

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.

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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 apologise 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 Testament¹ 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

Hebrew Bible

Gn	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lv	Leviticus
Nu	Numbers
Dt	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Jdg	Judges
1Sm	1Samuel
2Sm	2Samuel
1Kg	1Kings
2Kg	2Kings
Is	Isaiah
Jr	Jeremiah
Ezk	Ezekiel
Ho	Hosea
Jl	Joel
Am	Amos
Ob	Obadiah
Jn	Jonah
Mc	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hb	Habakkuk
Zp	Zephaniah
Hg	Haggai
Zc	Zechariah
Ml	Malachi
Ps	Psalms
Jb	Job

Pr	Proverbs
Ru	Ruth
Ct	Song of Songs
Qoh	Ecclesiastes (Qohelet)
La	Lamentations
Est	Esther
Dn	Daniel
Ezr	Ezra
Neh	Nehemiah
1Ch	1Chronicles
2Ch	2Chronicles

Versions and other early works

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

Journals

BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BR	Bible Review
BRJL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

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. <i>Ancient Near East in Pictures</i>
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs
BHS	Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DNSWI	Hoftijzer, J. & Jongeling, K. <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i>
DSSSE	Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica

GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley
HAL	Koehler, L. Baumgartner, W. et al. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JM	Joüon, P & Muraoka, T; 1993; <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> .
LSJ	Liddell and Scott; 9 th edition.
NIDOTTE	Van Gemeren, W.A. et al (eds); <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> ; Vol 2; Grand Rapids: Zondervan
OAHW	The Origins and Ancient History of Wine
OCW	Oxford Companion to Wine
SAHD	Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (English translation of TWAT)
THAT	Jenni, E. & Westermann, C.; 1971, 1976; <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Biddle M.E. (trans); 1997; <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>)
TWAT	Botterweck, Ringgren et al (eds); 1974-; <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
EV	English Version
CUP	Cambridge University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
//	in parallel with

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 viticulture² 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 references³ 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,⁵ 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* (שֵׁכָר) is translated "intoxicating drink, strong drink,"⁶ "intoxicating drink, beer,"⁷ "date wine"⁸ by various modern translators, but the earliest translators either transliterate it or translate it with a word meaning "wine."⁹ 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.

⁵ See Literature Review below.

⁶ BDB. p. 1016.

⁷ HAL. p. 1501.

⁸ Walsh; 2000; p. 202.

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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 שָׁכָר 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 גַּפֵּן, vineyard כַּרְם and grape עֵנָב.

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 Nakht¹⁴ is a similar colour to the dark grapes in the press inferring some maceration¹⁵ (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 Dictionary¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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.

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.

¹⁶ OED online: <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/oed/>

¹⁷ Jordan; 2002.

Chapter 2

Literature Review¹⁸

"... in wine talk there is an enormous amount of humbug"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 Judaism²⁰ 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

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.

¹⁹ Shaw, T.G.; 1863.

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 movement²¹ 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*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.

²¹ Raymond; p. 21; n. 5.

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 works²³ 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*²⁴ 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 Studies²⁵

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.

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.²⁹

The Dead Sea Scrolls supply new material for the study of many aspects of ancient Judaism including wine. Vermes³⁰ 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

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 Rabbinic 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. Lutz³¹ records that Hommel previously speculated on the origin of words for "vine", "wine" and "vineyard" and found they were non-Semitic.

The Encyclopaedia Judaica's³² 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 led 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.

³² Roth, C. (ed); 1972, 1997.

which, while they provide useful surveys of the Biblical text, are limited in critical apparatus for their conclusions. Stager³³ 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.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.

³³ Stager; 1985A.

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.³⁵ 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's³⁶ chapter on viticulture and winemaking in his archaeological survey of Samaria is expanded with one of the better explanations of the place of

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.³⁸ To reconcile the apparent differences in attitudes to wine, a number of commentators³⁹ 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.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,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

³⁸ E.g., Teachout, p. 17.

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.

⁴⁰ Aspects of which are discussed in Chapters four and six.

⁴¹ Witmer.

effectively eliminates the chances of alcoholism.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 health⁴³ 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.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,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.

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.

⁴³ The Lancet; Vol 352; Sept 12, 1998; p. 877.

⁴⁴ Sarna, J.D.; p. 285.

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.⁴⁶ 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,⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ Thus,

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.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.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.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.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.⁵⁴ This evidence is in the form of tartrate deposits⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Before this discovery, the oldest confirmed evidence for grapes within human

⁵⁰ Whittle; p. 136.

⁵¹ Stager; 1985A; p. 181.

⁵² Zohary and Hopf; pp. 148-149.

⁵³ Op. cit.

⁵⁴ McGovern et al; 1996; pp. 480-481.

⁵⁵ In nature tartrates only occur in significant quantities in grapes.

settlements was in pips from wild vines dating from c 4500 BCE.⁵⁷ Some claim that there is evidence for cultivated grapes dating back to c 8000 BCE,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.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.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.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 took shoots of fig trees and grapevines into the ark.⁶² Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and 3 Baruch 4 both link the vine to Adam's downfall and say that Noah found a vine shoot to plant after the flood, which had washed it out of the Garden.

⁵⁶ McGovern et al.; 1997; pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷ Zohary and Spiegel-Roy; p. 322.

⁵⁸ Johnson; 1989; p. 10.

⁵⁹ 'Egypt'; OCW; pp. 356-7.

⁶⁰ Younger; p. 27.

⁶¹ B Berachot 40a & Sanhedrin 70a.

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.⁶³ Hints such as the spread of common words must be treated with caution in a study such as this.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵

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,⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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

⁶³ Zohary, D. pp. 27-29.

⁶⁴ There is the risk of circular arguments.

⁶⁵ Stager; 1985A; Brown, JP.

⁶⁶ The debate about the Exodus is on going. For example BAR has published articles on this question as recently as July/August 2000 and January/February 1998.

⁶⁷ Zohary; 1995.

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^ca 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.

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.

Thutmose 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 גַּפְנֵי (grapevine).⁸⁰ תִּירוֹשׁ 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, Barton⁸² 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 תִּירוֹשׁ.

⁸² Barton; pp. 61ff.

⁸³ “Canaan”; *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.

Smith⁸⁴ and Dahood⁸⁵ 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 Ashkelon⁸⁶ and Gibeon.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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 שֵׁרֶקֶן "a choice vine" is planted but it becomes גִּפְּן נִכְרִיָּה "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's⁹⁰ 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 semantic 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.⁹¹ However, the accuracy of this presumption is questionable as a period of quite unstable weather patterns may have occurred between 5000 and 2000 BCE.⁹² 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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ One result of this interaction is the landscape of Palestine "contains large numbers of regions and subregions."⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ 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).⁹⁷ 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

⁹⁰ Newman; 1932.

⁹¹ Frick; pp. 70-71.

⁹² Crown; 1971A; especially p. 16. Also Crown; 1972.

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.⁹⁸ (The classic example of this is that both London and Jerusalem have approximately the same average rainfall at 550 mm.)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.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.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.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.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.¹⁰⁴ The range of rainfalls in Palestine suggest that the state of the vineyards

⁹⁸ Op. cit.

⁹⁹ Hopkins; 1985; p. 86.

¹⁰⁰ Hopkins; 1985; p. 87.

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.

¹⁰² EJ; *Israel, Land Of: Physiography*.

¹⁰³ Raphael; p. 965.

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.¹⁰⁵ Typically harvest in the Northern Hemisphere occurs between September and October.¹⁰⁶ The annual rains in Palestine typically start in November,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.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."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."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.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Rainfall; *OCW*; pp. 777-778.

¹⁰⁶ Harvest; *OCW*; p. 481.

¹⁰⁷ *EJ; Israel, Land of: Climate.*

¹⁰⁸ *EJ; Israel, Land Of: Physiography & Frick*; pp. 77-82.

¹⁰⁹ Soil and Wine Quality; *OCW*; pp. 884-886.

¹¹⁰ Stager; 1985B; p. 5.

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.¹¹²

The variation in the availability of water for agriculture in Palestine meant that a risk reduction strategy was valuable for successful human habitation.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Stager; 1985B, Borowski; 1992; p. 95.

¹¹³ See following section.

¹¹⁴ Walsh; 2000; pp. 26-27. See also a more in depth analysis of the factors leading to an identification of שֵׁכָר.

¹¹⁵ 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 Zohary¹¹⁷ and Borowski¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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."¹²⁰

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).¹²¹ Nevertheless, only wheat (חֶמֶד), barley (שֵׁבֶרֶת) and the more general grain (גֶּזֶר) 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 (גֶּזֶר) ¹²² and the most common food, bread (לֶחֶם).¹²³

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.¹²⁴ Dt 8:8 reflects the fruit trees which

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.

¹²⁴ Stager; 1985A; pp. 181-182.

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.¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶

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.¹²⁷ 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

¹²⁵ "Flora"; *ABD*; II; pp. 807-808.

¹²⁶ Borowski; 1987; pp. 87-139. & Agriculture; *ABD*; II; pp. 95-98.

¹²⁷ Hopkins; 1985; pp. 197-198.

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.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.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,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.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 Calendar 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.

¹²⁸ "Festivals"; *EJ*.

¹²⁹ Borowski; 1987; p. 38.

¹³⁰ Young; 1992, Emerton; 1999.

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,¹³² 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.¹³³

The separation of land cultivation and animal husbandry within agriculture is somewhat arbitrary. Specialist pastoralists are dependent on farmers¹³⁴ 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.

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.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.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.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) צֹאן occurs 275 times, שֶׁן (sheep or lambs) 47 times, כֶּבֶד (lamb) 107 times and אֵיל (ram) at least¹³⁸ 149 times. A very high proportion of the uses of these terms occur in the sacrificial rosters (especially כֶּבֶד and אֵיל) and in the pastoral aspects of the Patriarchal narratives. לֶחֶם (bread) and יַיִן (wine) occur 299 and 141 times

¹³⁵ Borowski; 1998; pp. 68-9. Quoting ANET.

¹³⁶ "Zoology"; *ABD*; VI; p. 1145.

¹³⁷ Dar; 1995; p. 332.

¹³⁸ 20 uses not translated as ram or rams in NIV.

respectively. דָגָן (grain), חֶמְדָּה (wheat) and שֶׁעֶרְבָּיִם (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 veyitshar* (דָגָן תִּירוֹשׁ וַיִּצְהָר). 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.¹³⁹ Estimates of wine consumption in ancient Palestine vary greatly. Dar¹⁴⁰ 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:

Product	Allocated	Weight in kg	Calories provided
Wheat	2 kabs	2.037	6111
Legumes	½ kab	0.597	2035
Olive oil	½ log	0.162	1458
Dried Figs	1 kab	0.713	1640
Total			11244

¹³⁹ Broshi; 1984; p. 33.

¹⁴⁰ Dar; 1995; pp 331f.

The conversions are based on 24 logs = 6 kabs = 1 seah = 8.565 litres.¹⁴¹ 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,¹⁴² the role of other products in the diet is very difficult to fully estimate. It has traditionally been believed that very little meat was eaten¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴ Milk and other dairy products are certain to have been part of the diet. Milk (חֵלֵב) 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 חֶמְצָה identified as curds¹⁴⁵ or butter.¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ Vegetables, fruits and nuts were clearly all known,¹⁴⁸ 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 Frankel¹⁴⁹ 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,¹⁵⁰ 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.

¹⁴⁸ Borowski; 1987.

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."¹⁵¹ 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.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ 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.

¹⁵³ Finkelstein in Levy; pp. 355-356.

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.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.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.¹⁵⁶ The fall of all Palestine to Babylonian control under Nebuchadnezzar (c. 586 BCE) presumably also had a significant impact on the agricultural economy.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 Jerusalem¹⁵⁸ 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"; *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."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.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.¹⁶¹ Oil and wine are recorded as being exported from Palestine during this period.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.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.

¹⁵⁹ War 6:5-8 (6:1:1); trans. Whiston.

¹⁶⁰ Sperber, D.; 1978; pp. 11-28.

¹⁶¹ Sperber, D.; 1978; p. 64.

¹⁶² Sperber, D.; 1978; pp. 65-66 & Mayerson; 1986.

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 it 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 habitation¹⁶⁶ occurs some 2505 times.¹⁶⁷ *Adamah* אֲדָמָה, 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.¹⁶⁸ 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.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰

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.¹⁷¹ The fertility of ancient Palestine was not so great that the times of drought were easily withstood by the inhabitants.

¹⁶⁵ The aspects examined are Land, Nature, Biblical Laws, Festivals, Sacrifices, Agricultural Imagery, Anthropological & Sociological Reconstructions and Canaanite Influences.

¹⁶⁶ "Land"; *ABD*; IV:144.

¹⁶⁷ Goodrick & Kohlenberger; p. 1382.

¹⁶⁸ 1Kg 21. Walsh; 2000; pp. 68-71 examines in detail.

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."¹⁷² 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.¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴ If it is possible to separate out those, which relate only to agricultural practices, thirty are listed.¹⁷⁵ 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

¹⁷² ABD; II; p. 251.

¹⁷³ Dt 28; Borowski; 1992; p. 98.

¹⁷⁴ Wigoder (ed); pp. 208-235.

¹⁷⁵ Op.cit.

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 *שִׁבֹר*.

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.¹⁷⁹ While this does not take into account fully the advances in the understanding of the relationship between farmers and pastoralists,¹⁸⁰ 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).¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸² 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.¹⁸³

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

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.

¹⁸⁴ "Sukkoth"; *EJ.* & Borowski; 1987; pp. 41-43.

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).¹⁸⁶

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.¹⁸⁷ From an anthropological point of view there is no reason to eliminate an immigration or conquest model,¹⁸⁸ yet the archaeological record seems to dismiss the conquest model.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.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.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

¹⁸⁶ "Agriculture"; *ABD*; I:98. "Eating and Drinking in the Old Testament"; *ABD*; II:254.

¹⁸⁷ Rogerson; p. 26.

¹⁸⁸ Rogerson; p. 30.

¹⁸⁹ Levy; p. 363.

¹⁹⁰ Rogerson. Finkelstein in Levy.

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's¹⁹³ 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

¹⁹² Rogerson; p. 21.

¹⁹³ Walsh; 2000.

¹⁹⁴ 1Ch 27.25-28.

¹⁹⁵ Hayman; 1991.

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.¹⁹⁶ 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.¹⁹⁷ For the student of agriculture the suggestion that the Canaanite god Dagon (דַּגֶּן) is in some way linked to the Hebrew word for grain *dagan* (דָּגָן) is intriguing even though the evidence is inconclusive.¹⁹⁸ In a study of wine the possibility that *tîrōš* (תִּירוֹשׁ) may have links to an Ugaritic divine name provides a tantalising hint of the significance of wine, but unfortunately the link is very tenuous.¹⁹⁹

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."²⁰⁰ The agricultural background of the pilgrim festivals alone is enough evidence of the error of this. Hayman's²⁰¹ 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

¹⁹⁶ See above.

¹⁹⁷ "Canaan, Religion of"; *ABD*; I:834. Examples of the use of El include Gn 17.1, 35.1.

¹⁹⁸ "Dagon"; *DDD*; pp. 216-219.

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.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.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.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.

²⁰² Clements; p. 7.

²⁰³ "Theology(OT)"; *ABD*; VI: 449-456.

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.²⁰⁵ 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 society²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷ 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.

²⁰⁵ Clements; p. 8.

²⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*

²⁰⁷ Murray, R.; 1992.

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."²⁰⁸ While Andersen and Freedman were here discussing שִׁקְיָי, 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."²⁰⁹ The nature of 'meaning' is rather ambiguous and shifting. An example is the common translation of כֹּמֶן as 'corn'. 'Corn' in English from the United Kingdom refers to the grain crops of wheat and barley,²¹⁰ 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, Labov²¹¹ 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 כֹּמֶן 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.²¹² 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."²¹³ 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.²¹⁴ 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.²¹⁵ The shift to a semantics based approach began after the Second World War. Barr's seminal works, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*²¹⁶ and *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*,²¹⁷ 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,²¹⁸ 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

²¹² Hoftijzer; 1995.

²¹³ Bodine; 1992B; p. 327.

²¹⁴ Bodine; 1992A; p. 2.

²¹⁵ Bodine; 1992B; p. 331.

²¹⁶ Barr; 1961.

²¹⁷ Barr; 1987 (revised edition of his 1968 work).

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.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.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).

²¹⁹ Bodine; 1992A.

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;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.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.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.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.

²²³ Barr; 1961 & 1987 (1969).

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 (eg, 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 שָׁכַר at 11QT 21.10. In this occurrence שָׁכַר is linked to יָיִן, however it is said to be 'new' where as the early translators almost always said it was 'old'.²²⁵ Thus, a contradiction in the evidence about שָׁכַר 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

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*)."²²⁶ 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,²²⁷ 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.²²⁸ 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

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.²²⁹ 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: סָבַא; רָוַה; שָׁכַר; שָׁקַה; שָׁתַה. It was interesting to note that three out of the five verbs had a word under consideration derived from them, the exceptions being רָוַה and שָׁתַה. רָוַה appears to have cognates related to it meaning moisture (רִי), watered (רָוַה) and saturation (רָוַה), but perhaps more interestingly appears to be related to the words sometimes used by the Targums and Peshitta to translate שָׁכַר, שָׁקַה and סָבַא.²³⁰ שָׁתַה has the derived noun מִשְׁתָּה 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.

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 **נִזְרַק** "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 **יֵצֶר** "vinegar" be included in the semantic field of wine? This study has examined **יֵצֶר** 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, **יֵצֶר** 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 **יֵצֶר** 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*²³¹ 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 beverages²³² 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 Briggs²³⁴ suggest "wine-press" as a possible translation for each of the terms **תַּבַּח**, **בַּקֵּב** and **פַּיִתָּה**. BDB²³⁵ also notes that **בַּקֵּב** may be a "wine-vat" which comes after the **תַּבַּח**, however, Frankel²³⁶ says that all three terms refer to the "winery." For a full

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).²³⁷ 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.²³⁸ 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,²³⁹ however, in more recent pictures this area only shows what appears to be the artist's outline with all the colour having deteriorated.²⁴⁰ This change has the potential to change completely the understanding of the place of a key component of wine making in the ancient world.²⁴¹ 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. Walsh²⁴² uses Calabresi²⁴³ to illustrate the life and work of the pre-industrial wine maker. Nowhere, however,

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. Dalman²⁴⁴ 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,²⁴⁵ an exotic pest from the Americas not known in Europe and the Near East until the middle of the nineteenth century.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.²⁴⁷ Aristotle is sometimes quoted as distilling wine, but it appears that he was only able to recover water and not alcohol.²⁴⁸ As alcohol boils at 78°C²⁴⁹ 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,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

²⁴³ Calabresi; 1987.

²⁴⁴ Dalman; 1964.

²⁴⁵ Dalman; 1964; IV; p. 297.

²⁴⁶ "Phylloxera"; *OCW*; p. 725.

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.

²⁴⁸ Aristotle, *Meteorology*, Book II, Part 3,

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/meteorology.2.ii.html#361>.

²⁴⁹ Table 26: Physical Properties of Selected Alcohols; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; 1999; CD-ROM.

²⁵⁰ Younger; 1966; pp. 323-324.

twelfth century CE Italy.²⁵¹ 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.²⁵² 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)²⁵³ are listed as the ingredients of ancient beer.²⁵⁴ 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.²⁵⁵ 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/>.

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 beer²⁵⁶ 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 סִבָּא, about which little is known, may refer to beer. Boling's²⁵⁷ suggestion that שֶׁכֶר 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.

²⁵⁹ "Yeast", pp.1079-1080; & "Alcoholic Strength", pp. 14-15; in *The Oxford Companion to Wine*.

²⁶⁰ "Botrytised", p. 137, in *The Oxford Companion to Wine*.

into alcoholic beverages would have little advantage to the farmer of ancient Palestine. Date wine was made from dates soaked in water,²⁶¹ likewise mead is the product of honey and water.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?

²⁶¹ Forbes, R.; 1956; p.276; Pliny. *Nat Hist* XIV 102.

²⁶² "Mead"; *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.²⁶³ 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 chart²⁶⁴ 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,²⁶⁵ which means it is less prone to bacterial spoilage and easier to store long term.²⁶⁶ Singleton²⁶⁷ 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.²⁶⁸ 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.

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:



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. Dar²⁷¹ 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 wine²⁷² (champagne) production. Frankel's²⁷³ and Walsh's²⁷⁴ 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"; *OCW*; pp. 382 - 383.

²⁷⁰ "Pasteur"; *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 17th century CE. "Champagne"; *OCW*; p. 210.

²⁷³ Frankel; 1999; pp. 41-43.

²⁷⁴ Walsh; 2000; pp. 187-192.

²⁷⁵ No record of this family of grape varieties exist before the 17th century CE.

²⁷⁶ "Grape" & "Teinturier"; *OCW*; pp. 458-459 & 958-959.

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.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-Mendels²⁷⁸ 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 (CO₂) 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 CO₂ 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 CO₂ from the ferment to protect the wine, unlike a modern winemaker who can add a cap of CO₂ 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 consumption²⁷⁹ 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

²⁷⁷ "Maceration"; *OCW*; pp.583-585.

²⁷⁸ Dayagi-Mendels; 1999; p. 22.

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;²⁸⁰ 2) fermentation vessel;²⁸¹ and 3) the press²⁸². 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.²⁸³ 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,²⁸⁴ is in effect a miniature portable version of this type of winery. The simple wineries identified by Frankel²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶ 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.²⁸⁷ 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. However, the "cup marks" found in some wineries may have been anchor points for

still occurring a vent for the carbon dioxide would have been required. Once fermentation had finished an airtight seal would have replaced or blocked the vented seal.

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.²⁸⁸ Frankel identifies the screw press as the main winepress in Israel and surrounding countries.²⁸⁹ However, it would appear that the screw press was not invented until the last century BCE.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.²⁹¹ Some white wines are attested in the ancient world, but not until Greco-Roman times.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 varieties 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 making²⁹³ but this is rare as the wines tend to develop quickly.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.²⁹⁵ The conditions for storage of fresh grape juice²⁹⁶ would not have been readily available. Secondly, a term for grape juice appears in the Hebrew Bible מִשְׁרֵת עֲנָבִים (Nu 6.3).²⁹⁷ This suggests the search for a term for grape juice amongst the other terms in the semantic field of wine is unnecessary.

²⁸⁸ Frankel; 1999; p. 55.

²⁸⁹ Frankel; 1999; p. 140.

²⁹⁰ Frankel; 1999; p. 107.

²⁹¹ Happ; 2000.

²⁹² "Egypt"; *OCW*; pp. 355-356.

²⁹³ O'Callaghan, R; Back label of *1999 Rockford Eden Valley Riesling*.

²⁹⁴ Knock, Justin; 2002; Personal correspondence with the Assistant Winemaker at Devil's Lair.

²⁹⁵ McGovern & Michel; 1995; p. 63.

²⁹⁶ Teachout; p. 398.

²⁹⁷ See Chapter 7.11.

Strong Drink

BDB²⁹⁸ offers the translation of "strong drink" for שִׁכָּר. This, however, must come in the context of alcoholic beverage production in ancient Palestine. Most arguments surrounding the identification of שִׁכָּר 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 commentators²⁹⁹ 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

²⁹⁸ BDB; p. 1016.

²⁹⁹ E.g. Boling, for others see below under שִׁכָּר.

³⁰⁰ "Yeast", pp.1079-1080; & "Alcoholic Strength", pp. 14-15; in *The Oxford Companion to Wine*.

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.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.³⁰⁵ This process is sped up or can happen during fermentation if acetobacter or similar organisms are present.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.

³⁰⁴ "Barrel"; *OCW*; p. 94.

³⁰⁵ "Vinegar"; *OCW*; p. 1032.

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 יִצְהָר “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 י"י

י"י 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 י"י 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, Ezk 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 *ka i tou oimou* sou to Ex 23.25 suggesting וַיִּי אֶת־וַיִּי. There is little reason to prefer the Masoretic text over the Septuagint except that לְהַחֲלִי, while commonly in parallel with either וַיִּי or מַיִם, at no other place in the Hebrew Bible is in parallel with both. The Septuagint of Ho 3.2 reads *nebel oimou* thought to reflect וַיִּי נֶבֶל. The repetition of שְׁעָרַיִם in the verse and the Septuagint replacing one with the lexeme leads many commentators to believe the Septuagint is preferred³⁰⁸ or at least a viable reading.³⁰⁹ The Septuagint adds *oimou* at Ex 32.18. This is probably a clarification and is not preferred over the Masoretic text. The Targums, Peshitta and Vulgate translate the שְׁכָר of Nu 28.7 as if it were וַיִּי. Some Septuagint MSS add *tou oimou*. This reflects the unusual nature of using שְׁכָר as a libation and is probably unwarranted. The word order of Nu 28.14 is somewhat unstable³¹⁰. Nevertheless, וַיִּי 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 *oimou ka i mezusma* equivalent to וַיִּי וְשְׁכָר. There is no consensus as to whether either text is to be preferred. The Septuagint of Ezk 27.19 starts *ka i oimou*. Whether the verse reflects a different origin to the Masoretic text or a paraphrase is difficult to discern. For וַיִּי at Hb 2.5, 1QpHab 8.3 reads הוֹן "wealth". Others would amend it to הוֹי "woe" and consider it the first of six "woes." This is unlikely as 5a is still talking about the arrogant man.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Stuart 1987:63 n 2c.

³⁰⁹ Andersen & Freedman 1980:300.

³¹⁰ BHS p. 266.

³¹¹ Smith 1984; p. 107-08.

In the fragments of the Hebrew Book of Ben Sira, יִי occurs 16 times³¹²: 9.10, 19.2, 31.11, 25, 26, 27 (x2), 28, 29, 31, 32.4, 5 (x2), 6, 40.20, 49.1. Whether יִי occurs in Sir 40.18 is doubtful. MS B reads יִי וְשָׂרָה יִמְתַּקֵּן with a margin note suggesting יִי וְשָׂרָה should read יִתֵּר שָׂרָה. MS M reads יִתֵּר [] כִּי יִמְתַּקֵּן. The Septuagint supports the reading of MS M.

יִי occurs 27 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls that have been officially published:

1QpMic(14) 17+ 1.3, 4QpIsa^b(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 Jubilees³¹³ 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.

יִי is found in approximately 38 inscriptions. In many of these inscriptions a shorter form יִ is used, probably reflecting the northern dialects of Hebrew³¹⁴: 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 (3Q5); 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.

010.3, 011.1, 012.3, 013.3, 014.3, 015.2, 020.2, 026.2, 044.3, 053.1, 054.1, 062.1, 072.1, 073.2, 089.1, 101.1, RR-Kom(8):6 = D-26.001.1. Renz and Röllig read יָי (RR-Sam(8):1.35.3) where Davies reads *yw[]* (D-3.035.3). יָי may also occur at RR-RZet(10):1.1 although this is probably Phoenician not Hebrew.

Root and Comparative Material

יָי 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. יָי is probably a primary (or primitive) noun or derived from one.

There has been much speculation as to the origin of the lexeme יָי. With evidence suggesting that viticulture originated in the Caucasus,³¹⁵ Dommershausen³¹⁶ 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,³¹⁷ 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. Brown³¹⁸ finds that despite the large number of cognates, the word is "marginal" in the Semitic languages outside Canaan. Gorny³¹⁹ 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 trilateral root has led to a number of attempts to demonstrate a trilateral root for יָי. Brown, Driver and Briggs³²⁰ suggests the root may be יָי of meaning unknown although it is regarded as a loan word by

³¹⁵ See Chapter 3.

³¹⁶ Dommershausen; 1990; p. 60.

³¹⁷ Rabin; 1963; p. 138.

³¹⁸ Brown; 1969; p. 148.

³¹⁹ Gorny; 1995; p. 150.

³²⁰ BDB; p. 406.

Lagarde and Hommel. Frankel³²¹ believes that the original root was 'almost certainly' *wyn*. Frankel cites Brown³²² 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 Selms³²³ argues that יין is derived from the root ינן "to oppress." Van Selms argument is not particularly convincing as he then shows another Hebrew noun which may be linked to a *y-w(y)-n* or *y-n-y* root, namely יין, "mire."³²⁴ Dommershausen³²⁵ notes that Hehn proposes a root *vei* (Lat *vieo*) "wind." This is totally hypothetical and unlikely given the spread of the cognates. Koehler and Baumgartner³²⁶ follow the idea that יין 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 יין is either a loan word or a primary noun or both.

Regardless of its origin, יין 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 יין in Hebrew, there is no firm evidence of its use in Aramaic. The one cited example of *yyn* in official Aramaic is a doubtful reading.³²⁷ In Aramaic the word for "wine" is a form of יין. The cognates³²⁸ in the Semitic languages include: Ugaritic, Ammonite and Samaria ostraca *yn* "wine"; Old Canaanite *ye-nu*; Ethiopian *wain* "vine, wine"; Amharic *wain* "vine, grape"; Old South Arabian *wyn*, *yyn* "vineyard"; Arabic *wayn* "black grapes"; and Sabaean *wynhmw* "their vineyards". The Mediterranean languages are more consistent with cognates meaning "wine": Cretan *FOINO*; Cypriote *wo-i-no*; Greek οἴνο; Latin *vinum*; Iguvine (Umbrian) *uinu*; and Etruscan *vinum*. The old poetic Greek word for the "vine" is the cognate οἴνη although this fell into disuse quite

³²¹ Frankel; 1999; p. 198.

³²² Brown; 1969. Frankel also cites Kutcher; 1961; *Words and their History* (Hebrew) unsighted by this author.

³²³ van Selms; 1974; pp. 77-80.

³²⁴ van Selms; 1974; p. 83.

³²⁵ Dommerhausen; 1990; p. 60.

³²⁶ HAL; p. 409.

³²⁷ DNSWI; p. 465.

³²⁸ The cognates are compiled from BDB, HAL, DNSWI and Brown; 1969.

early and was replaced by *ampeloj*.³²⁹ Latin retained the cognate for "vine, vineyard" *vinea*.

Formal Characteristics

וַיִּ 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 וַיִּ shows the following uses of the lexeme:

- 1 a) וַיִּ is the object of qal שָׂתָה (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, Ezk 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), יָצָא (Jdg 13.14 1st occurrence), נָשָׂא (1Sm 10.3, Neh 2.1 2nd occurrence), הָלַם (Is 28.1), שָׁגָה (Is 28.7 1st occurrence), נָשַׁבַר (Is 29.9, 51.21), לָקַח (Is 56.12, Jr 25.15), עָבַר (Jr 23.9), נָתַן (Jr 35.5 1st occurrence, Pr 31.6), מָכַר (Jl 4.3), הִמָּה (Zc 9.15), שָׁמַח (Zc 10.7), מָסַךְ (Pr 9.2), הָיָה (Pr 23.20), רָאָה (Pr 23.31), טוֹב (Ct 4.10), רָבַב (Est 1.7), חָסַר (Sir 31.27 2nd occurrence), nifal עָשָׂה (Nu 6.4), בָּלַע (Is 28.7 2nd occurrence), מָלָא (Jr 13.12 (x2)), piel אָחַר (Pr 23.30), hifil קָרַב (Nu 15.7, 10, 11QT 19.15), סוֹרַר (1Sm 1.14), דָּלַק (Is 5.11//4QpIs^b(162) 2.2), בּוֹא (1Ch 12.41), pual דִּרְדַּךְ (Is 16.10), hitpael רִוַּן (Ps 78.65), גָּאֵל (Dn 1.8), גָּבַר (Sir 31.25).
- b) direct object of qal נָסַךְ (Ho 9.4), בּוֹא (Ct 2.4), hifil שָׁקָה (Gn 19.32, 33, 34, Jr 35.2, Am 2.12, Ps 60.5, Ct 8.2), בּוֹא (Gn 27.25), נָטַף (Mc 2.11).
- c) indirect object of hifil שָׁבַה (Jr 48.33).
- d) an element of a compound object of qal עָשָׂה (Ex 29.40), שָׂתָה (Lv 10.9, Nu 6.3 2nd occurrence, Dt 28.39, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14 (2nd occurrence), 1Sm 1.15), הָיָה (Nu

³²⁹ LSJ; p. 1206.

28.14, Is 5.12//4QpIs^b(162) 2.3), לקח (Josh 9.4, 1Sm 16.20, Neh 5.15, 11QT 43.15), שבר (Is 55.1), אסף (Jr 40.10, 12), נגע (Hg 2.12), אהב (Pr 21.17), נתן (2Ch 2.9, 11.11), שלח (2Ch 2.14), אכל (11QT 43.7), niphal עשה (Neh 5.18), piel אודה (Dt 14.26) hifil יצא (Gn 14.18), נזר (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), חלה (Ho 7.5), pual מנה (1Ch 9.29), קטר (11QT 34.13).

e) an element of a compound direct object of qal עמס (Neh 13.15), בוא (11QT 47.12), כבד (11QT 49.12).

f) an element of a compound object in a nominal clause (Jdg 19.19).

g) an object complement of שָׁכַר which is the object of qal נסך (11QT 21.10).

2 יין is the predicate of נִסְכָּה (Lv 23.13), זָכַר (Ho 14.8), בְּמַנִּי (Jb 32.19), אִיָּהּ (La 2.12).

3 יין is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal יקץ (Gn 9.24), טוב (2Sm 13.28), חבש (2Sm 16.1), מִשְׁךְ (Qoh 2.3), טוב (Est 1.10), שׁוּב (Est 7.8), piel כבס (Gn 49.11), מנה (Dn 1.5), predicate (Gn 49.12, Ct 1.2, 4, 7.10, Sir 32.4, 5(x2), 6, 49.1), hifil עלה (1Sm 1.24), nominal clause (Is 24.11).

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

5 יין is part of an adjectival phrase modifying פֹּסֵם (Ps 75.9), פָּרָם (1Ch 27.27).

6 a) יין is the subject of qal יצא (1Sm 25.37), לקח (Ho 4.11), בגד (Hb 2.5), לִיץ (Pr 20.1, Sir 31.26), קום (Est 7.7), נשא (Dn 1.16), בוא (Dn 10.3), חדה (Sir 31.11 [probably]), piel שָׁמַח (Ps 104.15, Qoh 10.19), niphal שָׁתָה (Sir 31.28, 29).

b) יין is an element of the compound subject of qal מִתְקַן (Sir 40.18 [see Text Doubtful]), היה (11QT 47.6), hifil פָּחַז (Sir 19.2), עבץ (Sir 40.20).

c) יין is the subject of predicate חָמַת תִּנְיָנִים (Dt 32.33//CD 8.9//19.22), חָדַשׁ (Josh 9.13, Sir 9.10), לְפָנָיו (Neh 2.1 1st occurrence), חִיִּים (Sir 31.27 1st occurrence), הוא דרכיהם (CD 8.10//19.23).

8 יין is the Nomen regens of נִסִּיךְ (Dt 32.38), חָמָה (Jr 25.15), חָלַבּוֹן (Ezk 27.18), לְבָנוֹן (Ho 14.8), עֲנוּשִׁים (Am 2.8), חָמָם (Pr 4.17), מִלְכוּת (Est 1.7), מִשְׁתָּה (Dn 1.5, 8, 16), חָדַשׁ (11QT 19.14).

9 יין is the Nomen rectum of יין (Ex 29.40), חמץ (Nu 6.3 2nd occurrence), גפן (Nu 6.4, Jdg 13.14 1st occurrence), נאד (Josh 9.4, 13, 1Sm 16.20, 25.18), נבל (1Sm 1.24, 10.3, 2Sm 16.1), פום (Jr 25.15), גביע (Jr 35.5 1st occurrence), חמת (Ho 7.5), משקה (Est 7.7, 8, Sir 31.31, 32.5(x2), 6, 49.1), כל (Neh 5.18), אוצר (1Ch 27.27), מקום (Sir 32.4).

10 יין is the genitive of נבל (1Sm 25.18), qal particle סבא (Pr 23.20), בית (Ct 2.4).

11 יין takes the preposition -ין (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), -ב (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), -על (Is 24.11, Pr 23.30, Sir 31.25, 11QT 19.15), -ל (Mc 2.11), -אל (Hg 2.12), פמו (Zc 9.15, 10.7), -ב (Jb 32.19, Ct 7.10).

12 יין 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 יין, an examination of the earliest translations or versions of the Hebrew Bible confirms the understanding of יין 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 יין 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 γλεῦκος "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, יין 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^A 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: סבאי-יין becomes *οἰνοποτῆς* (Pr 23.20); משקה יין is translated *ποτῆς* (Est 5.6, 7.2) or *sumposia* (Est 7.7, 7.8). Mc 6.15 in the Hebrew contains both היירוש and יין. 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 *οἶνος* in the verse probably reflects היירוש. The sense of this verse is consistent.

In the Peshitta, יין is most commonly translated as *hāmra’*. 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, יין 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 יין 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 יין as יַיִן. 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 כַּס פּוּרְעָנוּת "cup of punishment" for יין. In some manuscripts of Targum Neophyti the second occurrence of יין in Nu 6.3 is omitted but understood.

The Vulgate, in most cases, translates יין 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 יין is the nomen rectum of גִּפְיָן, the qualifying גִּפְיָן is ignored and the phrase translated simply as *vinea*. Two phrases סִבְאֵי-יין (Pr 23.20) and מִשְׁתֵּהּ הַיין (Est 7.7, 8) are translated as *convivium*.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

The lexeme יין 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 יין 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 יין. It is a beverage, that is, able to be drunk (consumed) (שָׁתָה) (Gn 9.21, Nu 6.20, etc). יין is presumably alcoholic as it causes drunkenness (שָׁכַר) (eg Gn 9.21), waywardness (שָׁגָה) and confusion (בָּלַע) (Is 28.7), while it has the ability to gladden the heart (Ps 104.15). The origin and production of יין, 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 יין 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. יין is used in parallel³³⁴ with תירוש (תירש), חמץ, דם-ענבים, משרת ענבים, מסך, ממסך, עסים, שכר as a starting point, it is necessary to add מזוג, סבא, שקוי, חמר which, while not in parallel with יין, 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 יין 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.

יין is used in the sacrifices of the cult as a drink offering (נסך) (eg, Lv 10.9) and is in parallel with the other elements of the sacrificial calendar: שמן "oil"; סלת "flour"; כבש "lamb" (eg, Ex 29.40); פר "bull"; איל "ram" (eg, Nu 28.18). Thus, if a semantic field of the items on the sacrificial roster were to be developed, יין 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 יין and the other sacrifices could be found as members, is the field of agricultural produce. The place of יין in this field is confirmed by the regularity with which יין is in parallel with other agricultural produce and food stuffs: לחם "bread" (eg, Gn 14.18), גדי "young goat" (1Sm 16.20), צאן "small cattle (sheep, goats)", קלי "parched/roasted grain", צמוקים "raisin cakes", דביל "cake of figs"(eg, 1Sm 25.18), קיץ "summer fruits" (eg, 2Sm 16.1), חלב "milk" (Is 55.1), נזיד "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.

³³⁴ The occurrences of these terms in parallel with יין 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. יין is often in parallel with the vineyard [see כַּרְם], parts of the vine [see נֶפֶץ and עֵנָב] and wine making equipment [see יֵקֶב]. 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 יין 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.

יין 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's³³⁶ 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

³³⁵ Sawyer; 1972; p. 30.

³³⁶ Goodenough; 1956.

appears that Goodenough³³⁷ 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).

Bright³⁴¹ 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 יין is Teachout, who concludes that יין "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

³³⁷ Op. cit. p. 198.

³³⁸ Smith; 1967.

³³⁹ Wieder; 1971; p. 160, Dommershausen; 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, Wilson³⁴⁵ realised this argument failed despite a personal wish that it were otherwise.

Outside the temperance movement, יין has received relatively little attention from commentators, probably because the literal meaning of יין is well understood.

Conclusion

יין 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 יין with the Greek and Latin words for wine and the clear links to the vineyard and its produce make יין the least disputed word in the semantic field of wine.

³⁴⁵ Wilson; 1877; pp. 1-3.

7.2 תירוש

After יין, תירוש is the most common word for wine in the Hebrew Bible. תירוש occurs thirty eight times in two main forms תירוש and תירוש. There appears to be no suggestion that תירוש 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 תירוש appears is a matter of some contention.

Of the two forms, תירוש 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. תירוש 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 תירוש at Mc 6.15 is an imperfect form of ירש. This has been largely rejected.³⁴⁶

The three occurrences in the Book of Ben Sira are all of the form תירוש: 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 תירוש in the Dead Sea Scrolls are all of the form תירוש or are at least reconstructed in this form: 1QS 6.4, 5, 6, 1QS^a 2.17, 18, 19, 20, 1QH 10.24, 4QpHos^a(166) 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 21.8^t, 38.4, 43.3, 8, 9, 60.6, 11Q20 5.11(//11QT 21.8).

³⁴⁶ HAL; p. 1727; Healey; 1999; pp. 871-72.

Root and Comparative Material

There is no consensus on the etymology of תִּירוּשׁ. Theories about the etymology of תִּירוּשׁ 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 תִּירוּשׁ 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 ירש. ירש in the Hebrew Bible means "take possession of, inherit, dispossess." Debate continues as to whether there is a single ירש root, with a form meaning "to take possession by force, to press out," or whether there is second ירש root, not attested in Biblical Hebrew, meaning "to tread down, press wine."³⁴⁷

Dietrich-Loretz proposed that the Semitic root from which תִּירוּשׁ was derived should be *yrt*. This was based on the Ugaritic cognate noun *trt*. This proposal has been shown to be lacking but does leave open the possibility that תִּירוּשׁ 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 ראש "head" or רוש "to be poor" may have offered a Semitic root for תִּירוּשׁ. This is not a serious contender for information about the root of תִּירוּשׁ as it is very midrashic.

Köhler suggested that תִּירוּשׁ was the old Canaanite word for wine which was later replaced by יין. The occurrence of *yn* in Ugaritic calls into doubt this proposal.³⁴⁹

The suggestion that תִּירוּשׁ is a loan word is closely linked to discussions of the cognates. Cognates of תִּירוּשׁ are relatively few. The Greek *quzsoj* and its parallel

³⁴⁷ HAL; p.1727.

³⁴⁸ Op. cit.

³⁴⁹ Op. cit.

form in Latin *thyrsus* mean a "staff twined with ivy and vine." Punic and Phoenician have *trš* "new wine";³⁵⁰ and Ugaritic *trt*.³⁵¹ The cognate noun appearing in Hittite *tuwarsa* "vine stem" has been suggested by Brown³⁵² and Rabin³⁵³ to be potentially the loan word from which תִּירוֹשׁ was derived, although it has also been suggested that this Hittite word was a loan word from the Semitic languages.³⁵⁴ 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."³⁵⁵ There is further tentative evidence linking תִּירוֹשׁ 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.³⁵⁶ This is confirmed by the appearance of *trt* as a divine name in the Ugaritic offering lists *KTU* 1.39:16 and 102:9.³⁵⁷

Formal Characteristics

תִּירוֹשׁ is consistently a singular or collective masculine noun. תִּירוֹשׁ is of the rare קִיטוֹל form. This form is probably a qitāl form with abnormal lengthening of the \bar{i} .³⁵⁸

Syntagmatics

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of תִּירוֹשׁ shows the following uses of the lexeme:

תִּירוֹשׁ is an object of qal יָתַן (Gn 27.28, Nu 18.12, Dt 18.4, Neh 13.5, Ho 2.10, 11Q14 1 2.10), סָמַד (Gn 27.37), אָסַף (Dt 11.14), חָדַל (Jdg 9.13), פָּרַץ (Pr 3.10),

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.

לְקַח (Ho 2.11), עָנָה (Ho 2.24), שָׁלַח (Jl 2.19), דָּרַךְ (Mc 6.15), שֶׁלַח (1QS^a 2.19 reconstructed), אָכַל (Dt 12.17, 14.23, 1QS 6.4, 4Q251 reconstructed), בָּרַךְ (1QS^a 2.20 reconstructed), נִשְׁתָּה (Is 62.8, 1QS^a 2.17 reconstructed), מָסַךְ (1QS^a 2.18 reconstructed), piel בָּרַךְ (Dt 7.13), hifil שָׁאַר (Dt 28.51), שׁוּב (Jl 2.24), נִשְׁבַּח (Neh 5.11), בִּוֵּא (Neh 10.40, 13.12), רָבָה (2Ch 31.5), סוּר (Sir 31.28), בָּרַךְ (1QS 6.5, 6), understood verb "to be" (11QT 60.6).

2 תירוש is the subject of qal אָכַל (Is 24.7), רָבַב (Ps 4.8), לְקַח (Ho 4.11), nifal מָצָא (Is 65.8), piel כָּחַשׁ (Ho 9.2), hifil יָבֵשׁ (Jl 1.10), כָּשַׁל (Sir 31.25), polel נוֹיב (Zc 9.17).

3 תירוש is the nomen rectum of מְעִשֵּׂר (Dt 12.17, 14.23, Neh 13.12, 11QT 60.6), רֵאשִׁית (Dt 18.4, 2Ch 31.5, also perhaps 4Q524 6-13.6 reconstructed), אֲרֵיז (Dt 33.28, 2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17), תְּרוּמַת (Neh 10.40), תְּבוּאָה (2Ch 32.28), רוֹב (1QH 10.24), יָקַב (4Q500 1 3), מוֹעַד (11QT 43.8, 9).

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

5 תירוש is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal שָׁכַן (Dt 33.28), נָהַר (Jr 31.12), קָרָא (Hg 1.11), כִּפַּר (11QT 21.8), אָכַל (11Qt 43.8, 9), hitpael גָּרַר/גוּר/גָּדַד (Ho 7.14).

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

7 תירוש is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase describing מְסִבְנוֹת (2Ch 32.28), קוֹל מְזֹמֹר (Sir 32.6), חֵיל גְבוּרִים (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 תירוש as *οἶνος* 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, *ἄκρον* & being found in the grape (Is 65.8). In Ho 4.11 both תירוש

³⁵⁸ Jouon Muraoka; §88G.

and תירוש occur, on the basis of word order it would appear than תירוש is translated as *mesuma* and תירוש is translated as *oimj*. As previously mentioned,³⁵⁹ תירוש of Mc 6.15 may be omitted by the Septuagint, but this appears unlikely.

Most commonly the Peshitta translates תירוש as *hāmra*'. The exceptions are 'ādšē' (Jdg 9.13); the verse is paraphrased (2Kg 18.32, Is 24.7); *mešhā*' "oil" (Is 36.17, Ho 9.2); *tātīe*³⁶⁰ "small bunch or cluster of grapes" (Is 65.8); *rāwāyutā*' "strong drink" (Ho 4.11).

The Targums are relatively consistent in translating תירוש as תמר. 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.³⁶¹ 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 תירוש (Ho 4.11) is dealt with by the translation of תירוש as רייותא a rare word, which Jastrow translates as "strong drink."³⁶² The Targum to Joel 1:10 says "the vine (גופי) 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 ענב.

The Vulgate translates תירוש 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

³⁵⁹ See discussion of Mc 6.15 in the Septuagint in regards to תירוש.

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. רייותא follows Sperber while at least one edition of the *Miqra'ot Gedolot* has רייותא. Jastrow records the latter and another variation in spelling.

grape. Ho 4.11 offers *ebrietas* "drunkenness" for תירוש to take into account the occurrence of יין in this verse.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

תירוש is clearly a member of the lexical field of wine. It can be drunk שתה (Is 62.8) and is a product of the vine גפן (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 יין (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 גפן, and Is 65.8, where it is in parallel with אשכול "grape cluster."

תירוש is frequently in parallel with דגן and or יצהר. 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^a(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 דגן: Gn 27.28, 37, Dt 33.28, Ps 4.8, Is 36.17, 62.8, Ho 2.11, 7.14, 9.2 (דגן in 9.1), Zc 9.17. The two examples where תירוש is in parallel with יצהר without דגן, a word for grain or a grain product appears: Jl 2.24 (בָּר "grain"), Neh 10.38 (עֲרִיסָה "coarse meal, dough"). This firmly places the lexeme in the field of agricultural produce. This field is quite large and Borowski³⁶³ divides it into three: field crops (including חֲמָה, שְׂעֵרָה, דָּחַן, פּוּל); produce of fruit trees (including עֵנָב, בְּבוּרָה, קִיץ, רַמּוֹן, נִיֵּת, and the processed products such as יין, שֶׁמֶן); and vegetables (mostly rare lexemes inconclusively identified). For further details on this field see Borowski³⁶⁴ and Zohary³⁶⁵.

³⁶³ Borowski; 1992; pp. 95-98.

³⁶⁴ Borowski; 1987 and 1992.

³⁶⁵ Zohary; 1982.

Rabbinic Writings

Compared to the use of יין and תִּבְרֵךְ in Rabbinic writings, the use of תִּירוֹשׁ is negligible. Nevertheless, the comments of the Rabbis are the oldest commentary on the meaning of the lexeme surviving.

The Mishnah does not use תִּירוֹשׁ at all.³⁶⁶ While it may be expected that תִּירוֹשׁ 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 תִּירוֹשׁ occur in the Babylonian Talmud. תִּירֵשׁ appears five times. Three of these quote from the Hebrew Bible³⁶⁷ 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. תִּירוֹשׁ appears forty-two times in twenty pages. Every use of תִּירוֹשׁ in the Talmud is either a direct quote from the Hebrew Bible or commentary resulting from a quote. That the rabbis thought תִּירוֹשׁ was wine is stated four times.³⁶⁸

תִּירוֹשׁ appears eleven times in six sections in Midrash Rabbah (all in the תִּירוֹשׁ form). Each section quotes a verse from the Hebrew Bible. Three of these pages' discussions also include one or more other uses of תִּירוֹשׁ. Numbers Rabbah 18:16 contains the most definite link between תִּירוֹשׁ and the main Hebrew word for wine *yayin*: "tirosh this is wine" (תִּירוֹשׁ זֶה יַיִן). Genesis Rabbah 29:1-2 provides a potential insight into the problem of תִּירוֹשׁ 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 תִּירוֹשׁ, but merely have the potential to produce it. This interpretation of Is 65:8 eliminates one of the main reasons for translating תִּירוֹשׁ as "must" or even "grape."³⁶⁹

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 (eg, **בָּר**, **דָּגָן**) as well as the names of individual varieties of grain (eg, **חֲטָה** "wheat", **שְׂעֹרָה** "barley") are attested. Nevertheless, the attempt to discover in what way **תירוש** differed from **יין** has produced material influencing and, sometimes, valuable in the identification of **תירוש**.

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

Naeh & Weitzman's³⁷² study of **תירוש** is problematic. They suggest that **תירוש** 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 **תירוש** is feasible, it is unnecessary. Their appeal to the few examples of the versions translating **תירוש** as something other than "wine" is not convincing given the overall consistency of **תירוש** being translated using a word for "wine." The strongest case is for Tosefta Nedarim 4.3, where **תירוש** is forbidden but **יין** is permitted, however, this contradicts most other Rabbinic material.³⁷³ The suggestion of an evolution of the meaning of **תירוש** is based solely on a single occurrence in the Tosefta and cannot be considered convincing.

³⁷⁰ Stuart 1987; p. 44 n. 10a.

³⁷¹ Speiser 1964; p. 209.

³⁷² Naeh & Weitzman; 1994.

³⁷³ See above.

Fensham³⁷⁴ suggests that as תִּירוֹשׁ and תִּגְנָן refer to the basic agricultural activities of Israel, תִּירוֹשׁ must refer to the vineyard in some occurrences. This argument appears to hold more for the cognates in Ugaritic than for the use of תִּירוֹשׁ in Hebrew.

Perhaps the most interesting observation Fensham offers is that *yn* and *trt* 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 תִּירוֹשׁ with the divine name cognate in Ugaritic provides many possible interpretations of occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. However, the deity *Tiršu* / *trt* does not explicitly appear in the Hebrew Bible although Dahood³⁷⁵ and others find allusion to the deity in the use of the lexeme with תִּגְנָן. 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 Dagan are found in many parts of the Ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia.³⁷⁶ There is clearly a similarity between the Hebrew word for grain, תִּגְנָן, and the deity Dagan. The idea of linking תִּגְנָן 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.³⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the etymological link is not certain and some have tried to link Dagan to תִּנְיָהוּ, the Hebrew word for "fish."³⁷⁸ The discovery that an Ugaritic word for wine, *trt*, was also the name of an Ugaritic deity has provoked much speculation. Albright³⁷⁹ and Dahood³⁸⁰ propose that the Biblical use of תִּירוֹשׁ often reflects traces of the continuing effects the old Canaanite gods had on the people who supposedly only followed YHWH. In the case of תִּירוֹשׁ, 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

³⁷⁴ Fensham; 1972; pp. 299, 302.

³⁷⁵ Dahood; 1974; p. 387.

³⁷⁶ DDD; pp. 216-219.

³⁷⁷ DDD; p. 217.

³⁷⁸ Op.cit.

³⁷⁹ Albright; *BASOR*; 139 (1955); p. 18.

³⁸⁰ Dahood; 1974; p. 387. This article references Dahood's previous articles on the matter.

god in what would become Palestine,³⁸¹ although the Bible does not mention the god by name. The link between *trt* and תִּירוֹשׁ is made stronger by the fact *t* tends to shift to *š* in Hebrew and Phoenician giving *trš*.³⁸² 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 Tirosh³⁸³ and in Hosea 7:14 where there is a possibility that the inappropriate pleas for דָּגָן and תִּירוֹשׁ are in fact pleas to Dagan and Tirosh.³⁸⁴ Ahlström believes that sections of Joel may also reflect the condemnation of old fertility rites of deities such as Dagan and Tirosh.³⁸⁵ Thus, despite the fact that it is impossible to state absolutely the link between תִּירוֹשׁ and the similarly named Ugaritic deity, the blessing/sacrifice motif running through the uses of תִּירוֹשׁ 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 Teachout³⁸⁶ make this restriction, as does Vermes³⁸⁷ in discussing the Dead Sea Scrolls. Certainly in Late Biblical Hebrew (Neh 13.12, 2Ch 32.28), תִּירוֹשׁ 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.³⁸⁸

Conclusions

There is little doubt that תִּירוֹשׁ 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),³⁸⁹ which did not immediately begin to ferment. Understanding the difference between תִּירוֹשׁ, יַיִן and the other words in the field of wine requires

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.

³⁸⁶ Teachout; 1979; pp. 145-46.

³⁸⁷ Vermes; 1995; p. 7.

³⁸⁸ See p. 84 above.

more information than is available. Nevertheless, תִּירוֹשׁ may have poetic and or ritual overtones.

³⁸⁹ Verjuice is the juice made from unripe grapes. It is highly acidic and does not have enough sugar to ferment.

7.3 שִׁכָּר

The third most common word naming a style of wine or alcoholic beverage in the Hebrew Bible is שִׁכָּר. That שִׁכָּר is related to the verb שָׁכַר "be, or become, drunk, drunken"³⁹⁰ is undisputed. However, the nature of שִׁכָּר is less than clear, other than that it is an intoxicating beverage. Attempts to narrow down the meaning of שִׁכָּר 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 שִׁכָּר 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 שִׁכָּר as beer.³⁹² Other translations include date wine³⁹³ and strong drink³⁹⁴. That none of these translations is satisfactory is demonstrated by Sasson's³⁹⁵ conclusion that all these terms are covered by שִׁכָּר and that it "should be deemed a generic term for 'intoxicants.'"

שִׁכָּר 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 שִׁכָּר are preserved in the Hebrew manuscripts of the Book of Ben-Sira: 31.26³⁹⁶ and 40.20. A third occurrence is very doubtful - Sir 40.18 MS B reads יִין וְשִׁכָּר יִמְתַּקֵּן with a margin note suggesting יִין וְשִׁכָּר should read יִתֵּר שִׁכָּל. MS M reads יִתֵּר [] כִּר יִמְתַּקֵּן. The Greek supports the reading of MS M. That is שִׁכָּר and not שִׁכָּר.

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 שִׁכָּר appears twice.³⁹⁷ 4QpIsa^b 2:2 (4Q162) is simply a quote of Is 5.11. At 11QT 21:10 the Temple Scroll has: לְנִסְךְ נִסְךְ שִׁכָּר יִין חֲדָשׁ עַל מִזְבַּח יְהוָה שְׁנָה בְשָׁנָה³⁹⁸ The implications of this phrase will be considered below.

Root and Comparative Material

שִׁכָּר 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 שִׁכָּר in the Hebrew Bible.

A cognate verb שִׁכַּר 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 שִׁכָּרוֹן (3x) "drunkenness" and related adjective שִׁכָּר / שִׁכָּוֹר (14x) "drunken" are also attested in the Hebrew Bible and Sir 9.9.³⁹⁹

שִׁכָּר 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 שִׁכָּר and יִין are a hendiadys although one may be stronger than the other⁴⁰⁰ or שִׁכָּר may be mixed with barley or dates.⁴⁰¹ Likewise the cognate verb is uncommon with only one occurrence in the Mishnah (mMaksh 5.1).

In Imperial Aramaic only the noun is attested.⁴⁰² 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,

³⁹⁷ 4Q391 papPseudo-Ezekiel^e may contain שִׁכָּר 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."⁴⁰³ The Babylonian Talmud records שִׁכָּר made from four different things, grapes (e.g., BSukk 49b), dates or barley (e.g., BShab 139b) and דִּפְנָא "baytree" (BPes 56a).⁴⁰⁴

In Akkadian, the root appears both as a noun *šikāru(m)*, *šikru(m)*, "beer, fermented alcoholic beverage"⁴⁰⁵ and a verb *šakāru* "to become inebriated."⁴⁰⁶ In Ugaritic the root appears as a verb *škr* "be drunk." The cognate verb appears in Ethiopian *sakra* and Egyptian *tà-k-iḥa*. Other Semitic cognates include: Syr *šakrā* "intoxicating drink", Mand *šakrā* "intoxicating drink," Arb *sakar* "intoxicating drink, wine."⁴⁰⁷

One Phoenician inscription attesting the noun *šēkār* was found at Ashkelon.⁴⁰⁸ The ostrakon on which *šēkār* appears "lists so many units of 'red wine' (*yn dm*) and so many units of *šēkār*."⁴⁰⁹ With no descriptions, this occurrence only provides for speculations rather than insights into the meaning of שִׁכָּר.

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

The occurrence of forms of שִׁכָּר⁴¹⁰ "reward / hire" occasionally leads to errors in reading. One such is probably Dahood's⁴¹¹ suggestion that a cognate verb of שִׁכָּר is attested in the Kilamuwa text. Other commentators read this as the alternative *škr* root.⁴¹²

⁴⁰² *DNWSI*; p. 1135.

⁴⁰³ Jastrow; p. 1576.

⁴⁰⁴ Davka Soncino Classics Collection.

⁴⁰⁵ CAD 17-II:420-428.

⁴⁰⁶ CAD 17-I: 157; *HAL* p. 1500-1.

⁴⁰⁷ BDB; p. 1016; *HAL* p. 1500-1.

⁴⁰⁸ Stager, L.; 1996, p. 65*.

⁴⁰⁹ Op. cit.

⁴¹⁰ Note this form has *šin* rather than the *šīn* of the lexeme under examination.

⁴¹¹ Dahood; 1960; p. 405.

⁴¹² *DNWSI*; p. 1135.

Formal Characteristics

שִׁכָּר provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the qitl form.

Syntagmatics

The analysis of the syntax of the occurrences of שִׁכָּר shows the following uses of the lexeme:

- 1 In all but two occurrences יָיִן also appears in the verse suggesting parallelism.
- 2 שִׁכָּר is most commonly the object.
 - a) Seven occurrences in the phrase as the object of: qal שָׁתָה "drink" in each case a negative with either אַל (Lv 10.9, Jdg 13.4, 7, 14, 1Sm 1.15) or לֹא (Dt 29.5); hiph נָזַר "separate" from (מִן) (Nu 6.3 (1st occurrence)).
 - b) וַיִּבְיֵין וַיִּשְׁכָּר is an object of piel אָוָה (Dt 14.26).
 - c) שִׁכָּר is the object of: qal רָדַף (Is 5.11), qal תַּעֲדָה with preposition בְּ (Is 28.7 (1st occurrence)) and מִן (Is 28.7 (3rd occurrence)), qal שָׁגָה with preposition בְּ (Is 28.7 (2nd occurrence)), qal נַעַדָה (Is 29.9), qal סָבֵא (Is 56.12), qal נִתַּן (Pr 31.6).
- 3 a) שִׁכָּר is the subject of: מוֹר qal (Is 24.9); הַמָּדָה qal (Pr 20.1).
 - b) יָיִן וְשִׁכָּר is the subject of: qal רִיב (Sir 31.26), qal מִתְקַן (Sir 40.18), hiph. עִבְיָן (Sir 40.20).
- 4 שִׁכָּר is the nomen rectum of: הַמִּיִּין (Nu 6.3 (2nd occurrence)), לְמִסְדָּךְ (Is 5.22), שׁוֹתֵי (Ps 69.12).
- 5 a) לְיָיִן וְלִשְׁכָּר is the dative of hiph נִטַּף (Mc 2.11).
 - b) שִׁכָּר is the genitive of qal נִסַּךְ (11QT 21.10).
- 6 שִׁכָּר is part of objectival disjunctive clause (Pr 31.4).

Versions

The Septuagint does not provide much information on שִׁכָּר. In the main text of Rahlfs edition: Twelve times שִׁכָּר is simply transliterated to *sikera* (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 *sikera*, whereas Family B uses *mesusma* in verse 4 and 7 and *sikera mesusma* in verse 14; 1Sm 1.15 and Mc 2.11 use *mesusma*; Is 56.12 does not appear in the Septuagint; Ps 63.13 and Pro 31.4 use *oinoj*; Is 28.7 (2nd occurrence), Pro 20.1 and 31.6 use forms of *mezn*. The main text of the Göttingen edition follows Rahlfs, however, the apparatus notes that in most cases, where *sikera* appears, at least one manuscript uses *mesusma* (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 *oinoj*. Other variations occur, but none provide further insights into the translators understanding of שִׁכָּר. *mesusma* and *mezn* are both defined as strong drink, but are possibly related to *mezu* the Homeric word for wine.⁴¹³ *oinoj* is the main Greek word for wine with its parallels in other Mediterranean languages.⁴¹⁴

The Peshitta translates most occurrences of שִׁכָּר with the cognate *šakrā'* (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 *hāmṛā'* "wine" is used; Mc 2.11 and Pr 20.1 use *rawāywuṭā'* "strong drink, drunkenness".

The Pentateuchal Targums (Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neophyti and Fragments) are very consistent in translating שִׁכָּר as חֲמַר וְעֵתִיק as "wine new and old" and שִׁכָּר as either חֲמַר עֵתִיק or עֵתִיק. There are six exceptions: שִׁכָּר of Nu 28.7 is translated as חֲמַר בְּחִיר "choicest wine" in Neophyti and Vatican 440 Fragment and חֲמַר "wine" in Paris Heb 110 Fragment. At Lv 10.9 Onkelos and Pseudo Jonathan translates שִׁכָּר as מְרִי. At Dt 29.5 Pseudo-Jonathan uses מְרִיִּם for שִׁכָּר. Jastrow translates מְרִי and מְרִיִּם as "strong drink."⁴¹⁵ It would appear that these terms are derived from רִי "to be moist, be saturated" or "to be filled with wine, be drunken."⁴¹⁶ Pseudo-Jonathan provides a hint as to how old "old wine" was in its

⁴¹³ LSJ; pp. 1091-1092.

⁴¹⁴ Brown; 1969; pp. 146 - 170.

⁴¹⁵ Jastrow; 1971; pp. 838, 840.

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."⁴¹⁷

Likewise, Targum Jonathan of the Prophets (*Nevi'im*) translates יִין וְיִשְׁכַּר as יִין וְיִשְׁכַּר "wine new and old" and יִשְׁכַּר as either יִין וְיִשְׁכַּר or יִשְׁכַּר. The sole exception is Mc 2.11, which uses רַוִּי, a rare word also used in Targum Hosea 4.11 for הַיַּיִן,⁴¹⁸ which is also a wine word.

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

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

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

⁴¹⁷ Translation from Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Vol. 2, p.95.

⁴¹⁸ Jastrow, p. 1459.

שֵׁכָר is in parallel with עֵנָב on two occasions (Nu 6.3, Jdg 13.14) suggesting that the lexeme may be a product of the grape.

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

Exegesis and the Texts

Unlike יַיִן and תִּירָוֶשׂ, שֵׁכָר does not have stronger links to the grape vine and associated words other than it occurs in parallel with עֵנָב on two occasions (Nu 6.3, Jdg 13.14). Many commentators have emphasised the alcoholic nature of שֵׁכָר 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, שֵׁכָר appears twenty-three times and of these only two occur in verses which do not mention יַיִן (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 שֵׁכָר.

Lv 10.9 warns Aaron and his sons not to drink alcohol before entering the Tent of meeting. As תִּירָוֶשׂ 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 שֵׁכָר is, by association, a grape product.

Nu 28.7 is perhaps the most informative use of שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר to the LORD." In other cases in the Hebrew Bible where

the type of libation is mentioned it is normally יַיִן, 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).⁴¹⁹ Today, we know that wine and bread require yeast, that is, leaven,⁴²⁰ for their production. The action of yeast was not understood until Pasteur's work in the nineteenth century.⁴²¹ 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.⁴²² Beer is fermented grain, or, often in the ancient world, fermented bread. Thus, as שֵׁכָר 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 דְּבַשׁ (Lv 2.11). BDB defines דְּבַשׁ as honey including fruit honeys.⁴²³ 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 שֵׁכָר was not beer, date wine or mead. The water required for these beverages also makes this an unlikely interpretation.⁴²⁴

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 שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר 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.⁴²⁵

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

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 שֵׁכָר other than perhaps synonymous parallelism with יַיִן.

In the Non-Biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls שֵׁכָר appears twice. 4QpIsa^b(162) 2.2 is simply a quote of Is 5.11 and the associated *pesher* is not interested in שֵׁכָר. At 11QT 21.10 the Temple Scroll has a most remarkable phrase: "pour out a libation of לְנֶסֶךְ נֶסֶךְ שֵׁכָר יַיִן חֲדָשׁ עַל מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה שְׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *shekar*, new wine, on the altar of the Lord, year by year."⁴²⁶ Clearly, this reflects Lv 10.9 using שֵׁכָר as a drink offering. More importantly it is the only time in Hebrew that the text definitely links יַיִן "wine" and שֵׁכָר. 11QT 21.10 is part of the festival of הַתִּירוֹשׁ, 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 שֵׁכָר 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.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 שֵׁכָר.

שֵׁכָר הַמְדִי "Median *shekar*" (MPesahim 3.1) is the only reference in the Mishnah to שֵׁכָר. It is contained in a list of foods that must be removed for Passover. It does not refer to all שֵׁכָר, but only *Median* שֵׁכָר. 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, שֵׁכָר was not beer, as only one form of שֵׁכָר, 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 זֵיתוֹם הַמִּצְרַיִם, 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 שֵׁכָר is usually as part of a Biblical quote and the following discussion does not examine what שֵׁכָר is. The exception to this is Numbers Rabbah 10.8, however, the discussion in that case is incapable of determining a difference between שֵׁכָר and יַיִן, although it suggests one may be diluted.⁴²⁹

In the Babylonian Talmud, שֵׁכָר appears in noun forms approximately 103 times and שֵׁכָרָא approximately 76 times.⁴³⁰ In many of these uses, שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר. Over 50 occurrences are part of discussions of verses of the Hebrew Bible in which שֵׁכָר appears. There are no statements which demonstrate that the Rabbis understood a simple definition of שֵׁכָר. BSuk. 49b, BShebu. 23a and BKer. 13b all suggest or infer that שֵׁכָר could mean wine. Discussions about whether different blessings should be used over שֵׁכָר than those used for wine demonstrate that in many cases שֵׁכָר and wine were not the same.⁴³¹ The Talmud mentions at least three things שֵׁכָר is made from other than wine/grapes: Shab. 139b mentions שֵׁכָר of barley and of dates;⁴³² and Pes. 56a has שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר is mentioned at least another eight times and barley שֵׁכָר another five times. (eg Baba Bathra 96b)

⁴³³ Soncino EV.

Batra 91b has שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר as it uses שֵׁכָר in both Aramaic and Hebrew without considering the differences.

One of the earliest commentators on שֵׁכָר 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.⁴³⁴ In a letter Jerome describes שֵׁכָר as "every kind of drink that inebriates ..."⁴³⁵ As Jerome is reputed to have learnt his Hebrew from local rabbis, this may show the Hebrew scholars of his day did not tie שֵׁכָר as strongly to wine as the early Targum translators, but were more influenced by Babylonian Aramaic and its many uses of שֵׁכָר. This approach has been adopted by a number of modern commentators.⁴³⁶

Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch provides some insights on שֵׁכָר: Lv 10.9 וְשֵׁכָר "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, שֵׁכָר is "Intoxicating wine, to exclude wine straight from the winepress (גֵּרֵת)."

Ibn Ezra is quoted unreferenced by more recent commentators to show שֵׁכָר is at once "intoxicating wine"⁴³⁷ and "intoxicants from substances other than grapes, which he specifies as wheat, dates or honey."⁴³⁸

The Anchor Bible illustrates the two major views on the identification of שֵׁכָר. Milgrom⁴³⁹ insists that שֵׁכָר and יַיִן "must be taken as discrete substances" on the

⁴³⁴ "Versions", *ABD*, Vol. 6, p. 800.

⁴³⁵ Author's translation of *Ep. ad Nepotianum*, ed. Vallarsi, 1, 266 as quoted "Wine and Strong Drink" in Cheyne & Black (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (London, 1903), col. 5309-5310.

⁴³⁶ Sasson; 1994; p. 400; Hartley; 1992; p. 135.

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 שֵׁכָר 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.⁴⁴⁰ However, Levine is aware of all the problems of deciding that שֵׁכָר is beer and concludes "we are prompted to identify it as a liquid made from grapes."⁴⁴¹

Hurvitz shows it is very possible that שֵׁכָר is linked to יַיִן (wine) as a hendiadys. Hurvitz suggests that the strongest evidence for this is that with a few exceptions שֵׁכָר only appears in some of the older books of the Hebrew Bible and it is seen to disappear in parallel passages of later books.⁴⁴² This perhaps provides evidence that שֵׁכָר was lost from regular Hebrew usage before the completion of the Hebrew Bible, but this cannot be considered conclusive given that שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר,⁴⁴³ 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 זֵיתוֹם in the Mishnah.⁴⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁴⁵ The close links between beer and bread production in

⁴⁴⁰ See above.

⁴⁴¹ Levine, B.; 1993; pp. 219-220.

⁴⁴² Hurvitz; 1982; pp. 116-119.

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 world⁴⁴⁶ 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 שֵׁכָר that contains leaven.

Walsh⁴⁴⁷ suggests that שֵׁכָר should be understood as "date palm wine." This understanding is at least partly based on Stager's⁴⁴⁸ suggestion that the Phoenician inscription from Ashkelon may refer to "wine made from dates." If date wine was made from dates soaked in water,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 דְּבַשׁ, the use of שֵׁכָר as a libation makes this interpretation unlikely as דְּבַשׁ was forbidden from the altar (Lv 2.11). Certainly, Borowski⁴⁵⁰ links dates with דְּבַשׁ, which calls Walsh's reading into question.

Conclusions

The principal definition of *HAL*⁴⁵¹ and BDB⁴⁵² is "intoxicating drink" or "strong drink." There appears to be no reason to doubt that שֵׁכָר is an alcoholic beverage. Thus, the possible definitions of שֵׁכָר 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.⁴⁵³ 11QT 21.10 and NmR 10.8 identify שֵׁכָר with יַיִן. The versions where שֵׁכָר is translated rather than transliterated reinforce the link to wine. 11QT 21.10 associates שֵׁכָר with new wine which contradicts the Targums and Rashi, which translate it as old wine. How שֵׁכָר varies from יַיִן is not clear and at times contradictory, but the majority of the evidence suggests that שֵׁכָר

⁴⁴⁶ Katz & Voigt; 1986.

⁴⁴⁷ Walsh; 2000; p. 201.

⁴⁴⁸ Stager; 1996; p. 66.

⁴⁴⁹ Forbes, R.; 1956. p.276; Pliny. *Nat Hist* XIV 102

⁴⁵⁰ Borowski; 1987; p. 127.

⁴⁵¹ *HAL*; p. 1501.

⁴⁵² BDB; p. 1016.

⁴⁵³ See Chapter 6.

is a form of grape wine. The significance of Nu 28.7 in reducing the possible definitions of שֵׁכָר 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 שֵׁכָר 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 עָסִים

עָסִים, 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 עָסִים are uncommon in the Semitic languages. Biblical Hebrew records a single example of the cognate verb עָסַף at Mt 3.21, a qal perfect (second person masculine plural) meaning "to press, crush (underfoot)."

Ebeling⁴⁵⁴ records the use of a cognate noun 'sjs (sic) "must, young wine" in Official Aramaic, however, this reading has been called in to question.⁴⁵⁵ Jewish Aramaic uses both the cognate verb and the noun, although rarely.⁴⁵⁶ 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."⁴⁵⁷

Rabbinic Hebrew contains a group of words associated with grain and bread which may be related to the cognate. *HAL*⁴⁵⁸ suggests that עָסַף "dough" might be derived from the cognate verb. BDB⁴⁵⁹ understands עָסִיםִית to mean "crushed wheat."

BDB's interpretation allows this group of words to be related back to the cognate root. Jastrow⁴⁶⁰ implies that there is another root עָסַף "to agitate" from which these words for grain and bread may have derived, however, this has been discredited as an inferior variant.⁴⁶¹ There does not appear to be enough evidence from these words or the cognate languages to document more than one עָסַף root, suggesting that they are related.

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

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

Syntagmatics

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

2 In Is 49.26 כְּעָסִים is an adjunct of the verb שָׁכַר in qal.

3 In Jl 1.5 עַל-עָסִים is the adjunct of hiphil יָלַל "to weep", עָסִים is also the understood subject of niphal כָּרַת "to cut off".

4 עָסִים can be modified by prepositions. In Is 49.26 it is modified by -כִּי, in Jl 1.5 by -עַל and in Ct 8.2 by -מִן.

5 עָסִים is the nomen regens of רִמְנֵי (Ct 8.2). This phrase is either an adjectival phrase qualifying the adjunct (מִיַּיִן הַרְקִיחַ) of the verb שָׁקַח in the hiphil, or part of a compound adjunct of the same verb.

Versions

The Septuagint translates עָסִים in four ways: οἶνος (Is 49.26); *glukasma* "sweetness, sweet wine" (Jl 4.18, Am 9.13); *nama* "anything flowing, stream," thus "juice" (Ct 8.2); *meʿa* (Jl 1.5).

The Peshitta translates עָסִים as: *meritā* "must" (Is 49.26); *hāmra* "wine" (Jl 1.5); *hālyutā* "must, sweet wine" (Jl 4.18, Am 9.13, Ct 8.2).

The Targums consistently translate עָסִים as עֲמָר except Ct 8.2 where the Targum is midrashic.

The Vulgate translates עָסִים 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

עָסִים is in parallel with יַיִן 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 עָסִים is a member of the semantic field of wine.

עָסִים appears in poetic passages of the Hebrew Bible, on four occasions in the Prophets and once in Ct. This implies that עָסִים 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.⁴⁶²

Exegesis

The understanding of עָסִים as "sweet wine" in BDB⁴⁶³ follows the interpretation of Rashi who said that עָסִים was good and sweet wine (יַיִן טוֹב וּמְתוּק).⁴⁶⁴ The translation of the lexeme as "grape juice"⁴⁶⁵ is unlikely despite the links to the cognate verb. This is due to the fact that in Is 49.26 עָסִים is intoxicating. This verse provides further evidence that עָסִים is fermented, with the image of blood (דָּם). For this image to have its full impact, עָסִים must have been red, which in grape juice requires maceration, a result of fermentation.⁴⁶⁶

Dahood⁴⁶⁷ 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, עָסִים is one of the elements representing the bounty of the land and the blessings of the Lord in the time of restoration.⁴⁶⁸ This time of bounty is seen as the messianic era, especially in Midrash Rabbah. עָסִים appears in Midrash

⁴⁶² Anderson; 1989; p. 887.

⁴⁶³ BDB; p. 779.

⁴⁶⁴ Rashi; 1999; Am 9.13 similarly Jl 1.5, Ct 8.2 and Is 49.26.

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, עָסִים 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 עָסִים רַמְנִי (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 עָסִים is a poetic synonym for תַּיִרֹוֹשׁ.⁴⁷¹ There is little reason to doubt that עָסִים 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 חָמֵר

חָמֵר occurs once in Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁷² חָמֵר is probably a loan word from the main Aramaic word for wine חָמַר, nevertheless, it is a rare member of the Hebrew semantic field of wine.

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

One conjectural reading of Ps 75.9 gives - יִין חָמֵר -.⁴⁷⁶ BHS and other MSS read יִין חָמַר. While this pointing (חָמַר) is unique⁴⁷⁷ and has produced other conjectural readings,⁴⁷⁸ it is generally understood to be a verb acting on יִין.

חָמֵר 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 בְּחַיִּיךְ נִסְ נִפְשֶׁךְ with a marginal gloss suggesting בְּחַיִּיךְ should be replaced with בְּחָמַר as is found in MS D. Reading בְּחַיִּיךְ appears to agree with the Septuagint. The concordance in the Jerusalem edition⁴⁷⁹ suggests that this חָמַר is חָמֵר.

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 חָמֵר and its cognates are found in many Semitic languages. The root of חָמֵר is identified as ח־מ־ר. HAL⁴⁸⁰ identifies five different ח־מ־ר roots, while DNWSI⁴⁸¹ uses up to twelve categories. Both BDB⁴⁸² and HAL⁴⁸³ associate חָמֵר with the root meaning "ferment, foam or boil up".

חָמֵר is the main word for wine in Jewish Aramaic. חַיִּי and תִּירֹשׁ are both usually translated as חָמֵר in the Targums.⁴⁸⁴ The cognate verb also appears.⁴⁸⁵ Likewise, חָמֵר 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 *hḫmr*; Amorite *hḫmrū*; Syriac and Mandaic *hḫmrā*; Egyptian Aramaic, Palmyrenian Aramaic and Arabic *hḫmr*.⁴⁸⁶ In addition one Phoenician inscription, probably, attests the cognate חָמֵר.⁴⁸⁷

Dahood⁴⁸⁸ argues that the Ugaritic *hḫmr* should translate as "wine-bowl, vat" rather than "wine." This would link the Ugaritic root to the Hebrew חָמֵר "clay." Although this idea has received little attention and has no real affect on the understanding of the lexeme, it may mean that unlike חַיִּי, תִּירֹשׁ (תִּירֹשׁ) and שִׁכָּר there may be no antecedent in Ugaritic for חָמֵר.

Formal Characteristics

The single occurrence of חָמֵר in the Hebrew Bible is a singular masculine noun of the qatl form.

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 חַיִּי and תִּירֹשׁ.

⁴⁸⁵ HAL; p. 330.

⁴⁸⁶ Op. cit.

⁴⁸⁷ RR-RZet(10):1.

⁴⁸⁸ Dahood; 1964; pp. 408-9.

Syntagmatics

1 In Dt 32.14 חֶמֶר is the object of qal שָׁתָה (Dt 32.14).

Versions

The Septuagint translates חֶמֶר as οἶνος (Dt 32.14) and μέλι (Sir 31.30).

The Peshitta uses *hāmra'*, the main word for wine in Syriac. This is the same word used for most occurrence of חֶמֶר and חֶמֶר, suggesting the translators could not differentiate between the three.

Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Neophyti translate the חֶמֶר of Dt 32.14 as חֶמֶר.

Targum Onkelos has a midrash on Dt 32.14. This midrash has suggested to, at least, one commentator⁴⁸⁹ a different reading of the lexeme in this verse. The phrase:

וְדָם גִּבְרֵיהוֹן יִתְאַשֵּׁר כַּמַּיִם appears in the Targum as וְדָם גִּבְרֵיהוֹן יִתְאַשֵּׁר כַּמַּיִם:

"and the blood of their warriors was spilled like water."⁴⁹⁰ There is no Targum of the Book of Ben Sira.

In the Vulgate וְדָם גִּבְרֵיהוֹן יִתְאַשֵּׁר כַּמַּיִם becomes *et sanguinem uvae biberet meracissimum* "drank the heady juice of the grape"⁴⁹¹ (Dt 32.14), while the occurrence in Sir 31.30 is simply translated *vinum*.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

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

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 חֶמֶר is a product of grapes (עֵנָב), which can be drunk (שָׁתָה), is probably sufficient evidence to place it in the lexical field of wine (Dt 32.14). It is parallel with דָּם־עֵנָב, which provides an indirect parallel with יַיִן, as דָּם־עֵנָב is in parallel with יַיִן in Gn 49.11. Like עֶסֶם the association with blood infers that some maceration had taken place and, therefore, חֶמֶר 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 חֶמֶר in this field.

With only two uses, it is impossible to make a definite generalisation, however, it would appear that חֶמֶר 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

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

Sanders comments, "The word חֶמֶר seems to denote fermenting, foaming wine. The Ugaritic word *hmr* probably stands for the same kind of new wine. The emphatic position of דָּם־עֵנָב 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 יַיִן."⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² See Ch 6 on maceration.

⁴⁹³ Sanders; 1996; p. 176.

⁴⁹⁴ Driver; 1895; p. 360.

Dahood⁴⁹⁵ understands the Ugaritic *hmr* to mean "wine-bowl, vat" rather than "wine". Dahood reprints the lexeme in Dt 32.14 to חֶמֶר 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 reprints חֶמֶר in Ps 75.9 to read חֶמֶר, and hence, "cup." In Jer 18.4 a vessel is made from חֶמֶר and Dahood infers this is sufficient evidence for his reprinting.

Grossfeld⁴⁹⁶ 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.

Conclusions

חֶמֶר is a rare word for "wine." In all probability, חֶמֶר is a loan word used for poetical purposes.

⁴⁹⁵ Dahood; 1964; p. 408.

⁴⁹⁶ Grossfeld; 1988; p. 93 n 29.

7.6 סבא

Of the alcoholic beverages that appear in the Hebrew Bible, סבא 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.

סבא 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 סבא 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.⁴⁹⁷ Nah 1.10 is as difficult as Ho 4.18. HAL⁴⁹⁸ follows the Septuagint and Rudolph's reading suggesting that סבא should read סבא, which it is proposed means "bindweed" equivalent to *periplekomen* in LXX. Other commentators accept that the lexeme appears in Nah 1.10, but not without qualifications.⁴⁹⁹

Root and Comparative Material

A verb סבא 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 סבא "drunkards, wine-bibbers" occurs at Ezk 23.42 although it is suggested this may be סבא a proper noun found only in Is 45.14.⁵⁰⁰ The proper noun סבא 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 *sibā* "wine" and as a verb *saba'a* "to import wine." In Akkadian, the cognate appears both as a noun *sību* "a kind of

⁴⁹⁷ Wolff; 1974; p. 91, Andersen 1980; p. 378.

⁴⁹⁸ HAL; p. 738.

⁴⁹⁹ Cathcart; 1974; p. 61, Smith, J.M.P. et al; 1912; p. 294, Smith, R.L.; 1984; p. 76 n. 10a, Andersen and Freedman; 1980; p. 378.

⁵⁰⁰ BDB; p. 685.

beer" and as a verb *sibû* "to brew beer."⁵⁰¹ Likewise, *sābītum* means a "woman-publican."⁵⁰²

An attempt was made by Haldar to link סָבָא to the Ugaritic *sp'* "eat," but this is unlikely especially given מַסְפּוֹא "fodder" is more obviously related to the Ugaritic.⁵⁰³

Formal Characteristics

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

Syntagmatics

1 סָבָא is the subject of a predicative מְהוּלָּבִים בַּמַּיִם "mixed/weakened with water" (Is 1.22).

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

3 סָבָא is the subject of קָרָה "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.⁵⁰⁴

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 סָבָא giving οἶνον. The approach taken in Ho 4.18 is probably a paraphrase, however, Χαναανιαιῶν "Canaanite" is the possible translation given the word order. Likewise, Nah 1.10 is, probably, a paraphrase with the possibility that περιλεκόμενον "mixture" is used for סָבָא.

⁵⁰¹ HAL; p. 738.

⁵⁰² Cathcart; 1973; p. 61.

⁵⁰³ Op. cit.

⁵⁰⁴ Wolff; 1974; p. 91.

In the Peshitta, Is 1.22 has *hānwāyā* 'tavernkeeper, greengrocer' which is clarified by the addition of *hāmra* 'wine' in one manuscript. Ho 4.18 is a paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible and Nah 1.10 translates סִבָּא as *rawāywutā* 'strong drink.'

The Targums translate סִבָּא as חֵמֶר 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 סִבָּא.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

Confirmation that סִבָּא 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 סִבָּא is, probably, a liquid as it can be mixed with water (Is 1.22). From the same verse it seems that סִבָּא is a thing of value as it appears in parallel with silver (כֶּסֶף). Nah 1.10 suggests that סִבָּא is potentially consuming and entrapping as alcohol is to an alcoholic. Ho 4.18 suggests that סִבָּא is something that can be an overindulgence. This is reinforced by סִבָּא, a cognate in Dt 21.20, being in parallel with זֹלָל "glutton." Similarly, in Pr 23.20 a cognate is paired with יַיִן and in Is 56.12 שִׁכָּר is the object of a cognate. Thus, the lexeme is probably an alcoholic beverage.

Exegesis

סִבָּא 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 סִבֵּן 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 סִבֵּן 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 סִבֵּן 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 סִבֵּן 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 סִבֵּן is a type of wine. Beer is a possible meaning of the lexeme⁵¹⁰ especially given the Akkadian cognates, however, the lack of evidence of beer in the Hebrew Bible makes this somewhat unlikely.

⁵⁰⁵ Wolff; 1974; p. 91, *HAL*; p. 738, Blenkinsopp; 2000; p. 186, Kaiser; 1972; p. 19.

⁵⁰⁶ See above.

⁵⁰⁷ Emmerson; 1974; p. 493 n 4.

⁵⁰⁸ Andersen; 1980; p. 378.

⁵⁰⁹ See Ch 6.

⁵¹⁰ Wolff; 1974; p. 91, *HAL*; p. 738, Blenkinsopp; 2000; p. 186, Kaiser; 1972; p. 19.

7.7 מִצֶּה, מִמְצֶה and מִצֶּה

Three rare members of the lexical field of wine, מִצֶּה, מִמְצֶה and מִצֶּה are closely related by etymology. The root מִצֶּה is, most likely, to be identical to or in parallel with מִצֶּה,⁵¹¹ which reduces the differences between the words to a minimum.

מִצֶּה

The only occurrence of מִצֶּה in Biblical Hebrew appears in Ct 7.3. It is widely suspected that מִצֶּה is an Aramaic loanword.⁵¹²

Root and Comparative Material

While no cognates appear in Biblical Hebrew, the cognate verb מִצֶּה "to mix wine" appears in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and *mazaja* in Arabic. Cognate nouns appear in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic מִצֶּה, Syriac and Mandaic *mzāgā*. Palmyrenian Aramaic attests מִצֶּה "cupbearer."⁵¹³

The root מִצֶּה is, most likely, to be identical to or in parallel with מִצֶּה. Pope⁵¹⁴ and Brown⁵¹⁵ detail the similarities and interchange which can occur between the cognates. Thus, מִצֶּה of Ps 75.9 could in some contexts be considered to be equivalent to מִצֶּה.⁵¹⁶ The cognate noun appears in Ugaritic as *msk* and in Arabic as *misk*. The cognate verb מִצֶּה appears four times in the Hebrew Bible each in the qal meaning "to mix." Ugaritic has the cognate verb *msk*. The cognate verb מִצֶּה appears in Rabbinic Hebrew. However, in the cognate languages, namely Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic, the cognates are related back to the מִצֶּה root.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹¹ Brown; 1969; p. 153, Gesenius; 1815 / 1973; pp. 66-7.

⁵¹² Wagner; 1966; pp. 73-74.

⁵¹³ *HAL*; p. 564.

⁵¹⁴ Pope; 1977; p. 619-20.

⁵¹⁵ Brown; 1969; p. 153-55.

⁵¹⁶ See below.

⁵¹⁷ *HAL*; p. 605.

Both roots are related to the Greek *misgw*, *mignumi* "mix, mingle" and the Latin *misceo* "mix, mingle."⁵¹⁸ 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's⁵¹⁹ suggestion that מִסָּה is "to draw" rather than "to mix" gives the possibility that the roots מִצָּה and מִמְסָה are not in parallel. While such a translation can be seen to fit the occurrence of מִסָּה 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, מִצָּה is the object of qal מִסָּה.

Versions

The versions provide little information about מִצָּה. The Septuagint uses *krama* "mixture." The Peshitta uses the cognate *mzāgā* "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

מִצָּה is in parallel with מִמְסָה 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. מִצָּה is a liquid or other substance that is contained in a bowl (מִסָּה) (Ct

⁵¹⁸ Brown; 1969; p. 153, Gesenius; 1815; pp. 66-7.

⁵¹⁹ Dahood; 1970A; p. 15.

7.3). While there are no clear links to wine for מִזְג in Ct 7.3, the parallel of מָסָךְ with מִזְג and their close links makes it highly probable that מִזְג is a member of the semantic field of wine. It may be that מִזְג (and מָסָךְ) 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. Brown⁵²⁰ 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 מִזְג and מָסָךְ. 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."⁵²¹

Debate continues as to how overt the sexual imagery of Ct 7.3a is. Snaith⁵²² suggests that מִזְג refers "to the mingling of the male and female bodily secretions." Pope⁵²³ 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 שֶׁר 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.⁵²⁴ However it is unlikely that the linking of the lexeme to this field of metaphor can be justified.⁵²⁵

Conclusions

As מִזְג 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

⁵²⁰ Brown; 1969; p. 154.

⁵²¹ Davka Soncino Classics Collection, Brown; op. cit.

⁵²² Snaith; 1993; p. 102.

⁵²³ Pope; 1977; p. 620.

⁵²⁴ 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 Pope; 1977; p. 620.

supports the definitions of BDB⁵²⁶ "mixture, ie mixed wine" and HAL⁵²⁷ "mixed wine, spiced wine."

מִמְסָךְ

Biblical Hebrew attests two occurrences of מִמְסָךְ 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^a reads מִסְכָּה for מִמְסָךְ. The 1QIsa^a reading may be supported by the Vulgate. The second column of Origen's Hexapla at 2Ch 28.2 reads מִמְסָךְ for מִסְכָּה. These two variant readings suggest an association between מִמְסָךְ and מִסְכָּה "cast image."⁵²⁸ This may suggest a cultic overtone.

Root and Comparative Material

The lexeme is derived from מִסָּךְ, which is parallel to מִזֶּג.⁵²⁹ In addition to the comparative material from the two parallel roots, a cognate noun of מִמְסָךְ appears in Ugaritic *mmskn*.

Formal Characteristics

מִמְסָךְ provides no difficulties in its formal characteristics, being consistently a singular or collective masculine noun of the miqtal form.

Syntagmatics

מִמְסָךְ is the object of the piel מִלֵּךְ (Is 65.11) and qal מִקָּרַךְ (Pr 23.30).

Versions

The Versions, other than the Vulgate, associate מִמְסָךְ with mixed drinks or wine.

The Septuagint has *κεράσμα* in Is 65.11 and *ποεζ* in Pr 23.30. The Peshitta uses

⁵²⁶ BDB; p. 561.

⁵²⁷ HAL; p. 564.

⁵²⁸ HAL; pp. 595-596, 605.

⁵²⁹ See above for details on these roots.

mzāgā’ in Is 65.11 and *hāmṛā*’ in Pr 23.30. The Targums use מִזָּג on 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 מִמָּסָךְ and מִסָּכָה. 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

מִמָּסָךְ is in parallel with יַיִן in Pr 23.30, suggesting that מִמָּסָךְ is a member of the semantic field of wine. The imagery of this verse suggests that מִמָּסָךְ has similar characteristics to יַיִן.

מִמָּסָךְ is in parallel with שֶׁלֶחַן "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 סִפְל "bowl." The parallelism with שֶׁלֶחַן and, possibly, סִפְל may link the lexeme to cultic objects and or vessels.

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

Exegesis

The difficulty in understanding מִמָּסָךְ 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 מִמְסָה, 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 מָלַח, thus מִמְסָה 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."

Brown⁵³⁴ 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

מִמְסָה may have a cultic overtone as suggested by its Ugaritic cognate and its parallelism with שֻׁלְחָן "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 מִצֵּה and מִסָּה.

מִסָּה

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

⁵³² BDB; p. 570b.

⁵³³ *HAL*; p. 595.

⁵³⁴ Brown; 1969; pp. 153-54.

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 מִסָּךְ 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

מִסָּךְ 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

מִסָּךְ is an adjunct of an understood verb "to be."

Versions

The versions provide little information about מִסָּךְ. The Septuagint uses *ke/a.sma* "mixture". The Peshitta uses the cognate *mzāgā* "mixture, drink," equivalent to the Targum using מִזֶּג. Both major traditions of the Vulgate have *mixtus* "mixture," which is derived from the Latin cognate of the root מִזֶּג *misceo*.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

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

Exegesis

Rashi understands מִלֵּא מִסָּךְ as "a full mixture: The cup is full of a mixture, to mix and give all the nations to drink."⁵³⁹

Tate suggests that מִסָּךְ "probably refers to wine mixed with spices [in contrast to the] "wine of staggering" in Ps 60.5."⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Rashi; 1999; Ps 75.9. הכוס מלא מזוג למזוג ולחשקות את כל הגוים:

Conclusions

The little evidence available suggests that מִסָּךְ refers to mixed wine.

General Conclusion on מִזֶּג, מִסָּךְ and מִמְסָךְ

If מִמְסָךְ is in some way different to מִסָּךְ and מִזֶּג, that difference may be that מִמְסָךְ 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.

7.8 מִשְׁקָה

The two main words for beverages related to the hiphil verb שָׁקַח "to cause to drink," מִשְׁקָה and שְׁקִי 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 מִשְׁקָה 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 מִשְׁקָה has a single meaning.

The accepted occurrences of מִשְׁקָה number nine in the Hebrew Bible (Gn 13.10, 40.21,⁵⁴¹ 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 שָׁקַח at Gn 40.1, 2, 5, 9, 13, 20, 21, 23, 41.9 and Neh 1.11 are often understood as nouns.⁵⁴² 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.⁵⁴³ The other two occurrences of the hiphil participle of שָׁקַח 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. Gerleman⁵⁴⁴ and *HAL*⁵⁴⁵ follow Noth⁵⁴⁶ in

⁵⁴¹ Both the noun and the hiphil participle appear in Gn 40.21. The noun is the second in the form מִשְׁקָהוּ.

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 BDB⁵⁴⁷ is open to both possibilities. The Septuagint appears to reflect the hiphil participle using οὐδὲν οὐδὲν.

Two variations in the text are suggested, which do not appear to have gained mainstream support: *HAL*⁵⁴⁸ records that Schwarzenbach placed the occurrence in Gn 13.10 in the hiphil participle category, contrary to BDB and Gerleman;⁵⁴⁹ Allen observed that in Ezk 45.15 Gese and Grätz emend the lexeme to מִקְנֵה "cattle."⁵⁵⁰

Root and Comparative Material

A cognate verb מִשְׁקוּה 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 מִשְׁקוּה is Am 8.8. The *Ktiv* reads וַיִּשְׁקוּהָ with *Qre* וַיִּשְׁקוּהָ. Both readings are problematic⁵⁵¹ and the *Ktiv* especially so, but it might have recorded a niphil form.⁵⁵²

מִשְׁקוּה is considered to complement the qal (and once only nifal) שָׁתוה "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."⁵⁵³

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

⁵⁴⁷ BDB; p. 1052.

⁵⁴⁸ *HAL*; p. 652.

⁵⁴⁹ Op. cit.

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. Yadin⁵⁵⁴ says this cognate "must mean the foodstuffs on which liquids were poured."

The cognates are common in Rabbinic Hebrew with מִשְׁקָה 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 מְשַׁקֵּי, Akkadian *šāqû(m)*, Syriac *šāqyā*, and Arabic *sāqin* the cognate means "cupbearer."⁵⁵⁷

Cognate verbs are also common in other Semitic languages: Jewish Aramaic מְשַׁקֵּי, Official Aramaic *šqy*, Egyptian Aramaic *hšqy*, Ugaritic *šqy*, Akkadian *šaqû(m)*, Syriac *ʿašqī*, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Samaritan Aramaic **šq*, Mandaic *šqa*, Old South Arabian *sqy*, Ethiopic *saqaya*, and Arabic *saqā*.⁵⁵⁸

Formal Characteristics

מִשְׁקָה is a masculine singular noun of the maqtal form. The plural form appears in 1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4.

Syntagmatics

1 מִשְׁקָה is the object of qal רָאה (1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4), חָפַךְ (Sir 39.23), and hifil חָסַר (Is 32.6).

2 מִשְׁקָה is the predicate of בָּלָה (Gn 13.10).

3 מִשְׁקָה is the subject of a predicate יָהַב (1Kg 10.21//2Ch 9.21).

4 מִשְׁקָה is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying הָשָׁה (Ezk 45.15).

5 מִשְׁקָה is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying נָשָׂה (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.

6 מִשְׁקָה is the Nomen regens of יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ezk 45.15).

7 מִשְׁקָה is the Nomen rectum of כֹּל (Lv 11.34), כֶּלִי (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20).

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

Versions

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

The Septuagint translates מִשְׁקָה in a number of ways: *οἰνοχοος* "cupbearer" (1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4); *potizw* "drink" (Gn 13.10); *αρχη* "beginning, position" (Gn 40.21); *ποτος* "drink" (Lv 11.34); *σκευ* *του ποτου* "drinking vessel" (1Kg 10.21); *σκευ* "vessel" (2Ch 9.20); and *patria* "family, clan" (Ezk 45.15). The translation of Ezk 45.15 may imply משפחות "families".⁵⁵⁹ In Is 32.6 the verse is paraphrase.

The Peshitta uses: *šāqe* "irrigator, butler" (Gn 13.10, 1Kg 10.5//2Ch 9.4); *maštay* "drink, banquet" (Lv 11.34, Is 32.6); *mā'n* "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 (שְׁקִי "irrigation" (Gn 13.10); שְׂקִי "butler" (Gn 40.21 [TgO]), 1Kg 10.5 // 2Ch 9.4); מְזוֹגֵי "butler, wine-mixer" (Gn 40.21 [TgPsJ]); מִשְׁקִי "drink" (Lv 11.34); מִשְׁתִּי "drink" (1Kg 10.21 // 2Ch 9.20); and מֵי "water" (Is 32.6). There are two exceptions with פִּיטְמָה "fattened animal" at Ezk 45.1 and Gn 40.21 [TgNeo], where the verse is paraphrased.

The Vulgate usually relates מִשְׁקָה 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 מִשְׁקָה is a member of the semantic field of beverages. In Lv 11.34 the lexeme is in parallel with מַיִם and is qualified by the phrase אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתָּה. 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 מִשְׁקָה refers to "drink".⁵⁶² In 1Kg 10.21//2Ch 9.20 the lexeme describes כֵּל "vessel." In Is 32.6 the lexeme is what has been denied the צָמָא "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 מִשְׁקָה in this narrower field. The semantic field of beverages would include all the elements of the semantic field of wine as well as מַיִם "water," חֵלֶב "milk" and no doubt some less common terms.

Gn 13.10, Ezk 45.15 and Sir 39.23 place מִשְׁקָה 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 מִשְׁקָה in the field of duties of palace or royal functionaries.

Exegesis

The main focus of commentators regarding מִשְׁקָה 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 מִשְׁקָה are: water, dew, oil, wine, milk, blood, and bee-honey,⁵⁶⁴ that is the liquids which become unclean.

⁵⁵⁹ Allen; 1990; p. 247; n. 15a.

⁵⁶⁰ NIV.

⁵⁶¹ NRSV.

⁵⁶² Noth; 1968; p. 203.

⁵⁶³ See above on יָיִן.

⁵⁶⁴ Rashi; 1999; Lv 11.34.

Sarna⁵⁶⁵ 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.

⁵⁶⁵ Sarna; 1989; p.

7.9 שְׁקוּי

The second noun derived from שְׁקָה, שְׁקוּי, poses few of the difficulties surrounding interpretation and identification of מִשְׁקָה.

שְׁקוּי occurs in the Hebrew Bible three times: Ho 2.7; Ps 102.10; and Pr 3.8. In the Dead Sea Scrolls שְׁקוּי 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 שְׁקוּי and מִשְׁקָה are both derived from שְׁקָה, they have the same root and comparative material. The reader is thus referred to the study of מִשְׁקָה for this material. It is worth noting that a near identical cognate noun שְׁקוּיָא "drink" appears in Jewish Aramaic.

Formal Characteristics

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

Syntagmatics

1 שְׁקוּי is the object of qal נָתַן (Ho 2.7), מָסַךְ (Ps 102.10), and the predicate הָיָה (Pr 3.8).

2 שְׁקוּי is the subject of a predicate בַּדְמֵוֹת אֵין כֹּלָה (1QH 5.34) and הָיָה (1QH 5.35).

3 שְׁקוּי is understood to be modified by the first person possessive suffix in each instance other than Pr 3.8.

Versions

The Versions understand שְׁקַיִ as a term related to drink and rich foods. The Septuagint paraphrases Ho 2.7 and uses πομα "drink" (Ps 102.10) and ἐπιμελεια "care bestowed upon a thing" (Pr 3.8). The Peshitta likewise paraphrases Ho 2.7 and translates שְׁקַיִ as *maštayā* "drink" (Ps 102.10) and *duhānā* "fat, rich food" (Pr 3.8).

The first two occurrences of שְׁקַיִ are simply translated בְּשֵׁתִיהָ "drink" (Ho 2.7) and שְׁקַיִ וְהָהָא "drink" (Ps 102.10) in the Targums. The text of the Targum of Pr 3.8 is less certain. For the word which translates שְׁקַיִ different manuscripts read: שְׁרִוּהָנָא; שְׁרִוּהָנָא or שְׁרִוּהָנָא. Jastrow links שְׁרִוּהָנָא to שְׁרִוּהָנָא "to be fat". שְׁרִוּהָנָא "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 שְׁקַיִ, *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, שְׁקַיִ is in parallel with לְחַם. 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 שְׁקַיִ and לְחַם suggests that שְׁקַיִ could be a member of the semantic field of wine. This is on the basis that שְׁקַיִ is probably a beverage and the beverage most commonly in parallel with לְחַם is wine: יַיִן 18 times⁵⁶⁷ and תִּירֹשׁ twice.⁵⁶⁸

Exegesis

שְׁקַיִ 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.

⁵⁶⁷ Gn 14.17, Dt 29.5, Jdg 19.19, 1Sm 10.3, 16.20, 2Sm 16.1, 2, Ho 9.4, Hg 2.12, Ps 104.14-15, Pr 4.17, 9.5, Qoh 9.7, 10.19, Dn 10.3, Neh 5.15, 18.

Andersen and Freedman⁵⁶⁹ 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."

Harper⁵⁷⁰ 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.⁵⁷¹

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

Conclusions

שְׁקִי is a rare noun that denotes a beverage which possibly has links to wine.

⁵⁶⁸ Harper; 1910; p. 22.

⁵⁶⁹ Andersen and Freedman; 1980; p. 233.

⁵⁷⁰ Harper; 1910; p. 229.

⁵⁷¹ Dahood; 1970A; p. 15-16.

⁵⁷² O'Connell; 1997; p. 231.

7.10 חֲמֵץ

The place of חֲמֵץ "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 חֲמֵץ 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 חֲמֵץ is a member. Thus חֲמֵץ is a strong example of the words which are borderline members of a semantic field.

חֲמֵץ 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 (חֲמֵץ)) 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 חֲמֵץ appears in all these instances, however, Reed suggests that at Ru 2.14 חֲמֵץ should be understood as the chick-pea paste *chummuts* rather than "vinegar." Linguistically, there are no problems with this suggestion.⁵⁷³ 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 verbs⁵⁷⁴ with root חֲמֵץ appear in Biblical Hebrew. Only חֲמֵץ "be sour, leavened" is cognate with חֲמֵץ. This 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 חֲמֵץ. חֲמֵץ "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 חֲמֵץ roots.

18.14, 20.12). מְחֻמָּץ "anything leavened" occurs in Ex 12.19, 20 and a cognate adjective חֲמִץ "seasoned" occurs at Is 30.24.

Cognate verbs occur in a number of languages. The form חֲמַץ 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 חֲמִץ and the Arabic *ḥāmdā*. A narrower understanding is given with the cognates in Ethiopic *ḥāmdā* and Akkadian *emēsā* which mean "to be sour."⁵⁷⁵

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

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

The cognate noun *ḥamad* "acid" appears in Arabic from which the Egyptian *ḥmd* and Coptic *ḥmž* are thought to derive.⁵⁷⁸ In Akkadian *umsātu*, Egyptian *ḥm't* and Coptic *hmoc*, a cognate noun meaning "salt" appears.

While the potential two other חֲמִץ 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 חֲמִץ, neither impacts on the interpretation of the lexeme.⁵⁷⁹

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

⁵⁷⁵ HAL; p. 329.

⁵⁷⁶ See below Versions, חֲמַץ 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

חֲמִץ 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 חֲמִץ shows the following uses of the lexeme:

- 1 חֲמִץ is the subject of a predicate (Pr 10.26, 25.20).
- 2 חֲמִץ is the object of qal שָׁתָה (Nu 6.3 (x2)), מָבֵל (Ru 2.14) and hiphil שָׁתָה (Ps 69.22).
- 3 חֲמִץ is the nomen regens of יַיִן (Nu 6.3 (1st Occurrence)) and שִׁכָּר (Nu 6.3 (2nd Occurrence)).
- 4 חֲמִץ is modified by the prepositions בְּ (Ru 2.14) and עַל (Pr 10.26).

Versions

The Septuagint translates חֲמִץ as οἶνος "vinegar" except in Pr 10.26 when οἴφρακ "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 grapes⁵⁸¹ i.e. verjuice.

The Peshitta translates חֲמִץ in three ways, *hāllā'* "vinegar" (Nu 6.3(x2), Ps 69.2, Pr 25.20), *bsar* "unripe grapes" (Pr 10.26) and *hālbā'* (Ru 2.14). The use of *hālbā'* "milk" is probably a result of a scribal error.⁵⁸²

חֲמִץ is most commonly translated as חֲלֵץ "vinegar" in the targums. The fragmentary version of the Palestinian Targum found in the Vatican⁵⁸³ uses חֲמֵץ "sour, leavened, vinegar" for both occurrences in Nu 6.3. The Targum of Proverbs uses one of the cognate nouns חֲמֵץ 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.

⁵⁸¹ Toy; p. 216.

⁵⁸² Campbell; 1975; p. 102.

⁵⁸³ Klein; 1980.

The Vulgate is consistent in its use of *acetum* "vinegar" for חֲמִץ. 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 חֲמִץ is in parallel with and the product of יַיִן and שֵׁכָר placing it in the semantic field of wine. This verse places each of these products in parallel with עֵנָב which not only places them within the semantic field of products of the grape, but within the semantic field of agricultural produce.

חֲמִץ 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).

חֲמִץ 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 חֲמִץ in the commentaries regards the nature of vinegar as a preparation which has gone sour.⁵⁸⁴ This provides little information other than the identification of חֲמִץ as "vinegar" or at least an alcoholic beverage in the process of turning into vinegar. Toy⁵⁸⁵ and Murphy⁵⁸⁶ think that the acidic nature of חֲמִץ 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 חֲמִץ.

Tate⁵⁸⁷ understands "the poison and the vinegar [of Ps 69.22] ... represent a radical form of betrayal by those who should have been comforters." Briggs⁵⁸⁸ is similar,

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 חֲמִץ. Campbell⁵⁸⁹ 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 חֲמִץ 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 חֲמִץ. 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.

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. מִשְׁרַת עֵנָבִים "grape juice" (Nu 6.3) and דָּם־עֵנָבִים "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 מִשְׁרַת עֵנָבִים and דָּם־עֵנָבִים are considered below in the examination of עֵנָב.

מִשְׁרַת עֵנָבִים "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 Teachout⁵⁹⁰ that יַיִן 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 מִשְׁרַת עֵנָבִים as grape juice, centres on מִשְׁרַת. מִשְׁרַת is a hapax legomenon. BDB⁵⁹¹ associates it with a root שָׂרַח not attested in the Hebrew Bible related to cognates meaning "moist." However, BDB also translates the root שָׂרַח as "let loose." As juice is let loose from the grape, seeking an unattested root may be unnecessary. The Versions encourage the view that מִשְׁרַת 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 יַיִן and שָׂרַח 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 דָּם־עֵנָב (Gn 49.11, Dt 32.14, Sir 39.26). The first is as a poetic metaphor for wine⁵⁹² and the second as a "red grape juice."⁵⁹³ As discussed in Chapter Six, the red colour in wine comes from the fermentation process, thus דָּם־עֵנָב must refer to wine. דָּם־עֵנָב is in parallel with יַיִן (Gn 49.11) and קָמַר (Dt 32.14) providing further evidence for placing the phrase in the semantic field of wine. In Sir 39.26 דָּם־עֵנָב appears in a list of the necessities of life, reminiscent of the parallel of הַיַּיִן וְהַיֶּרֶשׁ with דָּבָר and or יִצְחָק.

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

⁵⁹² Sarna; 1989; p. 337.

⁵⁹³ Angerstorfer; 2001; p. 211.

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 viticultural⁵⁹⁵ side: עֵנָב "grape," גִּפְתָּן "grapevine," כַּרְם "vineyard." In the course of the examination of each word, the semantic fields that these words belong to will be discussed.

8.1 עֵנָב "grape"

עֵנָב 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 *stafulh* in Ezk 36.8 suggesting the translators read עֵנָבְכֶם rather than עֲנָפְכֶם "your branches." This reading has not received much

support or attention from commentators and provides no extra information about the lexeme. Two occurrences of עֵנָב are known in Hebrew Ben Sira: 39.26, 51.15 (11QPs^a). In the previously unknown texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls 11QT 21.7 is the only confirmed use of עֵנָב. In 4Q365a 2 4 (TS 3 1.3), Yadin⁵⁹⁶ reads [ה]עֵנָבִים, however, DJD XIII reads [ה]תֵּאֲנִי. Yadin's reading is not considered to be likely.

Root and Comparative Material

It is probable that עֵנָב is a primary noun. No cognate verb is attested in Biblical Hebrew or known in the other Semitic languages. The Place Name עֵנָב "place of the grape"⁵⁹⁷ (Josh 11.21, 15.50) is probably derived from the primary noun. עֵנָב 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 עֵנָבִים; 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 'nbtb 'l probably contains the cognate.⁵⁹⁸

Formal Characteristics

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

Syntagmatics

עֵנָב is most commonly an object or part of a compound object or object phrase: object of qal לִקְחָה (Gn 40.11), בָּצַר (Lv 25.5), שָׁתָה (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), אָכַל

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), כֶּרֶת (Nu 13.23), אֶהֱבֵה (Ho 31.1), hifil בָּשַׁל (Gn 40.10) בּוֹאֵס (Neh 13.15), piel קוֹהֵה (Is 5.2, 4).

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

3 עֵנָב is part of the predicate of יְמֵי הַיָּמִים (Nu 13.20), of עֵנָבְמוֹ (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence).

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

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

6 עֵנָב is in plural construct with genitive נְזִיר (Lv 25.5), רוֹשׁ (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence).

7 עֵנָב is the genitive of מְשָׁרָה (Nu 6.3 1st occurrence), בְּבוּרִים (Nu 13.20), אֲשֵׁי־הָאֵשׁ (Ho 3.1).

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

9 עֵנָב takes -בָּ prefix (Ho 9.10).

10 עֵנָב takes 3mp possessive suffix מֹ- (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence).

Versions

The Versions are very consistent in translating עֵנָב 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 אֲשֵׁי־הָאֵשׁ aspect of the אֲשֵׁי־עֵנָבִים construct, giving *stafulh* and 'epsātā' "raisins" respectively.

Although the Targums generally translate עֵנָב as עֵנָב, 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 עֵנָב is both a part and a product of גִּפְנֵי "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 עֵנָב, include שָׁרִיג "twig, branch;" זְמוּרָה "branch, twig, shoot;" סֵלְסֵלָה "shoot, branch;" דְּלֵי יוֹת "branches, bough;" עֲנָף "branch(es), bough(s);" פְּאֵרָה "bough;" שֶׁרֶשׁ "root;" בְּדִים "rods, shoots;" עֶלֶף "leaf;" נֶצֶחַ "blossom;" and סִמְדָר "blossom of grape."

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

Related products of the vine, which are likely to form a semantic field with עֵנָב include עוֹלֵלוֹת "gleanings, remnant;" פְּרֹט "broken off, fallen grapes;" לֶקֶט "gleaning;" בֶּסֶר "unripe grapes;" בְּאֲשִׁים "wild grapes;" and אֲשָׁכוֹל "cluster."

The products of the grape provide significant associative links between עֵנָב and the semantic field of wine. A large subset of the products of the vine is wine products.⁵⁹⁹ Other products of the grape mentioned in the Hebrew Bible are apparently restricted to dried grape products namely צְמוּק "bunch of raisins;" צְמוּקִים "raisin cakes;" and אֲשֵׁי־שָׂה "raisin cake."

The product of the vine is sometimes referred to using more general terms for produce: פֶּרִי "fruit" (eg, Is 37.30); קִיָּץ "figs, summer fruit" (Is, 16.9, Jr 48.32); יִבּוּל "fruit" (Hb 3.17); and תְּבוּאָה "product, yield" (Dt 22.9). Gray⁶⁰⁰ suggests that קִיָּץ is used instead of עֵנָב (Is16.9) for alliteration, but this, however, does not take

⁵⁹⁹ See above לֵיָּ Lexical/Semantic Fields for a more detailed listing.

⁶⁰⁰ Gray; 1912; p. 292.

into account Jr 48.32. Thus, עֵנָב must also be placed in the semantic field of produce which also includes terms such as יָבוּל and תְּבוּאָה.

The lexeme is often in parallel with other agricultural products. However, עֵנָב is the only example in the Hebrew Bible where the fruit has a separate name from the plant.⁶⁰¹ Thus, the semantic field of agricultural produce is considered as part of גִּפְנֵי below.

Exegesis

The major metaphorical use of עֵנָב in the Hebrew Bible is an extension of the use of גִּפְנֵי as a symbol or metaphor for the people of Israel, with YHWH as their viticulturist. The metaphor is extended to עֵנָב 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.

עֵנָב 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 עֵנָב they bring back represents the richness of the agricultural land of Palestine (Nu 13.17-24).

Harper⁶⁰² 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.⁶⁰³ The Phoenician place name *'nbtb 'l* has been used to suggest a

⁶⁰¹ Borowski; 1987; p. 103.

⁶⁰² Harper; 1910; p. 218.

⁶⁰³ DDD; p. 341.

role of grapes in the cult of Baal.⁶⁰⁴ Nevertheless, demonstrating such a link within the Hebrew Bible cannot be proven conclusively.

Conclusions

עֵנָב "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 (עֵנָבִי), growing place (בְּרֵם) and refined forms (eg, יַיִן) are mentioned.

⁶⁰⁴ Angerstorfer; p. 210.

8.2 גִּפְנֵי "vine"

גִּפְנֵי 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, Ezk 15.2, 6, 17.6 (x2), 7, 8, 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 גִּפְנֵי. Watts⁶⁰⁵ 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 גִּפְנֵי in Nah 2.3 have been proposed to read גִּפְנֵי on the basis of the occurrence of גִּפְנֵי at the end of the verse.⁶⁰⁶ However, "This is neither necessary or justified."⁶⁰⁷ The Septuagint reads ἀμπέλους for the MT גִּפְנֵי 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 גִּפְנֵי in ancient Hebrew. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, גִּפְנֵי 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. BDB⁶⁰⁹ offers גִּפְנֵי as the possible root, but there is no evidence for its existence. It is likely that גִּפְנֵי 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.c

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.

גִּפְּן is regularly attested in Rabbinic Hebrew. The cognate nouns in Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac *gufnā* and *g^efettā*, Arabic *jafn*, Old South Arabic *gpnt* mean "vine." The cognate noun in Mandaean ܓܘܦܢܐ 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

גִּפְּן is a noun of the qatl form. גִּפְּן 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. גִּפְּן שָׁרֵה 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 verse⁶¹⁴ is unwarranted. In Ho 10.1, בִּזְקֵק is masculine which may suggest that גִּפְּן is masculine. The consensus is that the gender of בִּזְקֵק is governed by יְשֵׁרָאֵל and not גִּפְּן.⁶¹⁵ Andersen et al⁶¹⁶ note a "not intolerable" clash between the gender of the lexeme and the independent pronoun הִמָּה (Ho 2.14).

Syntagmatics

1 גִּפְּן is the object of qal אָסַר (Gn 49.11), אָמַר (Jdg 9.12), יָצָא (Jdg 13.14), מָצָא (2Kg 4.39), אָכַל (2Kg 18.31, Is 36.16, Jr 5.17), הָיָה (Is 7.23), בָּכָה (Is 16.9), הָיָה (Ezk 15.2, 17.6(x2), 8, Ct 7.9), בִּקֵּק (Ho 10.1), פָּרַח (Ho 14.8), שָׁיַם (Jl 1.7), חָרַג (Ps 78.47), פָּקַר (Ps 80.15), שָׁמַר (6Q11 1.2), nifal עָשָׂה (Nu 6.4), הִפְּךָ (Jr 2.21), hifil שָׁמַם (Ho 2.14), נָסַע (Ps 80.9), נָכַה (Ps 105.33).

2 גִּפְּן is the object compliment of qal אָבָה (Jr 48.32).

⁶¹² CAD 4:44.

⁶¹³ JM §150n.

⁶¹⁴ E.g., BDB; p. 172.

⁶¹⁵ Andersen et al; 1980; p. 550. Stuart; 1987; p. 157.

⁶¹⁶ Andersen et al; 1980; p. 252.

- 3 גִּפְּן is part of the predicate of 2nd occurrence of the lexeme (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence), אָמַךְ (Ezk 19.10).
- 4 גִּפְּן is the subject of qal אָמַר (Jdg 9.13), כָּפַן (Ezk 17.7), נָתַן (Jl 2.22, Zc 8.12, Ct 2.13), נָשָׂא (Hg 2.19), פָּרַח (Ct 6.11, 7.13), piel אָמַל (Is 16.8, 24.7), שָׁכַל (MI 3.11), hifil יָבַשׁ (Jl 1.12), predicate לְפָנַי (Gn 40.9), נִשְׁלַחַת שְׂרִיגִים (Gn 40.10), כִּי־מִנְפֵן סֹדִם (Dt 32.32 2nd occurrence), אֲשַׁתֶּךָ (Ps 128.3).
- 5 גִּפְּן is the nomen regens of יָיַן (Nu 6.4, Jdg 13.14), סֹדִם (Dt 32.32 1st occurrence), שָׁדָה (2Kg 4.39), שְׂבָמָה (Is 16.8, 9, Jr 48.32), נִמְטַע (6Q11 1.6).
- 6 גִּפְּן is the nomen rectum of אִישׁ (2Kg 18.31, Is 36.16), עֵץ (Ezk 15.2, 6), אֲשַׁכַּל (Ct 7.9).
- 7 גִּפְּן is the genitive of מְקוֹם (Nu 20.5), סוּר (Jr 2.21).
- 8 גִּפְּן is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying qal יָשַׁב (1Kg 5.5, Mc 4.4), סָפַד (Is 32.12), נָבַל (Is 34.4), נָתַן (Ezk 15.6), קָרָא (Zc 3.10), חָמַס (Jb 15.33), אָכַל (11QT 21.7), piel עָלַל (Jr 6.9), the predicate (Jr 8.13, Hb 3.17).
- 9 גִּפְּן is part of a compound adjectival phrase modifying אָרְיָן (Dt 8.8).
- 10 גִּפְּן is modified by adjective אֶלֶךְ (Is 7.23), נִכְרִי (Jr 2.21).
- 11 גִּפְּן takes the preposition בְּ- (Gn 40.10, Jr 8.13, Hb 3.17), לְ- (Gn 49.11, Jdg 9.12, Ezk 17.6(x2), 8), מִן- (Nu 6.4, Dt 32.32 1st occurrence, Jdg 13.14, Is 34.4, 11QT 21.7), עַל- (Is 32.12), בְּ- (Jr 6.9, Ezk 19.10, Ho 14.8, Ps 128.3, Jb 15.33).
- 12 גִּפְּן 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^f(88) 2 9.12), 2ms (Jr 5.17), 1cs (Jl 1.7).
- 13 גִּפְּן takes the plural form (Hb 3.17, Ct 2.13, 4QPs^f(88) 2 9.12).
- 14 The passage in which the lexeme occurs is too fragmentary to develop a full syntax (4QPs^f(88) 2 9.12, 4Q445 5.3).

Versions

The versions add little to our understanding of גִּפְּן. The Septuagint translates גִּפְּן as ἀπέλοζ except in 1 Kg 5.5 where no equivalent verse exists and Jb 15.33 where the

verse is paraphrased. The Peshitta translates גפן as *gupnā* in each occurrence. Likewise, the Targums translate גפן as גופן 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 emphasises the vine being in the vineyard *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, Ml 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 *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

גפן 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 ענב. גפן is in parallel with parts of the vine (eg, Gn 40.10). Likewise, גפן is in parallel with products of the vine, which are detailed above [see ענב]. These are related to ענב with one exception. In 2 Kg 4.39 פקעת "gourds" are found on the גפן שדה "wild vine." (This is the clearest case in the Hebrew Bible of גפן referring to something other than the grapevine.)

It may be possible to construct a semantic field of vines. גפן is in parallel with שרק (Jr 2.21) and שרק (Gn 49.11) "choice vines." גפן is understood as "untrimmed vine" in Lv 25.5, 11 and its parallel with פקע (Lv 25.4) makes it likely it is in the same class of plants as the lexeme.

גפן is in parallel with other agricultural products or plants (many words cover both meanings): חטה "wheat", שערה "barley", תאנה "fig", רמון "pomegranate," זית

"olive," תָּמָר "dates/palm," תְּפוחֵי הָאֵץ "apple (tree)," זֶרַע "seed, grain," דְּבַשׁ "honey," אֲגוז "nuts," עֵץ "tree, wood," אֲרָז "cedars," and אֹרְזָה "herbs."

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

גִּפְּן is in parallel with שָׂדֵה (2 Kg 4.39), שְׂדֵה (Dt 32.32, Hb 3.17) "field, land" and כְּרָם "vineyards." This places its propagation in these contexts [see כְּרָם below], while at times גִּפְּן acts as a metaphor or metonymy for vineyard.

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

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.⁶¹⁷ The use covers many areas from the prosperity of the

⁶¹⁷ Sarna; 1989; p. 337. Wenham; 1994; p. 478-79.

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.

גפן סדום (Dt 32.32), גפן בוקק (Ho 10.1), גפן שבטמה (Is 16.8,9, Jr 48.32) and גפן אדורת (Ezk 17.8) probably represent different varieties of grapevine as may שרק (Jr 2.21) and שרקתה (Gn 49.11). It is possible that סמדר (Ct 2.13, 15, 7.15) is another variety of grape rather than "grape blossom".⁶¹⁸ The poisonous nature of the fruit of גפן שדה (2Kg 4.39) suggests a plant other than the grapevine, however, Borowski's⁶¹⁹ proposal that גפן סדום (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.⁶²⁰

The use of the lexeme in Gn 49.11 as that which the foal is bound to has led Clines⁶²¹ to understand it as "saddle." While this may have some basis when compared with

⁶¹⁸ Borowski; 1987; p. 104.

⁶¹⁹ Borowski; 1987; p. 105.

⁶²⁰ Zohary; 1995; pp. 23-30.

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 (שִׁרָק).

Conclusions

The majority of the uses of גִּפְּן 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 be used for vines other than the grapevine (*Vitis Vinifera* L.).

8.3 פָּרָם "vineyard"

With 93 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, פָּרָם 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, Ezk 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 Ezk 19.10 reads פָּרָםְךָ "in your blood," however, two manuscripts read פָּרָמְךָ "your vineyard." The Septuagint reads *w ŋ aħoθj εἰ rθᾶ* | which suggests כָּרְמֶךָ "like a pomegranate." Commentators have suggested other reconstructions unrelated to the lexeme.⁶²² The BHS⁶²³ apparatus of Mc 1.10 suggests the addition of a construct form of the lexeme. Despite discussions about the integrity of this verse⁶²⁴ this reading appears to be without support.

The Hebrew of Ben Sira has one occurrence of פָּרָם 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.⁶²⁵

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, Baumgarten⁶²⁶ reads 4Q500 1.7 as מְכָרָ[וּכָר]. While this is possible, the scroll is too fragmentary for such a reconstruction to be verified.⁶²⁷

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.

כָּרֵם 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

כָּרֵם is derived from a Proto-Semitic primary noun and is itself a primary noun.⁶²⁸

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 כָּרְמִים "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.⁶²⁹

כָּרֵם occurs twice in the Place Name בֵּית־הַכָּרֵם (Je 6.1, Ne 3.14). The Proper Noun כָּרְמִי 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 כָּרֵם with a first person common singular suffix. כָּרְמָל "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 ל suffix.⁶³⁰

A number of sources attest the "primitive" form of כָּרֵם.⁶³¹ SamP^{M120} reads *karem*, the second column of Origen's Hexapla reads *χαρμ(a)* and Jerome *charma*.⁶³²

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

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.

כַּרְמָא.⁶³³ כַּרְם 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.⁶³⁴

Unsuccessful attempts have been made to find a cognate verb or root for כַּרְם. BDB⁶³⁵ questions whether an Arabic verb *karuma* "noble, generous, fertile" might be a cognate, but considers the suggestion "precarious." Müller⁶³⁶ notes this possibility as well as Akkadian *karāmu(m)* "hold (back)," but finds neither are related to the lexeme.

Formal Characteristics

כַּרְם is a noun of the qatl form. כַּרְם can be either singular or plural, with the singular often having a collective meaning. כַּרְם is masculine except in Lv 25.3 and Is 27.2. In both these cases כַּרְם is not in agreement with the following pronominal suffix which refers to כַּרְם. Joüon - Muraoka⁶³⁷ suggests that the genitival group of Is 27.2 follows the gender of *nomen rectum*, but this does not provide a solution unless כַּרְם is feminine rather than its usual masculine.⁶³⁸ The reason behind this variation in gender of כַּרְם is yet to be fully explained.

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 פָּרָם is the object of qal נָטַע (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), זָמַר (Lv 25.3, 4), עָבַר (Nu 20.17), נָמְהָ (Nu 21.22), זָרַע (Dt 22.9 1st occurrence), בּוֹאָ (Dt 23.25, Jdg 14.5), בָּצַר (Dt 24.21, Jdg 9.27), קָדַשׁ (Dt 22.9 2nd occurrence), לָקַח (1Sm 8.14, 2Kg 5.26), עָשָׂר (1Sm 8.15), הָיָה (1Kg 21.1, Is 5.1 (2nd occurrence), Jr 35.9, Ct 8.11 (1st occurrence)), נָתַן (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)), יָרַשׁ (1Kg 21.15, Neh 9.25), עָשָׂה (Ex 23.11, Is 5.4, 5), פָּנָה (Jb 24.18), לָוָה (Ct 1.6 (1st occurrence)), נָטַר (Ct 1.6 (2nd occurrence)), עָרַב (Neh 5.3), לָוָה (Neh 5.4), חָמַד (11QT 21.7), nifal קָנָה (Jr 32.15), piel שָׁלַם (Ex 22.4 2nd occurrence), עָלַל (Lv 19.10 1st occurrence), לָקַט (Lv 19.10 2nd occurrence), בָּעַר (Is 3.14), שָׁחַת (Jr 12.10), לָקַשׁ (Jb 24.6), חָבַל (Ct 2.15 (1st occurrence)), עָפַר (Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (3rd occurrence)), hifil בָּעַר (Ex 22.4 1st occurrence, Jdg 15.5), רָבָה (Am 4.9), שָׁוַב (Neh 5.11), שָׁכַם (Ct 7.13).

2 פָּרָם is the object complement of piel עָנָה (Is 27.2).

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

4 פָּרָם 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 עָשָׂה (Is 5.10), piel עָפַר (Sir margin gloss to MS B c.40.21-26 (2nd occurrence)), pual בָּעַר (Sir 36.25).

5 פָּרָם is part of an adverbial prepositional phrase modifying הִנֵּיחַ (1Kg 21.18), qal עָמַד (Nu 22.24), אָרַב (Jdg 21.20), יָצָא (Jdg 21.21), קָוַם (1Kg 21.16), נָשִׂיר (Is 5.1 (1st occurrence)), שָׁפַט (Is 5.3), שָׁיַם (Mc 1.6), עָבַר (Pr 24.30), נָטַע (4Q433a 2.3), nifal יָתַר (Is 1.8), pual רָנַן (Is 16.10), hifil נָכַח (Jdg 11.33).

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

7 פָּרָם is part of an adjectival prepositional phrase modifying אֲשַׁכַּל (Ct 1.14).

8 פָּרָם is the nomen regens of רָעַ (Dt 23.25), נְבוֹתָ (1Kg 21.7, 15, 16, 18), the Tetragrammaton (Is 5.7), חָמָד (Is 27.2 [see חָמָר Text Doubtful]), רָשָׁע (Jb 24.6).

9 פָּרָם is the nomen rectum of אָבַל (Jdg 9.27), אָרָץ (2Kg 18.32, Is 36.17).

10 פָּרָם is the genitive of מִטָּב (Ex 22.4 2nd occurrence), פָּרָט (Lv 19.10 2nd occurrence), נִחְלָה (Nu 16.14), מִשְׁעוֹל (Nu 22.24), הַבּוֹשָׁה (Dt 22.9 2nd occurrence), צָמֹד (Is 5.10), מִטָּע (Mc 1.6).

11 פָּרָם is in the construct form with genitive הַמְּנָה (Jdg 14.5), הָמָד (Am 5.11), עֵין נְרִי (Ct 1.14).

12 פָּרָם takes the preposition - לְ (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), - בְּ (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), - עַד (Jdg 14.5, 15.5), - מִן (Jdg 21.21), - אֶל (1Kg 21.16), בֵּין (Is 5.3), - עַל (1Ch 27.27 (1st occurrence), - וְ (1Ch 27.27 (2nd occurrence)).

13 פָּרָם 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 פָּרָם 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

פָּרָם is most commonly translated with ἀμπελω θοζ "vineyard" in the Septuagint.

There is a number of exceptions: ἀμπελοζ "vine" (Lv 25.3, 4, Ct 2.5); κληρονομία "inheritance" (1Kg 21.6 (2nd occurrence)); [no text] (Jr 39.10); κτήμα "property" (Ho 2.17, Pr 31.16); οὐλοθ "threshold" (Am 5.17); phrase missing from verse in LXX (Jb 24.18); and χω ριθν "place, spot" (1Ch 27.27 (x2)). The LXX reading of Is 5.10 does

not translate כַּרְם, which may be related to the translator understanding צַמְדִי to mean "yoke" rather than "a measure of land". אֶבֶל כַּרְמִים is transliterated Ebelxarmin in Jdg 11.33 in the B family of manuscripts.

The Peshitta is the most consistent of the versions in its translation of כַּרְם 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) כַּרְם appears. The Vulgate translates כַּרְם 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

כַּרְם 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 כַּרְם is not restricted to any style or period of Hebrew.

כַּרְם is in parallel with other terms for fields and pastures: קִשְׁאָה "field of cucumbers" (Is 1.8), חֶלְקָה "portion of ground" (Jr 12.10), גִּנְיָה "garden" (Am 4.9). Tigay⁶³⁹ adds שְׂדֵמָה (Dt 32.32) to this list. Other possible members of this field include:⁶⁴⁰ אֶדְמָה, בְּרִמָּל, חֶלְפָּה, יַגְב, שְׂדָה, מְרֵעָה, and נִוָּה.

כַּרְם is parallel with both the elements of the vine and the products of the grapes, which are considered above in גִּפְנִי and עֵנָב, respectively. Words such as יַיִן (eg, Ex

⁶³⁹ Tigay; 1996.

23.11), which serve as the fruit, the plant and the plantings and are parallel to כָּרֶם, are likewise considered with גִּפְיָן.

כָּרֶם is frequently in parallel with words for vineyard equipment and other agricultural installations. This semantic field is considered below with יִקְבֵּי.

The parallels between כָּרֶם and יִי (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 יִי are the root of the words for vineyard in Old South Arabic, Greek and Latin [see יִי] provides further evidence of the link between the lexical fields.

While כָּרֶם 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.⁶⁴¹ 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,"⁶⁴² perhaps suggesting at least an awareness of grapevines before the flood.

Like גִּפְיָן, כָּרֶם 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.

⁶⁴¹ Sarna; 1989; p. 65. Wenham; 1987; p. 198. Skinner; 1910; pp. 182-83.

⁶⁴² Freedman, H. et al; 1991-6. (Davka Soncino Classics Collection CD-ROM).

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 כֶּרֶם 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."

כֶּרֶם 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.

⁶⁴⁵ Pope; 1977; pp. 323-27.

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

כֶּרֶם 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 (בַּיִת) and vineyards (כֶּרֶם) 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

כֶּרֶם is clearly to be understood as "vineyard." It is in all likelihood a primary noun.

⁶⁴⁷ Müller; 1995; p. 324.

⁶⁴⁸ Müller; 1995; p. 323; Carpenter et al; 1997; pp. 723-24.

⁶⁴⁹ Berlin; 1994; p. 88.

⁶⁵⁰ Smith et al; 1912; p. 203.

⁶⁵¹ Op. cit.

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 יִקְבֹּ; יָתָ; and פּוֹרְתָהּ 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 יִקְבֹּ

The most common word in the Hebrew Bible, which apparently refers to a winemaking installation, is יִקְבֹּ. יִקְבֹּ 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

יִקְבֹּ 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 יִקְבֹּ or יִקְבֹּ "to hollow out" in Rabbinical Hebrew (*Cant.Rab.* 7.11). This suggests there may be some relationship with the verb יִקְבֹּ "to pierce." The identified cognate

verb is related to the Arabic cognate verb *wqb* "to hollow out" and the cognate noun *waqb* "cavity, hole."⁶⁵²

Ottosson⁶⁵³ suggests that the place name יִקְבֹּצָאֵל (Neh 11.25) might contain the element יִקְבֹּ. At best this suggestion is unlikely, most identify יִקְבֹּצָאֵל as being derived from יִקְבֹּץ "to gather."⁶⁵⁴

Formal Characteristics

יִקְבֹּ is a masculine singular noun of the qitl form. The plural form יִקְבֹּים is regularly attested.

Syntagmatics

1 יִקְבֹּ is the subject of qal רָעָה (Ho 9.2), hifil שָׁוֶה (Jl 2.24, 4.13) and qal פָּרַץ (Pr 3.10).

2 יִקְבֹּ is the object of qal הִצַּב (Is 5.2) and qal דָּרַךְ (Jb 24.11).

3 יִקְבֹּ is part of the adverbial prepositional phrase of place modifying hifil הִשָּׁב (Nu 18.27, 30), hifil עָנַק (Dt 15.14), qal אָסַף (Dt 16.13), qal הִרְגָה (Jdg 7.25), hifil יָשַׁע (2Kg 6.27), qal דָּרַךְ (Is 16.10), hifil שָׁבַת (Jr 48.33), qal בֹּא (Hg 2.16) and qal יָשַׁב (Zc 14.10).

4 יִקְבֹּ is the nomen regens of יָאָב (Jdg 7.25), מָלַךְ (Zc 14.10) and possibly תִּירוֹשׁ (4Q500 1.3).

5 יִקְבֹּ is the nomen rectum of הִבִּיאָה (Nu 18.30).

6 יִקְבֹּ is modified by the prepositions מִן (Nu 18.27, Dt 15.14, 16.13, 2Kg 6.27, Jr 48.33), כִּי (Jdg 7.25, Is 16.10), אֶל (Hg 2.16), עַד (Zc 14.10).

7 יִקְבֹּ takes a 2ms possessive suffix (Dt 15.14, 16.13, Pr 3.10).

8 יִקְבֹּ 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.

9 4Q500 1.3 is too fragmentary to develop a full syntax for this use of the lexeme.

Versions

The Septuagint translates יִקְבֹּ in a number of ways mostly related to *lhnoʒ* "winevat 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) *lhnoʒ*⁶⁵⁵ is used. *uʔolh~~h~~ion* "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 *prolh~~h~~ion* "before the winevat" is used. On two occasions the Septuagint does not reflect the nature of יִקְבֹּ. This happens in Jb 24.11 where the verse is paraphrased and in Jdg 7.25 where יִקְבֹּ-יִסָּב is identified as a place name and transliterated to *Takef zhb*.

The Peshitta translates יִקְבֹּ as *ma'sartā* "winepress, wine vat" in every verse except Jdg 7.25. In Jdg the place name יִקְבֹּ-יִסָּב is given as *byt qbrb*.

In the majority of cases the Targums translate יִקְבֹּ as מַעְצְרֵתָא "press room," however, there is a number of exceptions. The Targum of Is 5.2 is a paraphrase. יִקְבֹּ is translated as יַעֲיָא "tank of the press" in Jl 2.24 and שִׁיחַ "pit, cavity" in Zc 14.10. Jdg 7.25 has מִישָׂר. Harrington and Saldarni⁶⁵⁶ translate this as "plain" thus מִישָׂר.⁶⁵⁷ While מַעְצְרֵתָא does appear in Jl 4.13 the Targum is midrashic and the use of מַעְצְרֵתָא probably reflects the נֶתַח in the verse rather than יִקְבֹּ.

The Vulgate translates each occurrence of יִקְבֹּ as *torcular* "winepress, pressing room."

Lexical/Semantic Fields

That wine is the product of the יִקְבֹּ is made clear in Is 16.10, Jr 49.33 (יַיִן), Jl 2.24 and Pr 3.10 (תִּירוֹשׁ). Thus יִקְבֹּ is a member of the semantic field of winemaking

⁶⁵⁵ LSI; p. 1045.

⁶⁵⁶ Harrington and Saldarni; 1987; p. 74.

installations. The other major members are גַּת and פּוֹרְתָהּ. יִקְבֹּ is in parallel with גַּת (Jl 4.13) and פּוֹרְתָהּ (Hg 2.16).

יִקְבֹּ, גַּת and פּוֹרְתָהּ form a subset of all agricultural installations. גֶּרֶן "threshing floor" is most commonly in parallel with יִקְבֹּ (Nu 18.27, 30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, 2Kg 6.27, Ho 9.2, Jl 2.24), but also parallels גַּת in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4QOrd(159) 1 2.3, CD12.10). The "beating out of wheat" in a גַּת (Jdg 6.11) is perhaps a further parallel.

Is 5.2 clearly has יִקְבֹּ as an item of vineyard equipment. מִגְדָּל "tower", מִשְׁפָּה "hedge" and גֶּרֶר "wall" are named as vineyard installations in Is 5. בּוֹר "cistern" (Dt 6.11) and סִבָּה "booth" (Is 1.8) are among other named installations of the vineyard.

Exegesis

יִקְבֹּ is rarely examined by commentators. Rashi understood "every *yqb* in the Bible refers to the vat in front of the *gt* where the wine is placed and not the grapes."⁶⁵⁸

Crenshaw⁶⁵⁹ observes the place of יִקְבֹּ 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.

Borowski⁶⁶⁰ suggests that יִקְבֹּ is probably "a press hewn within the rock within or next to the vineyard" and similarly a גַּת 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 יִקְבֹּ in the vineyard in Is 5.2 and its occurring in parallel with גֶּרֶן "threshing floor." Borowski argues that Jdg 6.11 provides evidence that the גַּת could be located inside a city. In this verse

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 גֵּת, rather than a גֵּרֶן “threshing floor” to hide it from the Midianites.

Conclusions

Perhaps the first question to be answered in the search to understand יִקְבֹּ as well as גֵּת and פִּירָה 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 גֵּת as *ληνοῦ* and יִקְבֹּ as *ληνοῦ, ὑποληνιον or προληνιον* may be a significant starting point. With *ληνοῦ* meaning "wine-vat in which the grapes are pressed"⁶⁶¹ it may be that גֵּת is the crusher and יִקְבֹּ 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 גֵּת, may contradict this. It may be speculated, however, that this passage is referring to Jdg 6.11 where grain was beaten out in a גֵּת. יִקְבֹּ bursting with תִּירֹשׁ (Pr 3.10) suggests it is used in the latter part of the production process. Both oil and wine being products of יִקְבֹּ (Jl 2.24) would suggest strongly that it is a press. יִקְבֹּ is used to represent its products, suggesting a finished product (Nu 18.27, 18.30, Dt 15.14, 16.13, Ho 9.2.). Borowski's⁶⁶² suggestion that the identity is based on location may provide the solution, however, the evidence is inconclusive.

Given the range of translations of יִקְבֹּ 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

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 גַּת

גַּת 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 גַּת 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 גַּת." The understanding of this reading is not aided by 1QIsa^a reading בגַּת rather than בגַּת of the Masoretic Text.⁶⁶³

There are three occurrences of the common noun form of גַּת in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 4QOrd(159) 1 2.3, 4QCat^a(177) 2+ .15;⁶⁶⁴ and CD12.10. It is possible that 4Q512 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

גַּת appears in Biblical Hebrew most commonly as a place name (34 times). Residents of this location are described by the adjective גַּתִּי (10 times). Three other place names in Biblical Hebrew are based on the noun: גַּת הַחֶפְזִי (Josh 19.13, 2Kg 14.25); גַּת־רַמּוֹן (Josh 19.45, 21.24, 25, 1Ch 6.54); and גַּת־יָם (2Sm 4.3, Neh 11.33). גַּת־יָם (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 גַּת or it may suggest the Psalms were sung near the גַּת during the Feast of Tabernacles (or some other time).⁶⁶⁶

No cognate verb appears in Biblical Hebrew. Gesenius proposed גַּת as the cognate root.⁶⁶⁷ Arabic has a cognate verb to this root *wajana* "to beat clothes." Rainey⁶⁶⁸ observes that גַּת shows gemination of the last consonant suggesting the assimilation

⁶⁶³ Watts; 1987; p. 316 n.2.b.

⁶⁶⁴ 4QCat^a(177) 2+ .15 is often referred to as 4QCat^a(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 ג. Frankel⁶⁶⁹ understands Rainey to be suggesting a root גַּת for גַּת although Rainey does not say this explicitly.

The Amarna Letters contain the place name *ginti*,⁶⁷⁰ which it is proposed relates to גַּת. This may provide supporting evidence of a ג in the root. Rainey argues that the doubling of the ג, which occurs in the plural form is reflected in an Akkadian fragment from Gezer.⁶⁷¹

On the basis that the cognate root contained a ג, Frankel links גַּת "garden" and גַּת "shield" to גַּת.⁶⁷²

The cognate noun in Ugaritic *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.⁶⁷³ Likewise, the cognate appears in a number of Arabic and Nabatean inscriptions.⁶⁷⁴

Formal Characteristics

גַּת is undisputedly a feminine noun, however, its form is uncertain. The closest to a consensus would be to follow BDB⁶⁷⁵ who suggest that גַּת is derived from גַּת and is a contraction of גַּת and thus is of the Qatl form. The Akkadian *ginti* may suggest that that גַּת may have had an i vowel theme at an earlier time in its development. The plural גַּתֹּת in Neh 13.15 may demonstrate the traces of this i vowel theme. This

⁶⁶⁹ Frankel; 1999; p. 185.

⁶⁷⁰ EA 288.26, 289.18, 19, 290.28, 319.5.

⁶⁷¹ Rainey; 1966; p. 35-36; n. 1. *HAL*; p. 206.

⁶⁷² Frankel; 1999; p. 185.

⁶⁷³ PN RR-Sam(8):1.14,2 = D-3.014.2, RR-Jer(8):11,6 = D-4.105.6.

⁶⁷⁴ DNWSI; p. 237.

⁶⁷⁵ BDB; p. 387.

suggests an alternative form of Qitl. The possibility that the root was גנן provides two other possible forms namely Qall or Qill dependent on the vowel theme.

Syntagmatics

1 גַּת is the object of qal דָּרְדַרְךָ (Is 63.2, La 1.15, Neh 13.15) and part of the multiple object of qal עָשָׂה (4QOrd(159) 1 2.3).

2 גַּת is the subject of qal מָלֵא (Jl 4.13).

2a Ottosson⁶⁷⁶ understands Jl 4.13 to read such that גַּת is the object of דָּרְדְרִי . In so doing Ottosson understands דָּרְדְרִי to be a Qal third masculine plural imperative form of דָּרַדַר "dominate" and so "trample," which follows Davidson.⁶⁷⁷ However, a more standard reading⁶⁷⁸ understands דָּרְדְרִי to be a Qal third masculine plural imperative form of יָרַד "come, go down." This later reading, which leaves גַּת as the subject of qal מָלֵא (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 גַּת is part of the adverbial prepositional phrase of place modifying qal קָבַט (Jdg 6.11), qal עָמַד (4QCat^a(177) 2+ .15) and qal מָכַר (CD12.10).

4 גַּת is modified by the prepositions בֵּי (Jdg 6.11, Is 63.2), עַל (4QCat^a(177) 2+ .15) and מִן (CD12.10).

5 גַּת is modified by the 3ms possessive (CD 12.10).

6 גַּת is in the plural גַּתוֹת (Neh 13.15, 4QCat^a(177) 2+ .15).

Versions

The Septuagint and the Vulgate are consistent in their translations of גַּת using ληνοῦ "wine-vat in which the grapes are pressed" and *torcular* "winepress," respectively.

The Targums are consistent in using מַעְצֵרֶתֶתֵּא "winepress," with two exceptions.

There is no targum for Neh (13.15). Jl 4.13 contains both גַּת and יָקַב in the Hebrew.

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 מַעְצֵרֵהָסָא. This occurrence probably reflects גַּת.

The Peshitta is the least consistent of the versions in translating גַּת using *gat* "winepress" (Jdg 6.11), *ma 'sàrtā'* "winepress" (Is 63.2, La 1.15) and *gub* "cistern, pit" (Jl 4.13). In Neh 13.15 the Peshitta is a paraphrase and has no direct translation of גַּת.

Lexical/Semantic Fields

The parallel of גַּת and יִקְרֵי in Jl 4.13 and the other agricultural images associated with גַּת places it in the semantic field of agricultural installations. Treading (דָּרְסוּ, Is 63.2, Jl 4.13, La 1.15, Neh 13.15) and the colour (סָרָא, Is 63.2) associated with the treading when combined with the parallel with יִקְרֵי suggests that גַּת is a member of the semantic field of winemaking installations. These two fields are examined in more detail in the consideration of יִקְרֵי.

Exegesis

The identification of גַּת as a winepress is not completely conclusive if it is dependent on Biblical Hebrew. The beating out of wheat (Jdg 6.11) places גַּת in an agricultural setting and its being an object of דָּרְסוּ 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 גַּת 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 גַּת appears to be a winepress.

The main aspect of the use of גַּת in the Hebrew Bible, which has come to the attention of commentators, is the image of fairly violent crushing. Watts⁶⁸⁰ 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." McKenzie⁶⁸¹ sees that the image of crushing in a תָּ is used as a metaphor for the judgement of YHWH.

As noted above, Borowski⁶⁸² suggests תָּ is "a press built of stones and mortar within the confines of a city."

Conclusions

The meaning of תָּ is probably discrete from that of יָקַב [see יָקַב]. Certainly it is likely that תָּ is a part of a winemaking installation and possibly its definition can be narrowed to the "upper basin, where grapes were pressed by treading."⁶⁸³ In all likelihood, תָּ 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.

⁶⁸¹ McKenzie; 1968; p. 187.

⁶⁸² Borowski; 1987; p. 111.

⁶⁸³ *HAL*; p. 206.

פִּוּרָה 9.3

The rarest word associated with the winery and winemaking installations that appears in the Hebrew Bible is פִּוּרָה. פִּוּרָה 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

פִּוּרָה is unusual in that no clear etymology has been established. Within Biblical Hebrew there are no cognates, which may mean that פִּוּרָה is a primary noun.⁶⁸⁵ It is suggested that פִּוּרָה may derive from a root פֹּוּר. This root has the cognates *fāra* "to bubble, gush forth, boil, ferment" in Arabic and *pwr* in Syriac "to boil."⁶⁸⁶ If פִּוּרָה is correctly understood to mean "wine press," an alternative derivation may be from פָּרַר "split, divide, break."⁶⁸⁷ A suggested cognate noun is the Akkadian *puru* "stone bowl."⁶⁸⁸

Formal Characteristics

The two occurrences of פִּוּרָה in the Hebrew Bible are singular feminine nouns of the *Qūl-h* form.⁶⁸⁹

Syntagmatics

1 פִּוּרָה is the object of *qal* פָּרַרְתָּ (Is 63.3), פָּרַרְתָּ (Hg 2.16).

2 פִּוּרָה is modified by the numeral חֲמֵשִׁים (Hg 2.16).

Versions

The Versions do not make a significant contribution to our limited understanding of פִּוּרָה. The Septuagint translates פִּוּרָה as *metrhthj* "measurer"⁶⁹⁰ (Hg 2.16). In Is

⁶⁸⁴ Gen.Rab. 16.4, 99.11, Exod.Rab. 15.16, 17, Lev. Rab. 13.5, Num.Rab 11.7, 14.1, Esth.Rab 1.6.

⁶⁸⁵ *HAL*; p. 920.

⁶⁸⁶ BDB; p. 807. Payne-Smith; p. 439.

⁶⁸⁷ Borowski; 2002; Personal communication.

⁶⁸⁸ Frankel; 1999; p. 185.

63.3 the Septuagint is a paraphrase. The Peshitta translates פִּוּרְהָ as *ma 'sàrtā'* "winevat / winepress" in Is 63.3 and paraphrases Hg 2.16. The Targums have מַעְצָרָא "vat" in Is 63.3 and גְּרֵב "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

פִּוּרְהָ of Is 63.3 is in parallel with the גֵּת of Is 63.2. Likewise, פִּוּרְהָ is in parallel with יֵקֶב in Hg 2.16. This places פִּוּרְהָ within the semantic field of winemaking installations.⁶⁹¹ With only two occurrences it is difficult to make any generalisations about פִּוּרְהָ, however, the two occurrences are both found in post exilic texts suggesting פִּוּרְהָ may have only been used in Late Biblical Hebrew.

Exegesis

פִּוּרְהָ 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."⁶⁹²

Smith⁶⁹³ suggests that in Hg 2.16 should read "מִפִּוּרְהָ '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.

Jastrow⁶⁹⁴ suggests that פִּוּרְהָ can be understood as "the quantity pressed at a time."

Borowski⁶⁹⁵ suggests that פִּוּרְהָ may refer to a "portable press." Such a press may be depicted in Dayagi-Mendels.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁸⁹ JM §88Bf.

⁶⁹⁰ LSJ; p. 1122.

⁶⁹¹ See יֵקֶב above where this field is examined.

⁶⁹² Westermann; 1969; p. 382.

⁶⁹³ Smith; 1983; p. 159.

⁶⁹⁴ Jastrow; 1971; pp. 263-4.

⁶⁹⁵ Borowski; 1987; p.111.

Dayagi-Mendels⁶⁹⁷ links פּוֹרֶה with עֵרְבָה (*m. Šeb. 8.6 // t. Šeb. 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 יִקָּב and may be part of it; and secondly, the definitions of עֵרְבָה relate more to a trough which may have been used for wine making⁶⁹⁸ rather than specifically "a small portable treading device."⁶⁹⁹

Conclusions

פּוֹרֶה is in some way related to the winery.⁷⁰⁰ 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 פּוֹרֶה were a sack press.⁷⁰¹ The amount of pomace and or liquid the sack could take may have represented a standard amount.

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 **יַיִן** 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 יַיִן, having at least one commentator suggesting that it is a substance other than wine. There is strong evidence that יַיִן, תִּירֹשׁ, שֵׁכָר and חֶמֶר are words for wine although there is no

definite evidence to allow the modern reader to differentiate between them. מִזֶּג, מִמְסָךְ and מִסָּךְ 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. עֵסִים does not have a single clear meaning. Nevertheless, עֵסִים 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 חֲמִץ, “vinegar,” is generally agreed, and supported by the evidence, whether it actually falls in the semantic field of wine remains open to debate. חֲמִץ 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 מִשְׁקָה and שְׁקִי 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. סָבֵא is the nearest example and this is at best uncertain. The three occurrences of סָבֵא 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 יַיִן) 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.⁷⁰² In contrast to most of the words in the semantic field of wine, the words for grape, vine and vineyard (פֶּרֶם, גִּפְּיָן, עֵנָב) are clearly defined. There is a caution, however, about any presumption of clear definition of these terms given that the vine (גִּפְּיָן) in 2Kg 4.39 clearly produces something other than grapes. Likewise שֵׂרֵק "choice vine" and נְיִיר "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 יִקְבּ, גֵּת, and פִּינְדָה 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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