is both times used in metaphors describing God's judgment of his people. The image in Is 63.2-3 has similarities to Lm 1.15 "the Lord has trodden as in a winepress the virgin daughter Judah." Smith suggests that in Hg 2.16 should read "הֲרָחָם מֵאֵל ‘from the trough' taking the מ from the end of the previous word as a result of haplography." This suggestion offers a possible solution to the problem of the two meanings currently encountered.

Jastrow suggests that הֲרָחָם can be understood as "the quantity pressed at a time."

Borowski suggests that הֲרָחָם may refer to a "portable press." Such a press may be depicted in Dayagi-Mendels.

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689 JM §88Bf.
690 LSJ; p. 1122.
691 See above where this field is examined.
692 Westermann; 1969; p. 382.
693 Smith; 1983; p. 159.
695 Borowski; 1987; p.111.
Dayagi-Mendels links מֵדָחָה with מְדִיחַ (m. Ṣeb. 8.6 // t. Ṣeb. 6.28) which may be used for making wine in the Sabbatical Year. This suggestion has two problems: firstly, the lexeme appears in parallel with הבָּפַה and may be part of it; and secondly, the definitions of מְדִיחַ relate more to a trough which may have been used for wine making rather than specifically "a small portable treading device."

Conclusions

is in some way related to the winery. Whether it is a part of the winery, the winery itself or a measure cannot be determined from the two occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. A consideration of the wine making technology of the time may reconcile this difficulty if מֵדָחָה were a sack press. The amount of pomace and or liquid the sack could take may have represented a standard amount.

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696 Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 28.
697 Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 28.
698 Jastrow; 1971; p. 1117.
699 Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 28.
700 See Chapter 6 regards nature of terminology for winery versus winepress.
701 See Chapter 6.
Chapter 10

Conclusion

There is strong evidence of wine playing a significant role in ancient Palestine. Archaeological surveys have found numerous wine making installations and the Hebrew Bible has a significant number of terms related to wine. While the understanding of terms like יִנְיָא is rarely disputed, the identification of most of the other terms, which may be included in a semantic field of wine, is more uncertain.

The history of wine predates written history. Nevertheless, by the time the Israelites emerged in ancient Palestine at the beginning of the Iron Age, evidence suggests that viticulture and wine were well established in Palestine. Wine would prove to be a valuable part of the agricultural cycle and an influence on culture and religion of the Israelites and their descendants, the Jews.

Agriculture and associated tasks dominated the lives of the people of ancient Palestine. Many parts of Palestine are marginal for successful agriculture. Those parts, which are less marginal, still face difficult conditions with many months without rain and regular drought conditions. Nevertheless, the conditions in many parts of Palestine are suited to viticulture.

The timing of tasks associated with successful viticulture did not conflict with those of grain growing. This meant viticulture and wine making was complementary to the rest of the agricultural cycle, providing diversification without the risk of losing other equally valued crops.

There is sufficient evidence to be certain that the diet in ancient Palestine from, at least, the start of the Iron Age, followed the classic Mediterranean diet based around grains, wine and olive oil. The importance of these foodstuffs is reflected in the frequency of their appearance in the Hebrew Bible.
The role and impact of wine on the culture and religion of ancient Palestine and early Judaism is illustrated in many ways. The value of wine and how it was celebrated is seen in the festival of Sukkoth and its role in the sacrificial roster of the Temple. Wine appears in the religious observances and imagery recorded in the Hebrew Bible. These are closely linked to the understanding of God’s interaction with his people. God promised bountiful harvests if the people obeyed the covenant, while the consequences if they did not could result in hunger, exile and or ruin. Details of legal requirements of the covenant are expressed in the Biblical laws. These laws affected all aspects of life including viticulture.

In some fields, technology has changed production techniques since ancient times beyond recognition, however, wine making has certain fundamentals, which have not changed. Thus, with careful reconstruction, it is possible to understand the basic techniques used in ancient Palestine to produce wine.

Through the course of this study twelve words were identified as being possible members of the semantic field of wine in Biblical Hebrew. This identification has not been made in isolation and involves caveats for a number of these words. By drawing together all the available information about these words and by placing this information in the context of wine production and agriculture in ancient Palestine, the meanings of these words are scrutinised. This has not always produced clarity in the meaning of these words, but has brought together the possibilities and reasons to consider them more or less likely.

How many of the twelve words in Biblical Hebrew related to wine, definitely refer to wine is not easily answered other than to say more than four. It would be possible to gain the impression that some commentators believe that wine is a simple substance which cannot possibly have more than one term to describe it. This impression, which is not valid, is gained as a result of every word identified in this work as a member of the semantic field of wine, other than יִיָּהוּ, having at least one commentator suggesting that it is a substance other than wine. There is strong evidence that יֵשָׁבָע, יָדִיר, and are words for wine although there is no
definite evidence to allow the modern reader to differentiate between them. מים, מים and מים are rare words which makes discerning their meaning much harder, but the evidence available suggests that each is a form, or perhaps even the same form, of mixed wine. ים does not have a single clear meaning. Nevertheless, ים does appear to be related to wine, whether the finished product or a stage in its production, there is not enough evidence to decide authoritatively.

Whilst the meaning of ים, "vinegar," is generally agreed, and supported by the evidence, whether it actually falls in the semantic field of wine remains open to debate. ים demonstrates most of the characteristics of wine and is known to be a product of wine. It is a classic example of a marginal member of a semantic field.

While ים and ים are clearly related to beverages and are usually members of the semantic field of beverages, it is not possible to prove conclusively that they are members of the semantic field of wine nor even the semantic field of alcoholic beverages. Nevertheless, both have links to wine, which provide the possibility that they are members of the semantic field of wine.

Mention has been made of both the semantic field of wine and that of alcoholic beverages. Wine is a subset of the semantic field of alcoholic beverages. However there are no words in Biblical Hebrew which are definitely members of the semantic field of alcoholic beverages and not members of the semantic field of wine. ים is the nearest example and this is at best uncertain. The three occurrences of ים do not provide enough information about this word for it to be precisely defined. Thus, essentially, it is impossible to distinguish between the members of the semantic field of alcoholic beverages other than wine and the semantic field of wine in the Hebrew Bible.

The number of words related to wine in the Hebrew Bible suggests a degree of complexity in the society, agricultural production and wine making, not otherwise discernible.
Further explorations of wine in ancient Palestine and the Hebrew Bible cannot examine the finished product in isolation. The examination of wine (especially יִֽנֵּיה) suggested its links to the semantic fields associated with its use, such as those of items of the sacrificial roster and food products. Despite the importance of wine at the point of its consumption, there is the impression that its production is more significant to the Biblical authors. In addition, tracing the place of wine in ancient Palestine logically starts with its production. For these reasons, aspects of the key words related to production were examined. The initial study, and examination of possible semantic fields these words may be placed in, demonstrates the significant number of words that potentially have impact in understanding wine and its production in ancient Palestine. Thus, the further explorations were limited to small but significant group of words, three related to the vineyard and three related to the winery.

"Great wine is made in the vineyard" is a common cliché in modern wine writing. In contrast to most of the words in the semantic field of wine, the words for grape, vine and vineyard (ןֶֽגֶר, נֶֽבֶל, נְבֵלָּה) are clearly defined. There is a caution, however, about any presumption of clear definition of these terms given that the vine (ןֵ֥בֶל) in 2Kg 4.39 clearly produces something other than grapes. Likewise "choice vine" and "untrimmed vine" demonstrate a broader semantic field than is examined in detail in this study. Nevertheless, in terms of ease of translation the words of the vineyard are relatively well defined.

The lack of technical knowledge apparent in examinations of wine in the Hebrew Bible, by Dar and others, is perhaps best illustrated by the semantic field of wine making installations. There is strong evidence that בֶּֽנַיָּה, נֵֽבֶל and נְבֵלָּה are discrete pieces of equipment, yet all three are commonly translated using a single term, "winepress." In this semantic field it is perhaps understandable that the lack of clear information as to the exact nature of these three installations leads to the use of a general term such as "winepress" to translate them. Nevertheless the use of "winery"

702 The Google search engine (www.google.com) brought up "about 285" citations of the phrase.
as a general term for such installations might allow greater nuances of meaning, especially given that there is evidence which may point to each word relating to a specific piece of equipment.

The breadth of the issues which are associated with wine, the Hebrew Bible, ancient Palestine and Judaism, is considerable and the issues deserve further examination. This work has attempted to bring together the background information on wine production and identify the keywords which need to be examined to understand fully the role of wine in the Hebrew Bible, ancient Palestine and Judaism. A full and in-depth examination may be impossible in a single work. In this light this work aims to be an "Offering of Wine," which may provide a starting point for a more wide-ranging study of the role of wine in the Hebrew Bible, ancient Palestine and Judaism.

The issues raised in the course of this work, as to how the words related to wine should be studied, have many parallels in the examination of many aspects of the Hebrew Bible, Judaism and ancient Palestine. In this way the study of wine in the Hebrew Bible and ancient Palestine serves as a valuable illustration of the issues associated with such study, the problems and preconceived ideas which are often brought to it. It is hoped that this study demonstrates the benefits of compiling all available information, not focussing only on semantics or archaeology for instance, before any conclusions are reached.
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