

The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture

In this book, Monika Amsler explores the historical contexts in which the Babylonian Talmud was formed in an effort to determine whether it was the result of oral transmission. Scholars have posited that the rulings and stories we find in the Talmud were passed on from one generation to the next, each generation adding their opinions and interpretations of a given subject. Yet such an oral formation process is unheard of in late antiquity. Moreover, the model exoticizes the Talmud and disregards the intellectual world of Sassanid Persia. Rather than taking the Talmud's discursive structure as a sign for orality, Amsler interrogates the intellectual and material prerequisites of composers of such complex works, and their education and methods of large-scale data management. She also traces and highlights the marks that their working methods inevitably left in the text. Detailing how intellectual innovation was generated, Amsler's book also sheds new light on the content of the Talmud. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

Monika Amsler is Postdoctoral Researcher in the Department of Ancient History at the University of Bern. A historian of ancient religion, she is the editor of *Knowledge Construction in Late Antiquity*, published in the *Trends in Classics* Supplementary Volume Series.



The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture

MONIKA AMSLER

University of Bern







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009297332

DOI: 10.1017/9781009297349

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2023

This work is in copyright. It is subject to statutory exceptions and to the provisions of relevant licensing agreements; with the exception of the Creative Commons version the link for which is provided below, no reproduction of any part of this work may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

An online version of this work is published at doi.org/10.1017/9781009297349 under a Creative Commons Open Access license CC-BY-NC 4.0 which permits re-use, distribution and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial purposes providing appropriate credit to the original work is given and any changes made are indicated. To view a copy of this license visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0

All versions of this work may contain content reproduced under license from third parties.

Permission to reproduce this third-party content must be obtained from these third-parties directly.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009297349

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-009-29733-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

The open access version of this publication was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.



> To Martin, Emelina, Gwendolin, Filippa, and Charlotte



Contents

Aci	Rnowleagments	page 1X
List of Abbreviations		xi
	Introduction	I
I	The Talmud's Genre among Imperial Period/Late Antique	
	Genres	16
	The Trouble with Genre	17
	The Commentary in Late Antiquity	23
	The Encyclopedia and the Miscellany in the Imperial Period	
	and Late Antiquity	30
	The Talmud: A Rare Case of a Commentary on an Encyclopedia?	37
	The Talmud: A Symposiac Commentary?	43
	Conclusion	53
2	Late Antique Data Management	56
	The Perennial Appeal of Orality	56
	Arguing with Yaakov Elman	62
	Looking Over and Beyond Pliny's Shoulder: Data Management	
	in the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity	75
	The Ubiquity of Excerpting and Reassembling: Writing Material	
	in Late Antiquity	83
	Conclusion	91
3	Manufacturing the Talmud	94
	Essential Building Blocks of the Talmudic Commentary:	
	Lemmas, Keywords, and Excerpts	95
	The Influence of the Palestinian Talmud on the Keywords	101
	The Rhetorical Structure of the Talmudic Commentaries	104
	The Commentary in b. Sanhedrin 67b	III
	The Commentary in b. Shabbat 30a-31b	116
	Some Reflections on the Date and Relationship of the Two Talmud Conclusion	ls 122
	COHCIUSION	141



viii Contents

4	The Making of the Talmudic Narrative	133
	The Late Antique Story and Progymnasmatic Training	134
	The Larger Impact of the Progymnasmata	142
	The Talmudic Story	148
	The Case Example: Solomon, Ashmedai, and the	
	Building of the Temple	150
	Creating a Plausible Character	156
	Finding the Template	161
	Summary and Repetition: Potential and Limits of	
	Talmudic Stories	166
	Conclusion	173
5	Medical Recipes and the Composition of the Talmud	177
,	The List of Recipes in Tractate Gittin in Prior Scholarship	178
	Differently Structured Talmudic Recipes in the Hands of the	,
	Composers	180
	Pause- and Verb-Recipe Treatises and Their Literary Context	186
	Reassembling and Placing a Medical Treatise Used by the	
	Composers of the Talmud	192
	Crossing Genres and Expanding the Classifiable	198
	Conclusion	208
	Consolidation and Further Research Paths	210
Αp	pendix: The Talmud's Aramaic Treatise of Simple Remedies	219
	Prolegomena	219
	The Treatise	221
Bibliography		
Ancient Source Index		237 265
General Index		271



Acknowledgments

This book is "based on a true dissertation," advised by Christoph Uehlinger and Michael Satlow (University of Zurich, 2018). I am grateful for their kind but critical feedback, and for their ongoing support and advice. The dissertation was funded by the University of Zurich's Research Priority Point (URPP) "Asia & Europe" and a Marie Heim-Vögtlin scholarship by the Swiss National Scientific Foundation (SNSF). The inclusion of the dissertation project into the URPP's research field "Concepts and Taxonomies" offered a stimulating intellectual environment and left distinct marks on its course. I am thankful to all involved for this great opportunity and experience.

I am grateful to the SNSF for funding the open-access publication of this book. The Meyerhoff Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Maryland, the Doctoral Program Asia and Europe, and *Fonds für Altertumswissenschaft* hosted by the Department of Greek and Latin Philology at the University of Zurich (funded by Walter Burkert) paid for the copyediting and indexing at different stages in the process of the book's genesis.

Regarding copyediting and indexing, Adina M. Yoffie, William H. Brown, and Katherin Papadopoulos (and her helper John Keily) have done more for this book than cleaning up my English, detecting typos, and producing a useful index, and I am most thankful for your careful work, personal interest, and prompt delivery. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers from Cambridge University Press for their insightful remarks and the editor, Beatrice Rehl, for her support and patience with a first timer. Susan Marks was a great mentor "on the go."

Hayim Lapin has read a prior draft of this manuscript and provided substantial feedback, and Maxine Grossmann has helped me to digest



X

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-29733-2 — The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture Monika Amsler Frontmatter More Information

Acknowledgments

setbacks and to reframe frustration and despair. Thank you both "a google times" as my kids would say. Speaking of which: My girls grew alongside this book. Just in time for its publication, they are now old enough to understand what this means. And I am so sorry that this discovery ended only in a series of frustrations! No, there are no pictures in the book and there is nothing to color; no, it's not a story with some fancy main characters, a brave heroine, or a funny prince; no, we won't be giving a copy to your teachers for Christmas or deposit one in the school library. Honestly, I don't think they will ever read it. I am still dedicating it to them. And to their father, my best friend, Martin Ferrazzini, who really wants to see his name in it and deserves it more than anyone else. He had many chances and reasons to vote against this project but never

did, and instead chose encouragement. Merci tuusig!



Abbreviations

AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJSR	Association for Jewish Studies Review
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
DJBA	Michael Sokoloff. Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian
	Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods.
	Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore:
	Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002
DJPA	Michael Sokoloff. Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian
	Aramaic. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica. Edited by Ehsan Yarshater.
	London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982-
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
Hug	Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies
Jastrow	Jastrow, Morris, comp. A Dictionary of the Targumim,
	the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic
	Literature with an Index of Scriptural Quotations.
	London: Luzac; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJSup	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart
	Jones. A Greek-English Lexicon. 9th ed. with revised
	supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996



xii List of Abbreviations

NTS New Testament Studies

OECS Oxford Early Christian Studies

SFSHJ South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism

SJLA Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity

SLA Studies in Late Antiquity

STAC Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum SyrLex Sokoloff, Michael. A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation

from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum. Winona Lake, IN:

Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009

TSAJ Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

TSJTSA Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of

America

WGRW Writings from the Greco-Roman World

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

TALMUDIC TRACTATES

Avod. Zar. Avodah Zarah

Avot Avot

B. Bat. Bava Batra B. Metz Bava Metzi'a B. Qam Bava Qamma Berakhot Ber. Betzah Betzah Eruv. Eruvin Git. Gittin Hor. Horayot Hul. Hullin Kelim Kelim Ketub. Ketubbot Megillah Meg. Mo'ed Qat. Mo'ed Qatan Ned. Nedarim Niddah Nid. Pesahim Pesah. Qidushim Oidd.

Rosh Hash. Rosh Hashanah Sanh. Sanhedrin Shabb. Shabbat



List of Abbreviations

xiii

Ta'an. Ta'anit
Tem. Temurah
Ter. Terumot
Yevam. Yevamot
Yoma Yoma

Prefixes to the tractates are used as follows:

m. = Mishnah t. = Tosefta

y. = Palestinian Talmud b. = Babylonian Talmud